

# BRISTOL

## PAST AND PRESENT

BY

J. F. NICHOLLS, F.S.A.

*Chief Librarian Bristol Free Libraries*

AND

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VOL. III.—CIVIL AND MODERN HISTORY

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## PREFACE.

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HERE are but few words to add to those which have prefaced the former Volumes. We thank our fellow-citizens for the hearty welcome they have given to BRISTOL: PAST AND PRESENT, and our critics for the leniency they have shown to its errors, and trust that in this Volume few, if any, will be found, and those of but trifling importance. We ask for an impartial judgment of its merits, assuring our readers that it has been our endeavour to record the events narrated in its pages carefully and without bias. A man's proclivities will naturally give a tone to his work, but it has been our endeavour to make this as little perceptible as possible, to write without asperity of those whose actions we disapproved, and without flattery of those whose conduct we admired; nor are we conscious of having written

One line which, dying, we could wish to blot.

Special helpers demand special mention, and, in addition to the names recorded in the previous Volumes, our best thanks are given to THE CORPORATION OF BRISTOL, for permission to use the picture by John Syer (Frontispiece to Volume I.), presented to the City by Robt. Lang, Esq.; Miss LUCY TOULMIN SMITH; Drs. J. BEDDOE, G. F. BURDER, D. DAVIES and J. G. SWAYNE; Revs. J. W. CALDICOTT, D.D., and J. HANCOCK, M.A.; Col. A. M. JONES; Alderman H. NAISH; Messrs. E. BRIGHTMAN, L. BRUTON, E. W. COATHUPE, T. COOMBER, F.C.S., A. COX, W. GEORGE, T. HOWARD, C.E., MACMILLAN & Co. (for permission to use portrait of Mary Carpenter), F. W. NEWTON, REID AND HICKS, E. C. SAMPSON, B. WILSON, and J. D. WOOLCOCK; Proprietors of *Bristol Times and Mirror*, *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post* and *Western Daily Press*; and lastly, Mr. D. T. BURGESS, Town Clerk, and Mr. J. T. LANE, City Treasurer, for the unrestricted access they have afforded to the archives of the City.

A quaint old author says, "There are three difficulties in authorship; to write anything worth publishing, to find honest men to publish it, and to get sensible men to read it." Without egotism, we consider these to have been overcome. It now remains for Bristol Present to make such practical use of the lessons derived from the mistakes of Bristol Past as shall cause Bristol Future to take high rank amongst the most renowned and prosperous cities of the Empire.





TO  
JOSEPH D. WESTON, ESQ.,  
MAYOR OF BRISTOL  
AND  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BRISTOL FREE LIBRARY,  
THIS VOLUME  
OF BRISTOL: PAST AND PRESENT

Is with sincere respect and esteem Dedicated

BY ITS AUTHOR,

J. F. NICHOLLS, F.S.A.





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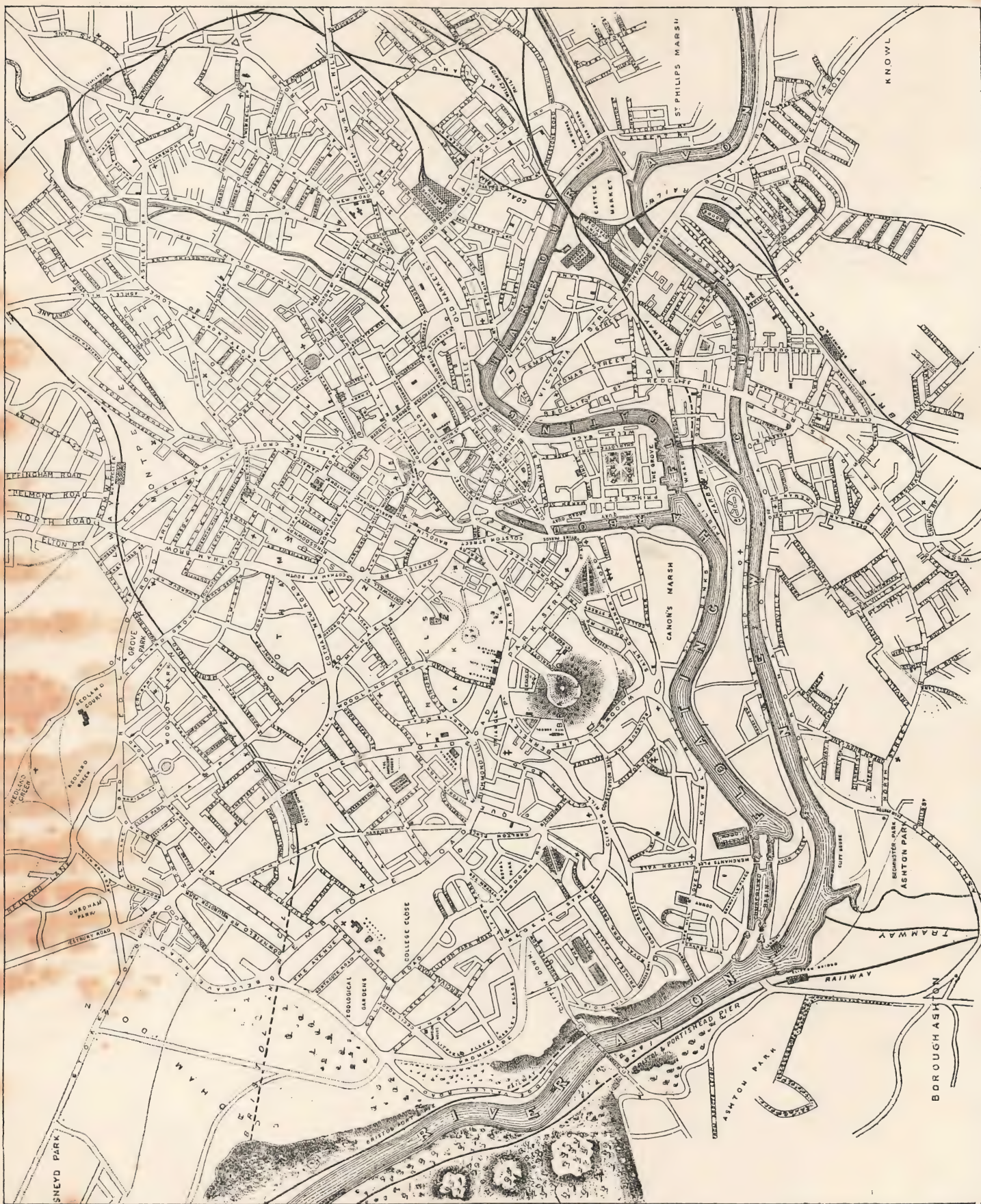
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# CIVIL AND MODERN HISTORY.

## CHAPTER X.

### ➤ THE ÷ STUART ÷ ERA. ◀

#### PART I. (*continued*).



DURING the restored Royalist *régime* the mayors were Humphrey Hook, to whom we have already referred, Alexander James and Francis Creswick. James was a man of no force of character; although his loyalist convictions are evident. He was the son of Thomas James (mayor 1612), had served as sheriff in 1628, and was advanced to the dignity of alderman in 1643. He was also chosen as master of the Merchant Venturers in 1642. When the city was re-captured by Fairfax and Cromwell, in 1645, he "was dismissed from the corporation by the Lords and Commons for having been active in promoting the designs of the enemy" in 1664. At the Restoration he seems to have cared no longer for civic honours, for he did not comply with the order of the Privy Council, which ran thus: "It is his Majesty's pleasure and command that no person whatsoever, being of the body of the Corporation, do presume to absent himself from the next election of officers. . . And if after this admonition any shall wilfully neglect or refuse to assist at the said election, or to take upon him the magistracy, being elected thereunto, you are hereby willed and commanded to return the names of all such persons up to the board, whereupon his Majesty will give further direction for reducing them to conformity."

[Vol. III.]

Alexander James must then have been an old man, although he lived for fourteen years longer; at his death he was buried in St. Nicholas church. By his will, which bears date 1663, he left £100 to the poor of the said parish.

32. Cromwell, after his experience at Edgehill, had told Hampden "that a set of poor tapsters and town apprentices would never win in fight against men of honour;" that men with an earnest purpose and full of religious fervour were those who were needed to overcome the chivalrous bravery of the cavaliers. He set himself heartily to accomplish the task of raising such an army, beginning around his own farm at St. Ives, Hunts. His success is well known; his Ironsides never were beaten, they neither drank nor swore, and were thoroughly amenable to discipline; in brief, they were men of whom England may well be proud, soldiers who drank in their inspiration from the histories of the Bible, who with sword in hand and a firm faith in God as their great Captain were invincible.

In choosing his men Cromwell took little or no note of their differences of doctrine. To him it was all one, whether they were Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists or Levellers, so that they were good soldiers. A leader who had spent nearly his whole fortune to raise such a body of troops could little brook the kid-glove warfare

of Essex or Manchester; earnest, resolute men, such as he and his, looked for leaders of a kindred spirit, not those "who would spin out the war, make the kingdom weary and hateful of the very name of a Parliament," men whom in his epigrammatic style Cromwell described as "afraid to conquer." "If the king be beaten, he will still be king; if he conquer, he will hang us all as traitors," said Manchester, at Newbury. To which replied Cromwell, "If I met the king in battle I would fire my pistol at the king as at another." This quarrel ended in the retirement of Essex, Manchester and Waller, and the formation of the "New Model Army." "Get together 20,000 honest men, choose godly honest men to be captains, and honest men will follow them." Such an army was speedily raised, and the command was given to Sir Thomas Fairfax, the brave northern leader who had won Marston Moor.

The bulk of the "honest men" who in the year 1645 held high command were men of noble or of gentle blood, and not, as many still assert, the scum of the populace. Young Montague, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, was only twenty years of age; he raised a regiment in Cambridgeshire when he was eighteen. Pickering was Montague's brother-in-law, a cousin of Dryden, the poet; Ingoldsby was a grandson of old Sir Oliver Cromwell, of Hinchinbrook; Fleetwood, the son of Sir William Fleetwood, of Woodstock; Sheffield was a son of Earl Mulgrave; Pye was brother-in-law to John Hampden; Whalley was a cousin of Cromwell; Huntington was a high-principled gentleman; Ireton, the cleverest man in the army, was a barrister of the Temple; Butler, Rich and Graves were all gallant men, whose families were of good and ancient lineage. By the side of these were other admirable soldiers, who had risen from the ranks. Pride was a foundling, who had been left in a church when the war broke out; he was a drayman, and he rose by his skill and good conduct. Okey was stoker at a furnace in Islington, and afterwards a chandler in Thames street. Rainsborough, steady as a rock, had been the skipper of a merchant ship; both he and old Welden had learned the tactics of war in many a conflict since they won renown on the field of battle. We might instance many another, but these men will all appear as leaders in the impending fight that was to extinguish the Royalist cause, and of which Bristol was to be the arena.

Cromwell, as lord high steward of Bristol from 1651 until his death in 1658, is entitled to a place in these pages. His grandfather was the golden knight of Hinchinbrook who entertained James for two nights when he was on his progress to London to be crowned, and again when the king was returning to Scotland.

His great grandfather was nephew to Thomas Lord Cromwell, "the hammer of the monasteries." His mother was a descendant of a Stuart, so that Cromwell himself was a far-away cousin of the misguided king. His uncle, Sir Oliver, his father's elder brother, was knighted by James in return for the hospitalities of Hinchinbrook. Three of his aunts were married to men whose names have become landmarks in English history. Elizabeth was mother of John Hampden; Joan was Lady Barrington; and Frances was Mrs. Whalley, whose sons were Thomas, a Royalist, Edward, the famous colonel, and Henry, the judge advocate. A cousin, being a daughter of his uncle Henry, was married to St. John, the great ship-money lawyer, and his grandfather and uncle were in succession chosen as knights of the shire for Huntingdonshire. Cromwell became a fellow-commoner of Sidney college, Cambridge, on the very day that Shakespeare died, April 23rd, 1616; but, being an only son, he, on his father's death in the following year, left college to manage for the family the home property. In 1627-8 he was returned to Parliament as burgess for the town of Huntingdon. The house at Huntingdon in which his father lived had been at one time a brewery; it is possible, but there is not a shadow of evidence to prove it, that the elder Cromwell might have brewed beer for sale.

When it became clear that the men of large estates, Essex, Manchester and Waller, either would not or could not end this sad war, and they were, by the self-denying ordinance, deprived of their commands, the house exempted Cromwell, who was sent, at Fairfax's express desire, to join him in the west as lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the horse. Received with shouts of joy at Naseby by the New Model Army, he, on the 14th June, routed the king's left wing, and keeping his men well in hand, wheeled round to the side left open by plundering, blundering, fiery Rupert, and fell with irresistible force upon the Royalist centre, jamming them up between Okey's dragoons and Fairfax, charging nobly bareheaded at the head of his life-guards, and so Naseby was won and Charles' last great battle ended in his irretrievable defeat.

33. Events now marched rapidly to a conclusion. Bristol, the strong place in the west, must be recovered for the Commonwealth. In order to secure this result, the clubmen of Somerset had to be pacified and Somerset reduced to quietude. We have a glimpse of Cromwell and his Ironsides at Langport dashing through its long street, with flames arching over their heads from the rows of burning houses on each side as they chased the defeated Royalists to the gates of Bridgwater. This latter town was captured; Sherborne was stormed by

Pickering; Okey seized upon Bath, and a line of posts was settled from the Parrett to the English channel. Fairfax and Cromwell then set about the reduction of Bristol, the only important place, with the exception of Oxford, east of Devon that remained in the king's hands. Prince Rupert held it for the king, Sir Bernard de Gomme, an artillery officer of great skill, adopted the old lines of defence, which he greatly strengthened; it was he who threw out the double ditch and rampart, with a covert way between the Water fort and Brandon hill fort. In the former of these there were now seven guns and six on Brandon hill. The old Windmill fort was greatly enlarged and surrounded with high walls, it was a pentagon, mounting twenty-two guns, and was known as the Great, or Royal, fort; the redoubt behind the Montague tavern was converted into a fort (Colston's fort), having seven guns; Prior's hill fort, on Nine Tree hill, the key of the position, commanding as it did the castle and city from a very superior elevation, had thirteen guns allotted to it, the walls had been carried up to a great height, a ladder of thirty rounds scarcely reaching to the top, it had two tiers of loopholes (Cromwell, however, only mentions "four guns on the top," the other number we take from the king's letter to Edward Turner [given in Vol. I., 312-4], possibly the others were in casemates, and the lieutenant-general only mentions those *en barbette*). Stokes Croft gate was protected by Prior's hill fort, and Lawford's gate, a double work with seven guns, that faced the open ground leading up to Kingswood. Along this portion of the line there were twenty-two guns, in sconces, half-moons, and at the gate. These formed the defences of the outer line, which mounted a total of seventy-seven guns. The ancient walls and castle remained as of yore, excepting that they had been repaired and strengthened. Here were mounted on the south side, at Tower Hazzard and Temple, fourteen guns; at Redcliff and its sconces, fifteen; at the Castle and Newgate, sixteen; at the Frome gate, one; and at the Pithay, one, making for the inner line of defence forty-seven guns. But Cromwell states that the mounted cannon captured numbered one hundred and forty; the balance of sixteen was probably distributed between the gates of Back street, Marsh street, the towers along the Quay and a battery on the Marsh, which had been thrown up to command the river.

Rupert, who had arrived in Bristol in July, 1645, had a garrison of 2,500 effective soldiers, besides 1,000 horse and 1,500 auxiliaries. Amongst his officers were Lords Lumley and Hawley, General Tilyard, Sir Walter Vavasour, Sir Richard Crane, Colonel John Russell, Sir Bernard Ashley, Sir Matthew Appleyard, and Colonels Fox, Murray, Osborne and Slingsby. Rupert declared

that he could hold it for four months against any force, and he threatened to hang anyone who even talked of surrender. The cattle from the surrounding country had been swept into the Marsh, large supplies of grain were collected, much beer was brewed and stored up, and 2,000 measures of corn were brought from Wales for the poor amongst the citizens, whose total number was computed to be about 12,500 persons.

As the Constitutionalists advanced Rupert burnt part of Clifton and Bedminster, intending also to burn the adjacent villages; but Colonel Welden, with his horse, dashed on to Pyle hill, and Ireton stabled his horse in Bedminster old churchyard, whilst a flying column saved Hanham, Keynsham, Brislington and Stapleton from the flames. Fairfax reconnoitred the city on August 21st, and slept that night at Hanham; the two next days were spent in posting the troops around the devoted city. Welden raised a battery on the hill above Totterdown, and seized the fort at Portishead. His brigade of four regiments covered the Somersetshire loop from river to river. They were posted in alignment forming a segment of a circle, as follows:—Herbert's regiment, leaning on the Avon, on the site of the Great Western Railway sheds; Fortescue's, next to him; then Ingoldsby's, whose left reached to Bedminster Causeway; Welden's bent round to Wapping, and completed the enclosure [Bathurst basin and the New Cut were not then excavated]. Behind these, in support on Pyle hill, above the three lamps, were Sheffield's horse; next to him, Pye's; whilst Cromwell's own regiment, commanded by Huntington, rested their left on the Malago stream.

On the opposite side of the Avon Montague's brigade swept round in another aligned segment from that river to the Frome. It consisted of Montague's regiment, along the site of Queen Anne road to Cheese lane; Pickering's, along Whipping Cat hill, rather to the east, in what is now Newtown; Waller barred the roads to Kingswood and Easton; and General Fairfax's own regiment filled the void of market gardens between the Stapleton road and the Frome, by Eugene street. Behind the openings between these regiments, in support, were Graves' and Desborough's horse. North of the Frome Rainsborough's brigade bent round from that river to the valley known as Woolcot park. The major-general's regiment lay in Earl's mead; Birch's, next to him, extended up to Ashley road; behind these lay Whalley's horse, at the foot of Ashley hill; Hammond's regiment stretched from St. Barnabas church to Cheltenham road, having in support, on the site of the Montpelier Railway, Colonel Rich's horse, commanded by young Bethel. Rainsborough's men, tried and trusty veterans, crossed

Arley hill at the foot of Cotham brow to nearly the bottom of Lovers' walk. Pride's regiment (in Woolcot park) was divided; one-half threatened Colston's, the other the Royal fort. Okey's dragoons, in two regiments, formed the concluding segment, and covered the ground from the Victoria rooms to Clifton wood, facing Brandon hill, and threatening Washington's breach and Limekiln lane. Ireton's horse were on Redland green; Fleetwood's lay a sturdy barrier across the Whiteladies' road, just above Clifton down railway station; and Butler's watched Gallow's Acre lane and the Hotwell road. The sites quoted were, of course, not then built upon, but consisted of open fields and gardens. Fairfax had removed to Stoke house, near Stapleton; but, like a thorough soldier, he soon shifted his quarters to a mean farmhouse [two rooms of it are still standing] on the hill above Montpelier.<sup>1</sup> He saw that if Prior's hill fort was once taken, the surrender of the city was secured. In a field at the back of the house may still be seen the remains of the small lunette from which he battered the fort. The city was thus invested on every side, and the intention was evident from the disposition of the forces, viz., to reduce it by blockade. Not a pailful of milk or a basket of eggs could pass into the city, so thoroughly was it environed. There was a large number of the townsfolk favourable to the Commonwealth, but these were overawed by the garrison; and to add to the terrors of the siege, the fatal plague was raging with virulence within the walls.

Cromwell, whose headquarters had been at first at Wickham bridge, Stapleton, had removed to Ashley barn, and the late H. J. Harford, stated once that his father, who bought the Wickham bridge property in 1805, had a place in the upper chambers pointed out to him that was boarded up. He had it opened, and found it to be a closet formed by a closed-up gable window. In it were a helmet and two halberts; one halbert was covered with crimson velvet, but the wood was so rotten that it fell to pieces, the place being very damp; the other was the old brown bill of the period.

34. On Saturday, August the 23rd, the guns of the Royal and Prior's hill forts played all day [they killed, however, only one man], to cover a sally by the cavaliers, who, issuing from the latter fort, dashed fiercely down

on Rainsborough's men at the bottom of Cotham brow. Steadily confronted by their resolute old opponents of Marston Moor and Naseby, they were beaten back, and left their gallant leader under a heap of slain. Thus perished Sir Richard Crane, a gallant knight from Norfolk, a fine cavalry man, who had commanded the king's horse at Marston Moor. On Sunday, the 24th, encouraged, perhaps, by the hymns that rose from the valley, another attempt was made. A large force of horse and foot from the postern of Prior's hill charged at a hand gallop down the hill; but Rainsborough's men sang praises with their swords girded, and every man was ready on the instant to fall into line. The cavaliers who had hoped to surprise them were driven back in disorder, losing their major and many men. On Monday the general, by warrant of the sheriff, raised the *posse comitatus* to aid in surrounding the city. To these Fairfax gave two guns, and they appear to have been stationed on the left of the Ironsides on the little hill opposite to the jail, from which by their shouts and numbers they alarmed the city. Failing in the above-named attempts, Rupert directed one to be made in the opposite direction, and on Tuesday, the 26th, at four o'clock in the morning, in a pelting storm of rain, a sally was made from Temple gate on Welden's brigade, in which the Cavaliers were again repulsed; they captured, however, an outpost of ten men through the carelessness of the officer in charge. Sir Bernard Ashley was here mortally wounded close to the works of the besiegers. The ten men with a trumpeter were sent out on the 28th as an exchange for the dying knight. North and south being barred, the besieged next tried, on the 27th and 29th, to cut their way through on the east, issuing from Lawford's gate, but Montague was too good a soldier to be caught napping. There was hope, however, in the untried west—the king was moving towards Oxford, and Goring had advanced to Chard—so in the grey dawn of the misty morning of September 1st, 1,000 Royalist horse, led by Sir Horatio Carey, and 600 foot soldiers tried to force a passage from the Royal fort, and by way of Washington's breach. Here there was hard but very brief fighting, and again the Cavaliers retreated to the shelter of their lines, carrying with them, however, a notable prisoner, Colonel Okey, who in the dense fog had ridden into their ranks by mistake.

The fleet of the Parliament was in Kingroad, and on the above day Admiral Moulton landed, and offered the services of his blue jackets, sharp active fellows, itching for a fight on shore. Another council of war was held by the besiegers, at which the cautious plans hitherto held were reversed on good and sufficient grounds. The

<sup>1</sup> Was the immortal Milton present at the siege of Bristol? When Seyer was writing his *History* there was a farmhouse at the bottom of the field, but to the north of Fairfax's headquarters, near the little stream that ran from Horfield, in the attic of which was described some very beautiful Italian verses, written with pencil on the wall. Copies were taken by Seyer and other gentlemen, and the general impression was that they had been written by that great poet the friend of Deodati, whose muse revelled as perfectly in the Italian language as she did in the English tongue.

city was known to be well found in arms, ammunition and provisions; the well affected of the inhabitants to the Parliament were powerless to make a diversion in favour of the besiegers; the weather was most unseasonable; incessant rains and mists had saturated the ground; the men had but little shelter and no comfort in their sodden tents; the repeated sallies kept them ever on the alert; and the plague, although it had mercifully been kept from them hitherto, might unexpectedly decimate their force any day. A regular siege would be both long and tedious, the threatened advance of the

king and of Goring was apprehended; neither did it suit the active energetic spirits of men or officers, who had stormed Langport, Sherborne, and Bridgewater, carried Bath,

and conquered at Naseby, in little over two months, to dawdle over this matter. So it was determined unanimously to carry Bristol by storm. To a red-tape martinet this must seem a strange decision; as far as we can gather the besiegers had but few guns besides the four pieces of artillery in the little lunette on Montpelier, and the two guns which the countryfolk served as before mentioned. It was rather a conflict of men *versus* stone walls, bibles and swords against lofty forts studded with cannon and bristling with palisades. "Truly all this is the work of God. He must be a very Atheist who doth not acknowledge it," said the prime mover, when success had crowned such apparently insufficient means. Without breaching the walls, the brigades from their several stations, as before described, were, like the Israelites around Jericho, to march straight on before them, and carry them by faith and their strong hands. Welden's brigade, with three forlorn hopes of 200 men each and twenty ladders, were to storm the walls between Tower Harratz and Redcliff in three different places, and each man was to carry a faggot with which to fill up the ditch which here was the back Avon.



Redcliff Gate—South View.



Temple Gate—North View.

The orders were as follow:—Two men to each ladder, who were to have 5s. each; two sergeants, to order each ladder, at 20s. a man; the sergeants who commanded the men bearing the faggots to have the same amount; twelve men, with firepikes and muskets, to follow each ladder. Each body of 200 men to have a captain and lieutenant, and a field officer in command; the lieutenant to lead the van with five files, the captain to second him with seven files; twenty pioneers to march in the rear, to level the lines and make way for the horse; gentlemen of the ordinance, gunners, and matrosses to be ready to seize the guns, and if possible turn and serve them against their former masters; and two regiments and a half to be held in readiness to storm in after the foot if a way be made. Montague's men were to carry Lawford's gate and the line between the Avon and Frome, whilst for Rainsborough's men was reserved the post of honour, the capture of Prior's hill fort. The positions of the other brigades we have noted, and the sailors as a naval brigade

were detailed in boats with two hundred of Pride's men to attack the water fort at the foot of Brandon hill. One regiment of horse and one of foot was ordered to

be continually in motion in the fields before the Royal fort, to keep it busy. The regiment of dragoons, with two regiments of horse, were to attempt the line and works by Clifton and Washington's breach. [This spot it will be remembered is opposite the Blind Asylum, it was carried by assault during the siege of 1643]. In addition to the extra pay before-named all of the men had 6s. each paid them by the Parliamentary Commission. During these proceedings bad news came from the north. A letter, therefore, was sent to General Leven, sympathising with the Scotch, who had been terribly beaten by Montrose; it was written in a council of war, and

was signed by the following officers then encamped around Bristol:—

"THOMAS FAIRFAX.  
OLIVER CROMWELL.  
THOMAS HAMMOND.  
HENRY IRETON.  
EDWARD MONTAGUE.  
RICHARD FORTESCUE.  
RICHARD INGLESBY.  
JOHN PICKERING.  
HARDRESS WALLER.  
WILLIAM HERBERT.  
ROBERT HAMMOND.  
JAMES GRAY.  
THOMAS PRIDE.

ROBERT PYE.  
THOMAS RAINSBROUGH.  
THOMAS SHEFFIELD.  
CHARLES FLEETWOOD.  
RALPH WELDEN.  
JOHN RAYMOND.  
LEON WATSON.  
ARTHUR EVELIN.  
RICHARD DEAN.  
THOMAS JACKSON.  
JOHN DESBROUGH.  
CHRISTOPHER BETHEL."<sup>1</sup>

On Thursday, September 4th, the weather, which had cost many lives both of men and horses, began to clear up, and the guns from Montpelier lunette being steadily served, kept up an attack on Prior's hill fort. A summons was also prepared to be sent to Prince Rupert, which ran thus:—

"For his Highness Prince Rupert.—Sir,—For the service of the Parliament I have brought their army before the city of Bristol, and do summon you in their names to surrender it, with all the forts belonging to the same, into my hands for their use. Having used this plain language, as the business requires, I wish it may be as effectual unto you as it is satisfactory to myself that I do a little expostulate with you about the surrender of the same, which I confess is a way not common, and which I should not have used but in respect to such a person and to such a place. I take into consideration your royal birth and relation to the crown of England, your honour, courage, the virtues of your person and the strength of that place which you may think yourself bound and able to maintain. Sir, the crown of England is, and will be, where it ought to be; we fight to maintain it there. But the king, misled by evil counsellors, or through a seduced heart, hath left his Parliament [*at* and his people] under God, the best assurance of his crown and family: the maintaining of this schism is the ground of this unhappy war on your part; and what sad effects it hath produced in the three kingdoms is visible to all men. To maintain the rights of the crown and kingdom jointly, a principal part whereof is that the king, in supreme acts concerning the whole state, is not to be advized by men of whom the law takes no notice, but by his Parliament, the great council of the kingdom, in whom (as much as man is capable of) he hears all his people as it were at once advising him, and in which multitude of counsellors lies his safety and his people's interest; and to set him right in this hath been the constant and faithful endeavour of the Parliament, and to bring these wicked instruments to justice that have misled him is a principal ground of our fighting. Sir, if God makes this clear to you, as he hath to us, I doubt not but he will give you a heart to deliver this place, notwithstanding all the other considerations of honour, courage, fidelity, &c., because of their consistency and use in the present business depends upon the right or wrongfulness of this that hath been said. And if upon such conviction you shall surrender it, and save the loss of blood, or hazard of spoiling such a city, it would be an occasion glorious in itself and joyful to us for restoring of you to the endeared affection of the Parliament and people of England, the truest friend to your family it hath in the world. But if this be hid from your eyes, and through your own wilfulness this so great, so famous and ancient a city, and so full of people, be by your putting us to force the same exposed to ruin and the extremities of war (which we yet shall in that case as much as possible endeavour to prevent), then I appeal to the righteous God to be judge between you and

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 438.

us and to require [requite] the wrong. And let all England judge whether the burning of its towns, ruining its cities and destroying its people be a good requital from a person of your family, which hath had the prayers, tears, purses and blood of its Parliament and people. And (if you look on either as now divided) hath ever had that same party both in Parliaments and amongst the people, most zealous for their assistance and restitution, which you now oppose and seek to destroy, and whose constant grief hath been, their desire to serve your family have been ever hindered or made fruitless by that same party about his majesty, whose counsel you act and whose interest you pursue in this unnatural war. I expect your speedy answer to this summons, with the return of the bearer this evening, and remain your highness humble servant,

"THOMAS FAIRFAX.

"September 4th, 1645."<sup>1</sup>

To rightly understand the allusions in this letter, we would remind our readers that two of Fairfax's uncles died fighting for the Queen of Hearts, Prince Rupert's mother, the daughter of James I. and sister of Charles I. When her selfish father and her brother neglected her, and with her the cause of Protestantism upon the Continent, the people of England cried, "Shame!" and a number of gentlemen volunteers left England to help her, amongst whom were the two brothers Fairfax, who fell at Frankenthall. This is what Fairfax meant, and doubtless it had some effect in bringing about an earlier surrender.

"This day about 2,000 well-affected countrymen, who with many more upon treaty with the lieutenant-general at the beginning of the siege had engaged their assistance to make good the same, marched with some thirty-six colours in the face of Bristol, had quarters assigned them and kept guards. Two pieces of ordnance also were sent unto them for their encouragement, it not a little grieving the enemy within to see the forwardness of the country to come to our assistance, for which reason [and to lay an effectual caution against their revolt] it was held fit to make use of those forces from the country rather than for any considerable service could be expected from them. The trumpeter that went in with the summons was detained all night, during which space no sally was made by the enemy, nor no alarm given by us. Only the seamen and their boats coming up the river to St. Vincent's rock was all the motion this day produced. Neither upon Friday, September 5th, was there any sallying out, but all was quiet on both sides; and the trumpeter returned from Prince Rupert with an answer to the general's summons, in these words:—

"Sir,—I received yours by your trumpeter. I desire to know whether you will give me leave to send a messenger to the king to know his pleasure in it. I rest, your servant,

"RUPERT.

"September 5th, 1645.

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 439-40.

"Saturday, September 6th, a trumpeter was sent in with a reply to Prince Rupert's answer, in these words:—

"Sir,—Your overture of sending to the king to know his pleasure I cannot give way to, because of delay. I confess your answer doth intimate your intention not to surrender without his majesties consent; yet because it is but implicate I send again to know a more positive answer from yourself, which I desire may be such as may render me capable of approving myself your highness humble servant,

"THO. FAIRFAX.

"September 6th, 1645.

"This day came twelve colours more of the well-affected countrymen, as an addition to the former forces.

"September 6th, seven in the morning, the trumpeter went in and was detained all that day and night. Everything was prepared for a storm, the general was in the field to that end, the soldiers had their faggots on their backs and leaped for joy they might go on; yet about ten at night for several reasons it was held fit to give orders to put off the business till Monday morning, two of the o'clock, and only to alarm the enemy for that time, as we did often, to amuse them and keep them waking.

"Lord's day, September 7th, in the forenoon the trumpet returned with these propositions from Prince Rupert:—

"Sir,—Whereas I received your letter for the delivery of the city, forts and castle of Bristol, and being willing to join with you for the sparing of blood and the preserving of his majesties subjects, I have upon those grounds, and none other, sent you these following propositions:—

"1st. That myself, all noblemen, commanders, and soldiers of horse and foot, that have served either his majesty or Parliament in England or elsewhere, as likewise all persons whatsoever, men or women, now resident in this city of Bristol, castle and forts thereof, shall have free liberty to march away out of the said city, castle and forts, with their arms, flying colours, drums beating, trumpets sounding, pistols cocked, swords drawn, matches lighted at both ends, bullets in their mouths, and as much powder and match as they can carry about them, with all their bag and baggage, horses, arms, and other furniture, ten pieces of canon, fifty barrels of powder, match and bullet proportionable.

"2. That neither mine own person, nor the person of any nobleman, commander, officer, gentleman or soldier, or any other of mine or their retinues, be searched, molested, or troubled upon what pretence soever, but left to their liberties, to depart or stay, as it shall be most convenient for them.

"3. That none of your army whatsoever shall entice or persuade any officer or soldier of mine from their regiments or colours with any promise of preferment or reward.

"4. That all such officers and soldiers that are hurt and sick, and cannot now march out of this city, castle and fort, shall have liberty to stay in till they be recovered, and then have safe conducts to go wheresoever they please, either to any of his majesties armies or garrisons, or their own houses, where they may live quiet, and that in the interim those being sick and hurt may be protected by you and have civil usage.

"5. All prisoners taken on both sides since the beginning of this siege be forthwith set at liberty.

"6. That myself and all those above mentioned may not be

required to march further in a day than what conveniently we may, and that a day or two of rest be allowed upon our march, if we shall find it requisite; and that we be accommodated with free quarter during our march and a sufficient convoy to any of the king's armies or garrisons which I shall name, to secure us in our march from all injury and incivility that shall any ways be offered unto us. And likewise that there be one hundred and fifty carriage horses and forty wains, with sufficient teams provided for carriages of all sorts.

"7. That no person here in these articles mentioned shall be in their march, rendezvous or quarters, searched or plundered, upon any pretence whatsoever; and that two officers be appointed by you, the one for accommodation of free quarters for officers, soldiers and others, and the other for providing of horses and carriages for our baggage and train.

"8. All noblemen, gentlemen, clergymen, citizens, resiants, or any other person within this city, suburbs and liberties thereof, shall at any time when they please have free liberty to remove themselves, their goods and families, and to dispose of them at their pleasures, according to the known and enacted laws of the land, either to live at their own houses or elsewhere, and to enjoy their houses, lands, goods and estates without any molestation, and to have protection for that purpose; and this article to extend to all those whose estates are sequestered or not sequestered, and that they may rest quiet at their abodes and travel freely and safely upon their occasions. And for their better removal they may have letters of safe conduct, with horses and carriages at reasonable rates, upon demand.

"9. That all persons above mentioned may have free liberty to pass to any parts beyond the seas any time within three months, as their occasions shall require.

"10. That the lines, forts, castle, and other fortifications about or in the city of Bristol, be forthwith slighted, and the city stated in the same condition it was before the beginning of this unnatural war, and that hereafter the Parliament during this war place no garrison in it.

"11. That no churches be defaced; that the several members of the foundation of this cathedral shall quietly enjoy their houses and revenues belonging to their places, and that the ministers of this city may likewise enjoy their benefices without any trouble.

"12. That no oaths be imposed upon any person now in this city, suburbs and liberties, other than such as are required by the ancient and enacted laws of the land.

"13. That the major, sheriffs, aldermen and citizens within this corporation of the city of Bristol shall be free in their persons and estates, and enjoy all their privileges, liberties and immunities in as full and ample manner as formerly at any time they did before the beginning of this war, and that they shall have freedom of trade both by land and sea, paying such duties and customs as formerly they have done to his majesty; and that no mulct or fine be imposed upon any person mentioned in this article upon any pretence whatsoever, or questioned for any act or thing done, or committed before the day of our marching forth. That no free quarters shall be put upon them without their own consents.

"14. That all other persons whose dwellings are in this city, and now absent, may have the full benefit of these articles as if they were present.

"15. That all noblemen, gentlemen and others that have goods in this city, and are now present or absent, may have liberty at any time within three months to dispose of their goods as they please.

"16. That there be no plundering or taking away of any man's person, or any part of his estate, under what pretence soever; and that justice, according to the known laws of the land, be administered to all persons within this city by the civil magistrates.

"17. And for the performance of these articles I expect such hostages to be given as I shall accept of, and hereunto I desire your speedy answer.

"Sir, by this you may evidently perceive my inclination to peace, and you may be assured that I shall never desire anything more than the honour of the king and safety of the kingdom, and that I may become, sir, your servant,

"September 7th, 1645.

"RUPERT.



Sir Thomas Fairfax. From an old print.

"To which propositions the general returned this answer:—

"Sir,—I have perused your propositions, wherein some things are doubtfully expressed; other things inconsistent with the duty I owe to them I serve. Notwithstanding, to the end I may give assurance that I earnestly desire to save effusion of blood and the ruin of a city and people that may in time be so serviceable to the crown and kingdom, if it please your highness that commissioners [al' committees] may treat between us concerning the accommodating of things; I hope to make it evident to the world that what shall respect the honour of a soldier, due civility to all men, the good and welfare of the people of that city, both in passing by what is past and restoring them to the privileges of all other subjects and to the immunities of their city, will readily be condescended unto by me; and to the end no time may be lost, I have here inclosed sent you the names of commissioners [al' committees] who, upon the return of hostages of equal condition unto me, shall attend your highness, sufficiently instructed to conclude

on my part, provided the said treaty be ended by nine of the clock this night. And to this I desire your answer within the space of an hour, and remain your highness humble servant,

"THO. FAIRFAX.

"September 7th, 1645.

"This answer being returned presently after dinner by the same trumpeter, he was detained till eight at night, and then he brought this answer from the prince, or to this effect in writing:—'That he hoped his propositions had been such as needed no explanation; yet because some doubts were made he was willing to have the exceptions set down in writing, and his highness would return an answer.' [The writer of one of the pamphlets mentioned above adds as follows:—'So this night also, though eight men (*sic*) were drawn out and appointed to their several posts, the storming was put off, and to-morrow a certain hour will be set the prince peremptorily for his positive answer. There can be but two things in my opinion that induces the prince to offer conditions: either he is not able to defend the place, and in fear of Sir Lewis Dives' conditions if he be driven for refuge in to the fort-royal; or else he doth it to gain time till his counter-scarfes and inner lines be finished, which he is very active in making day and night; or that he expects aid from the king or Goring, neither of which are moving this way, as our intelligence is, and therefore (on that reason) one day's time longer is given. No man knows how this business may work, especially with the townsmen. If the general's answer be made known to them, or if a treaty be embraced, the noise of it and the sight of committees will make men greedy of conditions, or unwilling to resist, if on the prince's part it be broken off. . . . The essential articles are exemption from sequestration; cathedral-men to continue, against which there is an ordinance; the works to be demolished and no garrison hereafter, which may be inconvenient. These articles will receive dispute.—September 7th, past twelve at night.' *Mem.* The ordnance of the house for taking away the use of the *Common Prayer-book* and substituting the *Directory* is dated March 13th, 1644–5.]

"Monday, September 8th, the general returned a particular answer to every article, which as to the soldiery was very honourable, and could not but be very acceptable to the citizens, for the offer was most fair to the citizens to oblige them to us, in case the conditions offered them were but known to them, as we hoped they would. However, we had used means by our spies to convey the same to them. [Sir Thomas Fairfax sent two copies of the articles which he proposed signed and sealed by himself, and required one of them to be sent back to him, signed and sealed by the prince, by six o'clock in the evening, otherwise he should consider the

treaty at an end.] In the interim all things were prepared for the storm, every commander viewing his posts. The trumpet was detained beyond the time appointed, yet afterwards returned with a denial, but not positive. That night was appointed for the army to fall on, but upon better consideration it was held fit to put it off to another day and only to alarm the enemy.

"Tuesday, September 9th, in the morning the trumpet was sent in again [with a letter from the general, informing the prince that he has already offered all that he can grant, and that he perceives that delay was wholly and chiefly intended by his letters and carriage]. He therefore informs him that if he did not immediately accept what was offered all that had passed should be as no treaty, requiring the trumpet to return by twelve of the clock; but notwithstanding he was detained till ten at night, and then returned with an unsatisfactory answer. Whereupon all things on our part were put in readiness for a storm. At twelve of the clock in the night the general went into the field to give orders about the drawing out of our men and managing the storm for the next morning."<sup>1</sup>

At two in the morning, on September 10th, the beacon fire blazed on Montpelier, and four guns fired in rapid succession woke up the inhabitants of the city, where expectancy was aweary of waiting. At the sound an armed host engirdling Bristol for seven miles sprung up into active life, and made the welkin resound with shouts of "David! David!" as they closed upon their encircled prey. This was the battle cry for assaulting the outer line; when this was carried, it was to be changed to "The Lord of Hosts." From the marshy lands of St. Philip's rang out the cry of the men of Montague; Pickering's re-echoed it from the market gardens through which they rushed; Waller and Jackson joined in the shout as they crowded down the Stapleton road; whilst the loud hurrahs and solid tramp of the horse of Desborough and Graves, as they trotted up on the old Roman causeway in support, added to the din. Along the sodden meadow by the Frome there was a double burst of joy at the prospect of escape from a miry bog to drier ground, where they could shake off the ague by slashing malignants. One thundering shout woke up the echoes of Ninetree hill, reverberating to Montpelier. It was the single outburst of the tried veterans of Hammond and Rainsborough, who reserved their breath for their work. They had to "set a stout heart to a steep brae," with a tough job at the top of it. Far away up the winding curves of the vales of Cotham and Redland the file firing of manly cheers rang on and on until from Clifton hill they clash with the glad hurrahs,

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 440-46.

across the Avon, of Welden's men, who from Pile hill are marching down to attack the lofty wall built by the butchers of Redcliff. By the time that they reached the foot of the wall, and ere their faggots splashed into the mud of the deep ditch, there rises above the confused din of many voices another and a new cry. It peals over the water from St. Philip's Marsh. It is that of victory. "The Lord of Hosts! The Lord of Hosts! The Lord He is God!" Montague's men have won the line in front of them, and, according to orders, exult in the new shout of battle. From the Avon to the Frome they sweep the line, carrying sconce, half-moon and redoubt; they concentrate on Lawford's gate, which they capture, taking in all twenty-two guns. The pioneers bridge the ditch and level the ramps; Desborough and Graves gallop in by the Batch and the Bull-ring; Jackson, with the general's horse, leaps the uncleared impedimenta by Pennywell road, which brave old Skippon's regiment and young Birch have carried; and throughout the now densely peopled district known as the ward of St. Philip and Jacob, from Back Avon street to Wade street, up to the Castle walls, after a fierce struggle, rises the one exultant shout, "The Lord of Hosts!" Not so fortunate, however, were those on the Somerset side of the river. Welden's men found their faggots insufficient to solidify the deep mud, the walls were high and their ladders too short, and so, deeply disheartened, they had to retire with loss.

The tide not serving for the boat attack by the naval brigade on the water fort, the men composing it were detailed to assist Pride in alarming the Royal fort, and some of them were sent round to aid in the attack on Prior's hill. These carried a small advanced work manned by Welshmen, broke down the line quickly, the pioneers filled in the gap and the horse entered, meeting within with a party of the Cavaliers' horse led by Colonel Taylor, our brave Royalist townsman. Here a fierce combat ensued, the colonel was mortally wounded and some prisoners were taken, which so disheartened the rest that they retreated down the Horfield road under shelter of the Colston and Royal forts. No determined attack was made on the western side; the fortifications there were of the strongest, and feints to occupy the garrisons of the four forts—Water, Brandon, Essex, and the Royal—seem to have been all that was intended.

But the sturdiest attack and sternest defence was that at the north-east corner, from Stokes Croft gate to Prior's hill and Colston's fort. For two hours after the line had been carried from Newfoundland street to the Frome, and thence to the Avon, Prior's hill fort played fiercely with round and case shot upon the besiegers,

who kept up a lively return fire into the portholes with their musketry. Rainsborough's men in steady alignment pressed step by step up the hill as though on parade, under a shower of shot from fort, ramparts and glacis; his line extended from Cotham brow to Nine-tree hill. The walls of Prior's hill fort were lofty and the ditch was deep. "Now for the ladders," shouted the veterans who were not to be denied. Alas! though

of thirty rounds, these reached only to the portholes. It was still dark when the troops gained the foot of the fort, and for two weary hours the assailants sought in vain to get possession of the parapet. Even when they had succeeded in doing so, Bowen and his troop were for other two hours fighting hand to hand, at push of pike, with the brave defenders, only succeeding at last when Pride's men crept in at the portholes in the rear in the manner which we will now describe. Hammond, from the site of Arley chapel, had dashed down upon Stokes Croft gate, which was at the foot of the hill near the Ashley road. This

gate he blew open with a petard, and the line to the south was carried and levelled, so that Ireton's horse, commanded by Major Bethel, were able to enter. After a sharp bout with the Royalists' horse, in which the gallant Bethel fell mortally wounded, they drove the defenders back to the Barton. This left the way clear for Hammond, who rushed up within the defences by Hillgrove with deadly sweep, and was joined at the top

by some of Pride's force, who had stormed in by the line at the back of Kingsdown parade. On the inner side Prior's hill fort was weak, and from thence Pride's men, creeping in at the portholes and climbing by their ladders, which here reached to the top of the work, carried all before them. Captain Lagoe seized and lowered the colours, and the few brave men who survived ran for shelter to the rooms in the fort, where

they were set upon and mercilessly cut down, because, in addition to their obstinate defence, they had repeatedly refused quarter. A few only were spared at the command of the officers. By this time the day was breaking; the darkness had served the assailants well, for had the storming been attempted in daylight, when the armies could have been distinguished from each other, the thirty guns and upwards of the Royal and Colston forts and of the redoubt on Kingsdown would have decimated the attacking force, and most probably have saved the city for the king. As soon as the good news reached Fairfax,

at Montpelier, he and Cromwell rode up to and entered the captured fort, and whilst they were on the top examining the city and planning the best method of attacking it the guns of the Castle opened upon them. One shot struck the parapet within two hands' breadth of the general and his lieutenant without injuring either. Our readers may speculate upon the difference one foot's distance would have made in the destinies of England.



*Sleep Street, the ancient road to Prior's Hill.*

A few hours later Rupert sent a trumpeter to desire a parley, "which there was reason enough to refuse; but considering the enemy had fired the city in several places, in so much as it was probable the whole city would have been consumed if the fire had gone on, the general sent the prince word that he would embrace a parley, provided he caused the fire to be quenched immediately, which was done accordingly, and so the treaty proceeded on, and by seven at night it was concluded of according to these articles.

"That his highness Prince Rupert, and all noblemen [commanders], officers, gentlemen and souldiers, and all other persons whatsoever, now residing in the city of Bristol, and castle and forts thereof, shall march out of the said city, castle and forts thereof, with colours, pikes and drums, bag and baggage. The prince his highness, all noblemen, gentlemen and officers in commission, with their horse and arms, and their servants with their horses and swords, and common soldiers with their swords; the prince his lifeguard of horse, with their horse and arms, and 250 horse besides to be disposed by the prince, and his lifeguard of firelocks with their arms, and each of them one pound of powder and a proportion of bullet; and that none of the persons who are to march out on this article shall be plundered, searched or molested.

"That such officers and soldiers as shall be left sick or wounded in the city, castle or forts shall have liberty to stay till their recovery, and then have safe conducts to go to his majesty, and in the interim to be protected.

"That the persons above mentioned, who are to march away, shall have a sufficient convoy provided for them to any such garrison of the king's as the prince shall name, not exceeding fifty miles from Bristol, and shall have eight days allowed for their march thither, and shall have free quarter by the way, and shall have two officers to attend them for their accommodation and twenty waggons for their baggage, if they shall have occasion to use the same.

"That all the citizens of Bristol, and all noblemen, gentlemen, clergymen, and all other persons residing in the said city and suburbs of the same, shall be saved from all plunder and violence, and be secured in their persons and estates from the violence of the soldier, and shall enjoy those rights and priveledges which other subjects enjoy under protection and obedience to the Parliament.

"That in consideration thereof, the city of Bristol, with the castle, and all other forts and fortifications thereof, without any sleighting or defacing thereof, and all the ordnance, arms, ammunition, and all other furniture and provisions of war, excepting what is before

allowed, shall be delivered up to Sir Thomas Fairfax to-morrow, being Thursday, the 11th day of this instant September, by one of the clock in the afternoon, without any diminution or imbezlement, his highness Prince Rupert then naming to what army or garrison of the king's he will march.

"That none of the persons who are to march out on this agreement shall plunder, hurt, or spoil the town, or any person in it, or carry out anything but what is properly their own.

"That upon signing these articles Colonel Okey, and all persons now in prison in the city of Bristol, the castle or forts of the same, shall immediately be set at liberty.

"That sufficient hostages be given to Sir Thomas Fairfax, such as he shall approve, this night, who are to remain with him until the city be delivered.

"That neither the convoy nor officers sent with the prince shall receive any injury in their going or coming back, and shall have seven days' allowance for their return.

"That upon delivering of the town sufficient hostages be given for the performance of the articles on both parts.

"Signed by us the commissioners on the behalf of his highness Prince Rupert,

"JOHN MYNNE,

"W. TILLYER,

"W. VALVASOUR.

"Signed by us the commissioners appointed on the behalf of his excellency Sir Thos. Fairfax,

"EDW. MONTAGUE,

"THO. RAINSBOROUGH,

"JOHN PICKERING.

"That which moved the general to give such favourable conditions was merely the preservation of the city, which otherwise would have been consumed by fire if the enemy had been driven to desperate condition."

"This day, the well-affected countrymen of Gloucestershire, to the number of about 3,000, with some thirty colours, appeared, expressing great forwardness to serve the Parliament; but the service being over, they returned to their own homes.

"In this storm we lost several officers, both of horse and foot, and had many wounded. Major Bethel was shot at entering the line, whom I have never occasion to mention but greatly to his honour; of this wound he shortly after died. Captain Ireton, who led on the forlorn hope at the storm, was shot with a brace of bullets in the arm, and it is broken thereby; but after enduring great torture and pain for many months, he is, through

God's blessing, happily recovered. Major Cromwell, a valiant and discreet gentleman (major to Colonel Inglesbie), was wounded in the storm, whereof he afterwards died. Lieutenant-Colonel Purefoy, of Colonel Fortescue's regiment, a very stout man, was slain upon the place. Captain Hill, of Sir Hardress Waller's regiment, slain at the storm. Major Reade, Colonel Inglesbie's brother, and divers other officers wounded. [Another writer says:—'Our loss of men was considerable, not credible almost. I assure you that in Colonel Rainsborough's and Colonel Montague's brigade not forty men are lost.']

"Thursday, September 11th, the prince, according to the articles, marched out of the great fort, as also many ladies and persons of quality, who had convoys appointed them according to agreement. [One of our *Calendar's* says:—'Prince Rupert marched out with eight lords in his company, and 500 horse and 1,400 foot, with their muskets and other arms.'] In the prince his marching out, the general himself attended him out two miles. The prince, after he was out of the fort, declared which way he intended to go, and propounded Oxford, whither, accordingly, he and all his company were safely convoyed; and because he feared the rising of the clubmen upon him, and not being secure enough in his convoy, as he conceived, he desired the general to let him have 1,000 arms for his foot, engaging himself upon his honour they should injure no man therewith, only to make use of them (if need were) to keep themselves from the violence of the people, and to return them back again, which accordingly was allowed him, and so many as kept their arms restored them again, but the greatest part of them in their march running away many of the arms were lost. Divers persons of quality that were in the town desired liberty to stay a little while longer, till they could provide themselves with horses and necessities to march away, which civility the general did not deny them.

"A great appearance there was of the country to see the marching away of the prince, and extremely cryed they out against the prince, 'Give him no quarter, give him no quarter.'

"The goodness of God to the army during this siege in preserving them from the sickness was very remarkable, for when the army was resolved to march from Sherborn to Bristol one main objection there against it that time was least the plague should be thereby brought into the army; but every man's conscience and judgment being satisfied that the design was good, and most for the advantage of the publick, and feazible in their opinion, they resolved to trust God what he would do with them as to the sickness that was much spread in

those parts. And whereas when the army came before Bristol, as likewise for many weeks before, there died within the city above an hundred a week of the sickness, nor could we quarter our forces in any town or village but the sickness was in it; yet during all this time not one officer or soldier in our army died of the plague that we could not hear of, or but one. [One of the pamphlets says thus:—'God hath appeared to own our coming hither in preserving this army from the infection of the plague, considering that the soldiers (do what we can to prevent it) run daily into infected houses, and to this day not a man in the army dead thereof that I can hear of, or but one.'] What ordnance, arms, ammunition and provisions we found in the forts, city and castle I shall give you in the words of Lieutenant-General Cromwell's letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, wherein also the reader may find, not only a confirmation, but an amplification of this story, by some other particulars not yet mentioned, which letter followeth:—

"'It hath pleased the general to give me in charge to represent to you a particular account of the taking of Bristol, the which I gladly undertake. After the finishing of that service at Sherborn, it was disputed at a council of war whether we should march into the west or to Bristol. Amongst other arguments, the leaving so considerable an enemy at our backs to march into the heart of the kingdom, the undoing of the country about Bristol, which was exceedingly harassed by the prince, his being but a fortnight thereabouts, the correspondence he might hold with Wales, the possibility of uniting the enemies forces where they pleased, and especially the drawing to an head the disaffected clubmen of Somerset, Wilts and Dorset when once our backs were turned towards them. These considerations, together with the taking so important a place, so advantageous for the opening of trade to London, did sway the balance and beget that conclusion. When we came within four miles of the city we had a new debate whether we should endeavour to block it up or make a regular siege.'"<sup>1</sup>

Cromwell then gives a detailed account of the storming of the city, which we have already worked into our story. "Being possessed of thus much as hath been related, the town was fired in three places by the enemy, which we could not put out, which begat a great trouble in the general and us all, fearing to see so famous a city burnt to ashes before our faces. Whilst we were viewing so sad a spectacle, and consulting which way to make further advantage of our success, the prince sent a trumpet to the general to desire a treaty for the sur-

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 449-53.

render of the town, to which the general agreed, and deputed Colonel Montague, Colonel Rainsborough and Colonel Pickering for that service, authorising them with instructions to treat and conclude the articles, which are these inclosed, for performance whereof hostages were mutually given. On Thursday, about two of the clock in the afternoon, the prince marched out, having a convoy of two regiments of horse from us, and making election of Oxford for the place he would go to, which he had liberty to do by his articles. The canon which we have taken are about 140 mounted, about 100 barrels of powder already come over to our hands, with a good quantity of shot, ammunition and arms; we have found already between two and three thousand muskets. The Royal fort had victuals in it for one hundred and fifty men for three hundred and twenty days, the castle victualled for near half so long. The prince had foot of the garrison, as the major of the city informed me, 2,500, and about 1,000 horse, besides the trained bands of the town and auxiliaries 1,000—some say 1,500. I hear but of one man that died of the plague in all our army, although we have quartered amongst and in the midst of infected persons and places; we had not killed of ours in this storm, nor all this siege, two hundred men. Thus I have given you a true, but not a full account of this great business, wherein he that runs may read that all this is none other than the work of God; he must be a very atheist that doth not acknowledge it. It may be thought that some praises are due to these gallant men, of whose valour so much mention is made; their humble suit to you, and all that have an interest in this blessing, is, that in the remembrance of God's praises they may be forgotten. It is their joy that they are instruments to God's glory and their country's good; it is their honour that God vouchsafes to use them. Sir, they that have been employed in this service know that faith and prayer obtained this city for you; I do not say ours only, but of the people of God with you, and all England over, who have wrestled with God for a blessing in this very thing. Our desires are that God may be glorified by the same spirit of faith by which we ask all our sufficiency, and having received it, it is meet that he should have all the praise." [Here ends Oliver Cromwell's letter, as published by Parliament.] "Presbyterians, Independents, all have here the same spirit of faith and prayer, the same spirit and answer; they agree here, have no names of difference: pity it is it should be otherwise anywhere. All that believe have the real unity, which is most glorious, because inward and spiritual, in the body and to the head. For being united in forms, commonly called uniformity, every

Christian will, for peace sake, study and do as far as conscience will permit. And for brethren, in things of the mind, we look for no compulsion, but that of light and reason. In other things God hath put the sword in the Parliament's hands, for the terror of evil-doers and the praise of them that do well. If any plead exemption from it, he knows not the gospel; if any would wring it out of your hands, or steal it from you under what pretence soever, I hope they shall do it without effect. That God will maintain it in your hands, and direct you in the use thereof, is the prayer of your humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"Bristol, September 14th, 1645.

"This night the general removed from his quarters at the farmhouse, where he had been all the time of the siege, extremely ill-accommodated by reason of the littleness of the house, which yet he contented himself withal, in regard it lay so conveniently upon any alarm. . . . But this night he and the lieutenant-general removed and went to Bristol, which they found so unlike what it had been formerly, in its flourishing condition, that it looked now more like a prison than a city, and the people more like prisoners than citizens, being brought so low with taxations, so poor in habit and so dejected in countenance, the streets so noisome and the houses so nasty, as that they were unfit to receive friends or freemen till they were cleansed."<sup>1</sup>

Comparing the two sieges, we are constrained to say that if Rupert deserved to be excused, Fiennes ought not be censured for giving up the city. Rupert's outer line was stronger, and the forts were more heavily armed and manned than in 1643. Rupert had, it is stated, between 4,000 and 5,000 men, horse and foot, certainly he marched out with 1,900 men; Fiennes but 1,700 of all sorts. Rupert might reasonably expect the king to raise the siege as he had promised. Essex sent word to Fiennes' father, Lord Say, that he feared it would be impossible to relieve Bristol. Fiennes obtained better articles of surrender than did the prince.

When the ground of the upper portion of Mother Pugsley's field and the land near Fremantle square on the west and north sides was being dug into for building purposes, in 1835, a number of leaden bullets and some tobacco pipes and small measures were exhumed. These were relics of the two sieges, the bullets many of them being flattened. The pipes are of the description termed woodcocks' heads, the stem being about the length of that bird's bill; the bowls are about one-fourth the size of an ordinary clay pipe. That tobacco was in

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 457-9.

request amongst the soldiers during both sieges is evident from the journal of Captain Hill, of Redland, under date 1643, April. He writes:—"A trumpeter came to us from Prince Rupert's troop with a message to me from my Lord of Cleveland to beg that I would send him some tobacco, but I being out of the way Colonel Fiennes sent him a pound, and Colonel Popham another." The measures were such as would hold a charge of powder for the muskets.

Charles was greatly incensed with Rupert's surrender. In a letter dated August 12th, the king says:—"You assured me if no mutiny happened you would keep Bristol for four months! Did you keep it four days? Was there anything like mutiny?" He concludes by dismissing the prince from his service, and ordering him to quit the kingdom. Rupert, nothing abashed, visited the king at Newark, and in a rude manner, Clarendon says, "endeavoured to justify himself." The king then signed a short declaration, by which he "absolved his nephew from any disloyalty or treason, but not from indiscretion." Major-general Skippon was soon after (December 12th) made governor by the Parliament, which ordered that £3,000 per month for six months should be raised for the support of the garrison in the following proportions:—Bristol, £200; Somerset, £1,200; Gloucestershire, £800; and Wiltshire, £800 per month. On the conquest of the city, September 11th, the mayor and council had sent to ask Fairfax whom he would wish to be elected mayor on the 15th, the usual day of election. He declined to interfere, and told them to follow their ancient custom. The result we shall show in our notice of Francis Creswick. During this year, 1645, 3,000 persons had died of the plague within the city.

List referred to at Vol. I., 359:—James Abbotte; Edmund Arundell, merchant; William Beane [perhaps William Deane]; George Boucher, merchant: he lived in Christmas street, near From gate; John Boucher, merchant, son of Nathaniel Boucher; young Mr. John Boucher, son of Geo. Boucher, apparantly an Oxford scholar; Rev. Mr. Brent; Francis Belcher, soap-boiler; Thomas Barret, cutler; Philemon [*al.* Philip] Barrow; Captain Boone; Edward Boone [perhaps the same as the next]; Edward Bounde; John Broadway [or Bradway], vintner; Mr. Brooks, of St. Michael's; Cornelius Broadway [or Bradway]; Mr. Thomas Bursell [or Bursill]; Robert Blackborrough, brewer; Rob. Browne, of Clifton; Laurence Browne; Thomas Browne; Joseph Browne; Griffin Batten; Nathaniel Blaunch; John Casly; John Cosbie; John Collins; John Carey, cooper; Captain T. Cole or Coale, of St. Augustin's, who offered

to make a bridge of lighters across the quay, that the prince's soldiers, horse and foot, might more easily come into the city: (*Mem.* Neither the Drawbridge nor St. Giles' bridge was then built); Mr. William Coleston [or Coulson] and his brother; Mr. Edward Capell; young Walter Cowley [or Cowling], a practitioner in medicine under Mr. Bennett; William Coxe, of Long Ashton; John Councill; N. Cule; William Dabber [from Fiennes' proclamation, where the names are very ill-written or printed]; William Deane; Edmund Dacres [or Daker], plumber; Mr. Edward Dacres, perhaps the same [probably brothers and partners as plumbers]; John Dimmock [or Dymmut], carpenter; Captain Doughtie; Nathaniel Dowles; Robert Doule [*al.* Robert Dowlesse]; William Evans; Mr. Fitzherbert; Toby Goodyar [or Goodier]; Ephraim Goody [or Goodyar], a goldsmith; Richard Grigson; John Goodman; Mr. Green, lawyer, steward of Bristol [perhaps steward of the sheriff's court]; the two Haynes's, William and John, halliars, in Halliar's lane, both sons to Widow Haynes; Richard Howell; Thomas Heyman, merchant, in St. Augustine's; Thomas Hilman; Edward Hungerford; Edward Hunt; the two Herberts; Edward James, a rope-maker; William Joanes [or Jones]; Richard Lacket [or Lucket], a cooke; Edmund Lewes; Mr. Thomas Milward [or Millard or Miller], of St. Michael's; Dr. Markes; Thomas Martin; John Nickins, a trunk-maker; William Oubler; William Pope; John Peverell [*al.* John Potrell]; Henry Priest; Mr. John Pestor, appointed by Mr. Yeomans to be one of his captains; Captain Bounde Rich; Henry Russell; John Rowden; Thomas Redding; Rowland Searchfield, merchant; John Swetman; James Sterry [perhaps Terrey]; Nathaniel Streete, a tyler; Thomas Stephens; Mathew Stephens; Robert Taylor; Edward Taylor; the two Tristrams, brothers, John, a chaundler or sopemaker, and William; Mr. George Teague [or Teige]; John Taylor, merchant; John Taylor, rope-maker; James Terrey; Mr. John Throupe [or Thruppe], gentleman; John Tilly, mercer; James Thomas; young Mr. Towgood, an Oxford scholar, son of the Rev. Mr. Towgood, vicar of St. Nicholas: (Mr. Towgood's house was searched, and it was said by the rebels that they found there papers which discovered the whole plot, and arms, and between £3,000 and £4,000 in money); John Waldon [*al.* Waldron], horn-maker; Thomas Vaymond; John Williams, hatter, in Broad street; Mr. Weeks: (Duk. Weekes, immediately after Essex's removal, rode through Cirencester to Neford, to invite Prince Rupert to Bristol); Samuel Warin [or Warne]; Robert Yeomans, merchant, in Wine street; William Yeomans, merchant, brother to Robert Yeomans; Richard Yeomans, grasiar.



## CHAPTER XI.

# THE † STUART † ERA, INCLUDING † THE † COMMONWEALTH.

### PART II.

1. *State of the Kingdom. Ireton's Proposals; the King's duplicity; demands of the Army, etc.* 2. *Francis Creswick, the Mayor, dismissed by order of Parliament and Gunning chosen.* 3. *A literary Merchant of Bristol. Skippon, Governor. Mutiny of the Garrison, etc.* 4. *Bristol men for themselves. John Gunning's mayoralty and life.* 5. *Richard Vickris, Mayor. Great Fire on Bristol Bridge. Petition of the Corporation.* 6. *William Cann, Mayor. Estates of the Bishopric sold. "No King, no Bishop" verified. House of Lords abolished. The Rump.* 7. *Cromwell's decisive acts. Barebone's Parliament. Blake's Prisoners confined in Redcliff Church.* 8. *Parliament keeps early hours. Bristol munitions for Ireland. The Lord Lieutenant in Bristol.* 9. *Execution of Charles I. His Character. Cromwell's activity. The Battle of Worcester. Flight of Prince Charles through Bristol.* 10. *Myles Jackson, Mayor, entertains Cromwell. Abuse of the Mayor.* 11. *Hugh Brown, Mayor. Fire Engine, etc., ordered. A good Merchant Venturer.* 12. *Joseph Jackson, Mayor. Doddridge's Tankards. Jackson's will. Bristol Farthings.* 13. *Interesting list of Protesters against the establishment of Presbyterianism.* 14. *Henry Gibbs, Mayor. Members of Council to stand up devoutly when speaking.* 15. *George Hellier, Mayor. A quorum fixed and Prayers reinstituted in the Council. Petition of Carr's sister. House to house Collection for the Poor.* 16. *Attempts to make men religious by law. Local enactments.* 17. *Cromwell declared Protector. The new Constitution and Parliament. Cromwell's despotism. Bristol compounders.* 18. *Advent of the Quakers. Their persecution. Polemics of the age. Ralph Farmer the leading spirit of Presbyterianism. How the pulpits were filled, etc. Order for demolishing Bristol Castle.* 19. *Castle Street built. Walter Deyos, Mayor. Constables ordered to keep children and idlers in order on the Lord's day. Water and Holiness incompatible.* 20. *Richard Balman, Mayor, lends his bedding to Prince Charles. Fasts ordered.* 21. *Incidents of the period. The Church or Parochial Rates. Letter of Cromwell. Results that followed its receipt. Second letter.* 22. *Incidents. Barge ordered for the Mayor. St. Ewen's Church ordered to be turned into a Free Library.* 23. *Richard Cromwell in Bristol. Death of the Protector. Proclamation of Richard. Oliver's character.* 24. *Walter Sandy, Mayor. Becomes a persecutor. Reaction against Puritanism. Local incidents. The apprentices rise. Change of Government. Penn's freedom, etc. Ellsworth's loyalty.*



“YOU have done your work now and may go and play, unless you fall out among yourselves,” said the gallant Cavalier, Sir Jacob Astley, after his defeat at Stow, which followed close upon Naseby. The people’s cause was victorious, but the shrewd old Royalist saw the danger that lay ahead. Charles also was astute enough to see that if he would recover his authority his only chance lay in being able to foment differences amongst his conquerors. Democracy was already beginning to sprout and to grow new heads. The Presbyterian form of Church government was largely in the ascendant; out of 105 ministers at Westminster who had been appointed to revise the Articles only five were Independents; out of 120 ministers in London only three were in sympathy with the Sectaries. Had the matter been pressed in Parliament on Sept. 25th, 1643, when the House accepted with uplifted hands the Solemn League and Covenant, the nation would doubtless have become Presbyterian; but the tide was missed at its turn, men who had on principle been making such enormous sacrifices for social and political liberty could not endure a new intolerance which sought to make them conform to any specific views. And so at a bound Voluntarism sprang into vigorous life. The Presbyterian Parliament insisted on “Uniformity.” An unexpected but practical answer was speedily given; in London within four years sixteen religious bodies, and in Bristol four, at least, were formed, each of them having large congregations, who were unable conscientiously to join the New Establishment.

These men became the living soul of Dissent, the life of the Commonwealth, and to-day their successors in England outnumber by far the members of the Presbyterian church, from whom they then separated. Cromwell, the great leader of the Independents, told the House that “the honest (religious) men who won Naseby, in venturing their lives for the liberties of their country ventured them also for the liberty of conscience—from brethren, in things of the mind we look for no compulsion, but light and reason.” Polemics grew rife; Charles said, “Time and dissensions are working for me. I hope to be able to draw either the Presbyterians or the Independents to side with me for extirpating one another, so that I shall be really king again.” Hence he refused the terms to which the Scotch, with tears, implored him to consent; whereupon, finding him intractable, they sold him to the Parliament

for £400,000, and then marched back to Scotland. The king in their hands, the Houses now endeavoured to enforce the Covenant on the army; but the citizen soldiers would not hang their swords upon the wall until their work was done and “liberty was assured to all men” (their interpretation of the word was, however, but a narrow one). Their action was sharp and decisive. Two men from each regiment were selected to form a soldier’s parliament; these they termed adjutators. Five hundred troopers marched to Holmby house to secure the king. “Where is your commission?” asked Charles. “Behind me,” said Joyce, pointing to his soldiers. “It is written in very fine and legible characters,” replied the king, who went not unwillingly, still hoping to find his advantage in fomenting dissension amongst his adversaries. Then the House in its anger forced Cromwell, who had left the army, to seek refuge with the soldiers. In three days the troops were in full march upon London, and the Presbyterian party succumbed. Ireton, the greatest statesman of the age, then laid before the king the following terms:—A general act of oblivion for all but seven Royalist delinquents, who were to be banished; withdrawal of coercive power from the clergy; Parliament for ten years to control the naval and military forces, and to nominate the great officers of state; belief and worship to be free to all; Acts enforcing the use of the Book of Common Prayer, attendance at Church, or the taking of the Covenant, to be all repealed; Roman Catholics, although restrained in some things, to be freed from compulsory attendance in Protestant churches; Parliaments to be triennial; a redistribution of seats and electoral reform of the House; taxation to be readjusted; legal procedure simplified; and a vast number of privileges, political, commercial and judicial, which pressed unduly upon the community, to be abolished.

The moderation of these demands is shown by the fact that all of them, with but few exceptions, have since been won piecemeal by the people, and they form the strength of the Constitution at this day. But the infatuated king replied to the proposers, “You cannot do without me; you are lost if I do not support you.” “Ah!” said Ireton, “You mean to be arbitrator between us and the Parliament; but we mean to be so between the Parliament and your majesty.”

The Houses rejected the proposals; Charles evaded a direct reply, tried to delude both parties, and at the very time he professed to be negotiating was engaged in preparing a fresh rising of the Royalists of England and an invasion of the kingdom by the Scotch. “The

two nations will soon be at war," he wrote. When the army sought his signature to their terms he was missing, having escaped from their custody.

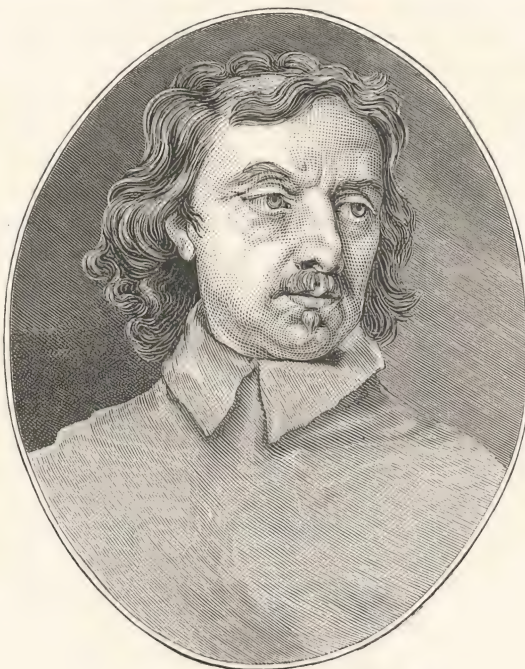
Stormy times these were; the "king a man of great parts and great understanding, but not to be trusted." The Parliament was adjudging Arians, disbelievers in the inspiration of the Scriptures, the resurrection of the body, or a day of judgment, to abjuration or death; and decreeing that any man believing that he hath free will to turn to God, or in the existence of Purgatory, in the lawfulness of images, in the unlawfulness of infant baptism, denying the Judaic sanctity of the Lord's day, or asserting that Church government by a presbytery was unlawful, should be sent to prison. The Royalists were also rising in Kent; South Wales unfurling the royal standard; the Scotch army, 20,000 strong, with 3,000 in advance on the banks of the Ribble, all embittered with the Independents for their rejection of the Covenant and coquetting with the temporising king, who was again in detention at Carisbrook. But the leaders of the army proved equal to the occasion. Fairfax stamped out the insurrection in Kent; Cromwell drove the Welsh insurgents into Pembroke, which he compelled to surrender; then by rapid marches, having cut the rear-guard of the Scotch to pieces at Wigan and forced their foot to surrender at Warrington, he continued his progress to Edinburgh, where he restored the Duke of Argyle to power.

Obstinately bent on retaining place and nominal authority, the Presbyterian Parliament now joined the Royalists and offered easy terms to the king, who, looking for aid from Ireland, still played a double part, writing privately to his queen, "Nothing is changed in my designs;" yet was he making concessions to the commons as if in earnest. But now the army, with patience exhausted, made more onerous and weighty demands. "A new Parliament; electoral reform; Parliament to be supreme; change of monarchy (which, if it be retained, shall take the form of a chief magistrate elected by the people); no veto; and heaviest of all, Charles to be brought to trial for treason against the

nation." The Parliament scornfully replied by accepting the king's concessions as the basis of a peace; the soldiers answered by seizing Charles, whilst Fairfax marched upon London. Then Colonel Pride purged the House by excluding 120 members of the dominant party therein; the Independents who were left (a mere fragment, nicknamed "The Rump,") sided with the army.

2. Although Fairfax and Cromwell had, in 1645, obtained possession of the city of Bristol, the loyal party in the corporation imagined that they would be allowed to follow their ancient custom, and being in a majority in the house they elected Francis Creswick, a

royalist, as mayor. His civic reign was, however, brief. On October 28th an order of the Lords and Commons was signed dismissing him from the corporation, immediately on the receipt of which, in Bristol, Major-General Skippon, who was in command of the castle, ordered the mayor to summon a meeting of the corporation on December 9th. The general, in military costume, attended on that occasion, and read the order of the Parliament, which removed Creswick from the mayoralty and Thomas Colston from his aldermanship, as "persons disaffected to the proceedings in Parliament and active in promoting the designs of the enemy in times of war and danger." On the following day Creswick and Colston attended at the Council-house, and the former delivered to John



*Young Oliver Cromwell.*

*From a miniature, by Cooper, in the Baptist College, Bristol.*

Gunning the sword of justice, the cap of maintenance, and other insignia of office. Creswick died in 1649, and was buried in St. Werburgh's church, leaving a widow, Ann, who died in 1662.

On the first meeting of the house subsequent to this change the corporation voted a tun of Canary and a pipe of Gascony wine to Skippon as "a tribute from the city and a welcome to the same." At this time there were only four provincial printing presses at work in the kingdom, viz., at Bristol, Shrewsbury, York and Exeter.

3. A famous merchant of Bristol was Henry Birkhead who, about the year 1645, wrote a play entitled *Cold's furie*; or, *Lirenda's Misery*, which he dedicated to

Lord Herbert. The characters, under feigned names, are those who had been most prominent in the Irish Rebellion. Archbishop Laud claimed to have confirmed Birkhead in Protestantism after he had been seduced by a Jesuit in June, 1635, and carried over to St. Omers. "He took his degree as M.A. June 5th, 1641, was made Senior of the Act celebrated in that year; entered on the law line, kept his fellowship during the times of usurpation, had liberty to propose a dispensation in the *ven. conv.* for the taking of the Degree of Doctor of Physic by accumulation, but whether he took that degree it appears not. After the Restoration he resigned his Fellowship, became registrar of the diocese of Norwich, which he resigned in 1681; he had a chamber in the Middle Temple, and lived sometime there and elsewhere in a retired and scholastic condition for many years. 'Harry Birchd now lives (1693), worth, as 'tis said, £1,000.'<sup>1</sup> He founded the Professorship of Poetry at Oxford; the statute was published in 1708."<sup>2</sup> Tyson, our authority for the above, says Langbaine's style (whose account he has been transcribing) is not sufficiently precise to discountenance the conjecture that Mr. Birkhead's residence in Bristol took place during the latter part of his life, where he probably acquired, at least, a part of that property which he appropriated to the dissemination of poetic taste.

On December 11th, 1646, the House of Commons voted Skippon, who was already governor of the castle, to the command of Bristol, but allowed him to exercise the office by deputy. He was chosen to command the convoy of the £200,000 which was to be paid to the Scotch before the king left to be surrendered into the hands of the Parliament. The use of the Book of Common Prayer was prohibited in the year 1647, when Gabriel Sherman, merchant, was mayor. A fine and imprisonment was the penalty inflicted for reading it in public. On July 19th the Parliament voted that Bristol castle should be kept in repair and the keys delivered to the mayor and corporation, who were to govern it as before 1643. This did not suit the garrison, who in November mutinied; they secured one of the aldermen of the city and held him as a hostage for a month's pay then due to them. The mayor thereupon wrote to the Parliament, who, on November 23rd, sent a letter to the general ordering him to liberate the alderman and to prevent any similar abuse of authority.

4. In common justice to many of the men who, from our standpoint in the present century, appear to have changed sides in the seventeenth with a readiness that is reprehensible, it should be remembered that the division of the people into political parties was then all but

<sup>1</sup> Wood's Oxford.

<sup>2</sup> Bristol Memorialist, 212.

unknown. The terms of opprobrium, Whig (a Scotch thief) and Tory (an Irish savage), only came into vogue in 1680. The only parties in the kingdom strictly so called were those who were actively engaged on the side of the king (the Cavaliers), and those who sided with the Parliament (the Roundheads).

Between these two classes there was a large stratum of the population which had no predilections as to the form of government, men who wished to live quietly and to follow their daily avocations, their utmost ambition rising no higher than a seat in the common council, with a possible reversion of the civic chair.

That this feeling was prevalent in Bristol we have seen, when at the very commencement of the troubles its commonalty declined to admit the forces of either king or commons. "Bristol for herself" might have been their motto, "let them fight for the mastery elsewhere; we are traders, we will uphold our civic rights, but we care little who holds the sovereign power." By no means a generous, patriotic, or loyal position to take, we admit, but one perfectly in accord with the maxim of successful trade, "Mind your own business." Hence we are not at all surprised to find that John Gunning, a merchant, the new mayor, son of John Gunning, who was mayor in 1627, trimmed his sails so as to always have a fair wind. When Fiennes had taken the city, Gunning scrupled to take the oath of allegiance to the Parliament and was fined £200, as we find by the following letter:—

"To Master Gunning the younger, Bristoll. Whereas the city is at this time environed, and in great imminent danger to be swallowed up by many cruel and barbarous enemies, of Papists, Irish Rebels, and others; and most of the inhabitants of this city have, and all ought to take an oath, and protestation for defence thereof with their lives and fortunes; these are to require you forthwith to pay to my servant Ralph Hooker, to be employed for the defence of the citie, the summe of two hundred pounds; which summe, in respect of your estate is below the proportion required of other persons of your qualitie, by ordinance of Parliament. And if you shall refuse in this time of so great necessitie, you may expect whatsoever the desperate resolution of soldiers reduced to extreame necessitie, may put them to act against your persons and estates, unlesse by a speedy contribution towards their supply you shall prevent the same.

"Given under my hand July 25, 1643.

"NATH. FIENNES."

From this and also from subsequent events we gather that Gunning was a wealthy man. On the surrender of the city to Prince Rupert he had served on the committee of Royalists which was appointed to treat with the inhabitants for presenting the king with the "token of the love and affection of the city," and had subscribed £150 towards the fund. Gunning was associated with the most devoted men of the Royalist party in the city. He also subscribed £45 towards a present of 500 guineas to the queen of Charles I. when she visited the city.

In the chamberlain's account, April 23rd, 1644, is an item of 2*s.* 8*d.*, "paid for ten linen money bags to put the 500 guineas in presented to the queen." He contributed "one horse completely furnished" for the necessary defence of the city against the inevitable attack of Fairfax and Cromwell; but when they had taken possession of Bristol he became an active partisan of the Roundhead corporation. While mayor he was chosen on a committee to levy the arrears of the £6,000 due to the soldiers, and was empowered to advance money, not exceeding £200, "for the service of Parliament." In July, 1646, he advanced £150, "which money is promised to be repaid by the committee of Parliament now resident in this city."

During the mayoralty of Colonel Taylor (1640) the salary of the mayor had been augmented from £52 to £104 per annum, and on Gunning's re-appointment, in 1654, the salary was increased to £208. He was evidently a moderate man, but his Royalist proclivities were not forgotten. "One Richard Jones, coppersmith, was sent to Newgate, to be tried at the session for saying that Gunning was more like a horse or an ass than a mayor [this was during his second mayoralty, in 1654], and that he was a cavalier and not fit to be a mayor; and upon the warrant being served he drew his sword and endeavoured to wound the officers." Gunning's name was read out on September 15th, 1649, when he was fined £10 for not attending in his place at the election of the mayor and sheriffs. He continued to hold office in the council, and was present at the last meeting of the Republican chamber, on September 15th, 1659. His name does not appear in the list as a member of the council in 1660, after the Restoration; but he evidently was chosen, for in 1661, when the then mayor, Henry Creswick, had to go to London to present a petition to the king, there being no money in the treasury, "the mayor and Aldermen John Gunning and Joseph Jackson advanced the money."

5. In 1634 Richard Vickris gave a parcel of ground for the purpose of enlarging the library founded by Robert Redwood, in 1613. His wife was one of the ladies who was active in the *émeute* by means of which Essex obtained admission into the city. In 1643, when the Royalists had recovered possession of the city, Vickris was required to swear fidelity to the king; but the sturdy old Puritan set a noble example to his vacillating brethren, by honestly refusing to perjure himself. He was, accordingly, dismissed from the corporation; but he was not long excluded, for when the Constitutionalists were in the ascendant, in 1645, "the Lords and Commons desired him to resume his seat, having received complete testimony of his devotion to Parliament." He

was also by them appointed on the committee of inquiry "into the delinquencies of persons on state matters." The following year he was called to the municipal chair and was elected an alderman. His portrait adorns the Merchants' hall, of which he was master in 1648. He resided at the corner of High street and the Shambles, within St. Nicholas' gate, where, July 10th, 1649, the record says the alderman "is content to provide a lodging for the lord chief baron, and it is agreed that the house shall be at the charges of his entertainment for one supper or more."

Vickris is again conspicuous as present at the last meeting of the Commonwealth-appointed corporation, 15th September, 1659. He appears at the Restoration to have retained his aldermanic dignity. When the corporation met it was resolved, as a substantial proof of their allegiance, that £500 in gold and a congratulatory address be presented to the king by the members in Parliament for the city, with Aldermen Aldworth and Vickris, &c. Vickris had two sons, both eminent merchants and members of the Merchant Venturers. The last notice we have of him is in 1673, when, on November 29th, he granted an annuity or rent-charge of £10 8*s.* per annum, to be payable for ever by the treasurer of the Merchant Venturers, "to the end that he should pay 4*s.* per week for ever towards the relief and maintenance of a poor woman to be placed in the Merchants' almshouse, and who was to be one of St. Stephen's parish, and that Ann Wells should have the same pension as long as she lived. To St. James', £2 12*s.*; Redcliff, £2 12*s.*; Temple, £2 12*s.*"

During Vickris' mayoralty, on February 17th, a fire broke out in the house of Mr. Edwards, an apothecary on Bristol bridge, which raged fiercely, the houses being all built of timber, old and dry. Evans says it destroyed all the houses on both sides to the number of twenty-four or twenty-five [an old MS.—*penes me*—gives the number as eighteen]. Evans adds that they were rebuilt with the timber and lead from Ragland castle and parks, which had been surrendered to Fairfax on the 19th of August in that year.

A petition which was presented to the House of Commons in the name of the inhabitants of Bristol, on September 2nd, 1647, shows that although Presbyterianism permeated the Parliament and had usurped authority in the churches, it did not find favour with the bulk of the citizens of Bristol. The sympathies of the petitioners were evidently with the army, which, to support its claims, had at this time established its headquarters at Putney, with outposts advanced as far as Hampton court. The Parliament was in a strait, but determined to die game, called in the deputation who

had brought the document from Bristol, thanked them for their affection, but could not approve of all the things contained in their petition, and so dismissed them. The document, epitomised, ran thus:—First, they prayed for a settlement of peace, and that the house would prevent another war (with the army); second, that they would answer the grievances of the army and vindicate them; third, that they would preserve the just rights and liberties of the people from tyranny; fourth, that they would free the people from unlawful powers and from endeavours made to suppress their petitions; fifth, that they would remove out of the house and from places of justice all unfit and incapable persons; sixth, that faithful persons (*i.e.*, the Independents) may be trusted; seventh, that they would use tenderness in imposing the covenant; eighth, that they would not grieve tender consciences; ninth, that they would pass an act of oblivion; tenth, that they would ensure speedy trial to all prisoners; eleventh, that they would not countenance lengthened periods of imprisonment; twelfth, that they prayed for compassion on the widows of those who had fallen and upon maimed soldiers; thirteenth, that accounts should be rendered and published; fourteenth, that they would so order it that suits-at-law should be less chargeable and dilatory, and that the laws should be in the English language and be reduced in number and volume. A reasonable petition, full of common sense, smacking of Independence, one in which all Episcopalians could join heartily, but by no means satisfactory to a Presbyterian Parliament.

In 1648 Sir Harry Vane was lord high steward of Bristol, and on May 2nd the House voted £6,000 for Bristol, and on May 10th passed an ordinance for fortifying it in some new places, but their whereabouts is not stated. On June 21st the Parliament passed an ordinance for settling the militia and £1,000 for the fortification and victualling of Bristol, and on the 30th of the same month another ordinance for £10,000 for Bristol. On the 12th of December the Bristol merchants complained to the House of Commons of the great neglect there was in guarding the coast, that ten merchant vessels had been in the previous week taken by the Irish.

6. William Cann, who had been sheriff in 1635, captain of the trained bands in 1640, city treasurer in 1642, who had contributed £60 towards a present to the king, and had lent £25, in 1644, towards the 500 guineas to the queen, had lent £100 towards the loan to the county of Somerset, and had contributed "one horse completely furnished" for the necessary defence of the city against the Parliament, was made mayor in

1648-9. Cann, like many others, was more loyal to Bristol than to party. When the Parliament had possession of the city his name occurs as attending a meeting of the corporation, December 30th, 1645. He was also on the committee "to consider of all things that would conduce to the good and benefit of the city." In 1647 he was chosen alderman, and appointed on a committee "to present to Parliament some grievances of the city." But the exploit which has rendered him famous was his reading at the High Cross during his mayoralty the proclamation for changing the Government into a Commonwealth. We believe he was the first mayor in the kingdom who did this. But Cann recoiled from the extreme measures of the Commonwealth party, with whom he gradually ceased to associate, and it was not until he had been fined for non-attendance that he resumed his seat in the chamber.

In 1655 he served on a committee for demolishing the castle. When the Protector, under the delusion that the Quakers were disguised Jesuits, sent a letter to the corporation, dated 24th January, 1654-5, desiring the apprehension of all such suspected persons, we find William Cann's name attached to the directions to the constables. Again, on the receipt of the Protector's letter, dated March 16th, 1657-8, cautioning the corporation against a "sudden insurrection of the old Cavalier party," it was resolved to put the city in a posture of defence, and Alderman William Cann sat on the committee. This was his final appearance; he did not attend the last meeting of the Commonwealth-appointed corporation. He became subsequently a warm supporter of the Restoration, and was created a baronet by Charles II. He left £25 each to four parishes—St. James, St. Nicholas, St. Stephen, and St. Philip and Jacob, the interest thereof to be given to the poor on the 8th of January for ever. He married Margaret Yeomans, sister to the "state martyr."

On the 6th of March, 1649, the estates of the bishopric of Bristol were sold for £8,390 7s. 9½d. The beautiful old gatehouse in College green only fetched £18 13s. 4d. On the 30th of April an Act of Parliament was passed by which the lands of the dean and chapter of Bristol were sold, the bishop's palace and park (College street) were bought by Thomas and John Clark for £240. King James' prediction, "No bishop, no king," was now verified to the letter. England was declared to be a Commonwealth and Free State. On July 21st Colonel Legge was committed to the castle of Bristol, charged with high treason against the state; and on October 4th Colonel Seroop was made governor of that fortress. Trade now rapidly revived in Bristol, the losses sustained by both parties during the long and

harassing war which had desolated the kingdom, were recovered by the elasticity of commerce, and prosperity advanced with leaps and bounds, instead of a steady and more secure rate of progress. Many of the quaintly beautiful mediæval houses, for which Bristol was long famous, were built about this period.

During the months of February and March, 1649, both the Monarchy and the House of Lords were formally abolished by statute, and a Commonwealth was proclaimed; the continental kings thereupon withdrew their representatives from England; the Prince of Orange allowed Prince Rupert to fit out a piratical fleet for preying upon British shipping; the Scotch proclaimed Charles II. as their king, and Catholic Ireland rose in revolt, whilst thousands of beneficed clergymen and public functionaries in England refused to engage to be faithful to the Republic; one half of the judges retired from the bench, and a majority of the new Council of State, which consisted of forty-one members of the House of Commons, who had been selected to carry on the Government, declined to take an oath that pledged them to an approval of the king's death and the establishment of a Commonwealth, so deeply had Monarchy struck its roots into the nation. It was not until May that the Commonwealth was proclaimed in London. Meanwhile the Rump, as the remnant of the Parliament which remained was contemptuously termed, was desired to prepare a bill for summoning a fresh Parliament. This, however, did not suit their purpose; their aim was to free themselves from the control of the army and to sit as a permanent governing body. The officers, on the other hand, demanded an immediate appeal to the people. Cromwell supported this demand, and gave as reasons for discontent "their (the Parliament's) selfish greed of houses and lands, the scandalous lives of many of them, their partiality as judges, their interference with the ordinary course of law in matters of private interest, their delay in reforming the law, and their manifest design of perpetuating their own power. . . . There is little to hope for from such men for a settlement of the nation."

7. The House insisted in vain on the retention of its power; its final hour had come. By armed force Cromwell cleared the House [the details of the manner are matters of history], and the days of the Rump Parliament were ended. The step can only be justified by considering it as a vindication of the old constitution; the nation at large was fully satisfied of the injustice which the ejected members sought to perpetuate in their own persons. "We did not hear a dog bark at their going," said the Protector years afterwards.

Cromwell was no mere military despot. He spoke

truly when he said, "It is you that have forced me to this! I have sought the Lord night and day that he would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work." Nor was he the hypocrite his enemies have delighted to paint. Neither he nor his officers desired to hold office by the power of the sword, "no, not for a day." But their position was as novel as it was critical. To summon a fresh Parliament on the same narrow basis as that which elected the defunct one, would be anything but a national representation; so the futile expedient of a constituent convention, consisting of men who had fought for liberty, and who were supposed to be of earnest convictions, was selected to the number of 156, by a Council of State consisting of twelve persons, from lists furnished by the Congregational churches. The intention was that this assembly, nicknamed the "Barebone's Parliament," should pass measures and so pave the way for a truly national representation, to whom in fifteen months' time they should transfer their authority. They were earnest men, and their zeal in promoting speculative reforms partook of the spirit of revolution, so that all classes, especially those of the law, the clergy and the landed gentry, resisted measures which amounted to a confiscation of their property. Cromwell hated this levelling system. "I was by birth a gentleman," he said, "and I see in the old social arrangement of nobleman, gentleman and yeoman a good interest of the nation and a great one."

Meanwhile the Dutch fleet under Van Tromp was sweeping the Channel, with a broom at the masthead in derision, but Blake won a glorious victory over them; after which the mayor and some of the aldermen, combined with the citizens of Bristol, upon the report of the good news made a collection throughout the city for the wounded, which amounted to £200: this, together with much good old linen, was sent to Weymouth and other ports to be distributed amongst the sufferers. For this act of considerate kindness the House of Commons sent, through their Speaker, a letter of thanks to the mayor and citizens. Fifty of the prisoners taken by Blake were brought to Bristol. The Castle dungeons being unsafe, they were placed in the crypt of Redcliff church, which for the nonce was converted into a prison.

Item. Paid by the order of the mayor and aldermen for thirty large bed mats, and twenty more for the Dutch prisoners under Redcliff church, at  
1s. 4d. per mat ... .. £3 6s. 8d.

Bound together with cords at the close of 1655, these men were conveyed to Chepstow and lodged in the Castle. The sexton of Redcliff was paid 5s. for cleansing the vault.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Life of Colston, 157.

8. The practice of the House of Commons in the 17th century may be contrasted favourably in one respect with that of the House in the present age. In 1614 they met daily, at seven in the morning. In 1642 they fined every member who was not present by eight for prayers 1s. for the poor. In 1656 the House rose at noon. In 1659 it was ordered that the Speaker do take the chair at eight in the morning, and that the council of state and committees do cease to sit at that hour and do attend in the House; and in 1690 Sir William Widdrington and Sir Herbert Price were committed to the tower for bringing in candles to prolong the sittings after dark. On July 4th, 1649, the House of Commons was advised that 1,660 barrels of beer and provisions in proportion were ready in Bristol for shipment for the soldiers in Ireland, and on the 17th Lieutenant-General Cromwell came to the city on his way thither. In the first quarter of the present century Mr. Francis Harris found in his garden, in St. James' square, the case of an exploded skyrocket, the writing on which having excited attention, he unrolled the tube and found it to contain an account of the reception of Cromwell on the above visit. "This evening, July 10th, about five of the clock, the lord-lieutenant began his journey by way of Windsor and so on Bristol. He went forth in that state and equipage as the like hath hardly been seen, himself in a coach with six gallant Flanders' mares, whitish

grey, with divers coaches accompanying him, and very many officers of the army; his lifeguard consisting of eighty gallant men, the meanest whereof a commander or esquire in stately habit; with trumpets sounding almost to the shaking of Charing Cross, had it been now standing. Of his lifeguard many are colonels; and believe it, it's such a guard as is hardly to be paralleled in the world. The lord-lieutenant's colours are white."<sup>1</sup>

"By letters from Bristol we are certified that the Lord Lieutenant came thither on Saturday night last where he was royally entertained by the soldiers and officers in arms, and others who held offices by order of Parliament. The citizens likewise expressed much joy at his coming, and entertained him with great respect."<sup>2</sup>

"The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland is yet at Bristol; money is sent him, and under God, his lordship will some seven days hence meet it at the water side, and about a week after launch for Ireland."<sup>3</sup>

From the above it would appear that Cromwell must have spent from three weeks to a month in Bristol at this time. His memory was cherished, for the next year he was chosen to be lord high steward of the city.

9. The following is copied from an old MS.:—"This year, on the 30th of January, 1648-9, King Charles the



*Redcliff Church in the 17th century*

<sup>1</sup> Mod. Intel., July 5th to 12th.

<sup>2</sup> Perfect Diurnal, July 16th to 23rd.

<sup>3</sup> Perfect Occ., July 20th to 27th.

first was barbarously beheaded, when he had reigned 23 years 11 months and 3 days; and the same day his son, King Charles the second, began his reign, but was not crowned until the 23rd of April, 1660." No one can read the story of the unfortunate king, Charles I., without pitying his fate; even the men most sternly opposed to his aim, which was to establish despotic authority in the monarchy, hesitate not, like Cromwell, to think of it as a cruel necessity. Truly, in his case, the sins of the father were visited upon the child. From his childhood the doctrine of personal irresponsibility of the monarch, the divine right of the king to govern as he pleased, had been inculcated by parent and teachers, had been the constant theme of parasites and flatterers, and the maxim thus indoctrinated in him in his youth was strengthened and confirmed by his marriage to Henrietta Maria, of France, a woman of great ability, whose absolutism was even stronger than was his own. Faithless to his word, no promise could bind, no oath could restrain him in his attempts to recover his supposed rights. Artifices the most unworthy, statements the most disingenuous, and vows that were notoriously false were held by him sacred as means to attain his one great end and aim. The crisis came; still he was king and a power in the state although in duress, ever acting with duplicity and rejecting all efforts of accommodation, so the dominant party in the realm came to the conclusion that there could be no security for liberty whilst Charles was alive. The laws of the kingdom were undoubtedly strained by his trial and execution; but as the ages roll on and modern thought disperses the fiction of that "divinity which doth hedge a king," not only does his title of "Royal Martyr" disappear from the Prayer-book of the class most attached to him in life, but their successors have also learned, to a great extent, to admit that the life of Charles and the liberties of this great nation could never have co-existed, and that the lesser, perforce, had to yield to the greater.

Cromwell made short work with the Irish in 1649-50, and then leaving Ireton in command he hastened back to England, the Scotch having proclaimed Charles II., who arrived in Scotland on the 23rd June, 1650. Fairfax at this period retired from the army, and Cromwell succeeded him, and headed an expedition against the Scotch, whom he defeated at the battle of Dunbar on August 31st, where 4,000 were killed and 10,000 taken prisoners. Charles II. was crowned at Scone on January 1st, 1651, and in June was with a Scotch army entrenched at Stirling, whence, at the head of 11,000 men, he marched southward into England, Leslie being in command.

Cromwell, who had taken Edinburgh castle in the

previous December, and now, on the 2nd of August, mastered Perth, was soon on Prince Charles's track. On the 22nd of August, the Parliamentary garrison having evacuated the city of Worcester, the prince marched in, took possession, and set up his standard. But few comparatively joined the royal forces, whilst the men of Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and Warwickshire flocked to enrol themselves under Cromwell, who, on the 28th, was close to Worcester at the head of 30,000 men. Throwing a bridge of boats over the Severn and another over the Teme, the Commonwealth general crossed over, beat the enemy from hedge to hedge, drove them for three hours into, and then out of Worcester and the Royal fort; this was followed by a night of terror, the Scotch horsemen flying northward by every available road, the foot soldiers hiding in woods and cornfields from the infuriated populace until the victorious soldiers had so many prisoners that they cared to make no more, and so let the poor wretches escape as best they could. The prisoners exceeded 7,000.

Charles, when all was lost, fled to White Lady's, where he spent all the next day in a wood without meat or drink. Thence guided by a faithful "country fellow," Richard Penderell, he reached Madeley, where Mr. Woolfe secreted him in a barn, thence to Penderell's brother, William, at Boscobel, where the fugitives clambered up into a great lopped oak tree in an open plain, carrying with them bread, cheese and beer. From their hiding-place they saw soldiers who were searching for them. This was on Friday. The two next days were spent at Boscobel until the afternoon of Sunday, when, guarded by the six faithful brothers Penderell, Charles joined Wilmot at Moseley. Here he was transformed into a decent-looking serving man, who was to convey his mistress, a daughter of Colonel Lane, to the house of her cousin, Mrs. Norton, at Abbot's Leigh, near Bristol. With the lady seated on a pillion behind him (a male cousin, Colonel Lascells, being one of the party), they in three days reached Bristol without interruption. Whilst passing along Castle ditch they were greatly startled by the firing of cannon from the castle; the alarm, however, did not concern them—the body of Lieut.-General Ireton, who had died of the plague at Limerick, was being landed at Bristol, where it was met by a civic procession and conducted through the city. Charles' horse having cast a shoe on the road, he asked the brawny smith, "What news?" "None since the beating of those rogues, the Scotch; but I don't hear that that rogue, Charles Stuart, has been taken yet." Charles thought "that rogue ought to be hanged," and the smith said "he was an honest man to say so."

There was no vessel in Bristol in which they could



*Prince Charles and Mistress Lane. From an old print.*

venture an escape, and tradition adds that whilst waiting for an opportunity the cook, who knew the prince, saved him from capture by a party of soldiers sent to search the house. With admirable presence of mind, she threw over him a carter's frock and began basting him with the ladle for neglecting to attend to the jack. "The block on which Charles II. stood when the cook basted him with her ladle was disposed of at the sale of Mrs. Trenchard's effects at Abbot's Leigh (she was a descendant of the Norton family). Several virtuosi attended the sale for the purpose of buying it; but Powell, the auctioneer, with the idea of improving the sale, had it split into a number of pieces, hoping to dispose of each as a relic. This made it of no value comparatively, and so it is lost to the antiquary. At this sale John Weeks, of The Bush, bought all the pictures for £30, worth, at least, from £300 to £400."<sup>1</sup>

Charles, on his way through Bristol, must have passed under the walls of the then undemolished castle, up Newgate hill, through Wine, High and Redcliff streets, thus running a great risk of identification. From Abbot's Leigh he made his way to the coast of Dorset. Beset with perils on every hand, shifting his quarters daily as opportunities arose and failed him, he finally escaped to France from a mean little village, Brighthelmstone (Brighton), on the 15th of October, at five in the morning. The secret was known to forty-five persons at least, who, to their honour, all remained faithful.

10. In one of the picturesque old mansions at the corner of the Shambles and High street, just within

<sup>1</sup> H. M. Smith's MS.

St. Nicholas' gate, lived Myles Jackson, merchant, mayor 1649-50. The house and grocer's shop next door belonged to and was tenanted by Dennis Hollister, who represented the city in the Barebone's Parliament. In this corner house, on the 5th of May, 1650, the lord-lieutenant of the kingdom, Oliver Cromwell, was entertained by the mayor; he had not long before returned from reading stern lessons in retributive justice to the men of the massacres in Ireland—lessons that Drogheda, Wexford and Clonmel still remember with execration. At the period of this visit he was to proceed to Scotland on a somewhat similar errand. His stay in Bristol was brief, but we learn that he was saluted with thrice re-

peated volleys of great guns from the Castle and the Fort. For the entertainment the mayor received £10; and a butt of sack, which cost £20, was presented to their distinguished visitor. It is recorded that Jackson was mightily proud of his guest, especially when in after years he had arrived at supreme power; but his happiness was during the following year interrupted by a terrible calamity, which turned all his joy into mourning. He had a country mansion at Compton Greenfield, in which his family were residing, the plague being once again in the city. The house took fire, and all the children who were therein perished in the flames. During his mayoralty the corporation agreed to have a private fast, to implore the Almighty to avert the pestilence. The mayor was desired "to advise the clergy thereof, and to request them to give notice in their churches." On June 18th one month's contribution was taken up in Bristol towards the sum of £60,000 per month, which Parliament had imposed on England and Wales for the benefit of the sufferers from the ravages of the plague; the aldermen appointed assistants in each ward to aid them in collecting, and the constables were given warrants to collect. Prayer and practice here went hand in hand in alleviating the distress; but nothing served to shut out the deadly foe, whose chosen home is the dirty, ill-drained, narrow street, overcrowded with tenants, into many of whose rooms never a ray of sunlight could fall, or a waft of pure air reach to dissipate the malarious gases generated in the middens and open closets which defiled the homes even of the wealthy, or the public foul latrines that discharged perpetually their noisome contents into the

rivers, whose waters were used for washing and too often for drinking.

"Tuesday next is thought a meet day for a private fast to be kept in this city, to implore God's favour and mercy to us in ceasing the sickness now begun; and Mr. Mayor is desired to speak to the ministers of this city to that purpose, and that they give notice of it in their churches the Sunday before."

One little incident shows that party feeling had not died out in Bristol under the Puritan régime. George Salter was brought before the magistrates and punished for saying, "Alderman Jackson is a cross, high-spirited man, a man of influence, but no friend to the king. I would like to hold his nose to the grindstone."

Jackson was not chosen as alderman until 1650, after the death of Charles I.; he was also a master of the Merchant Venturers, and subsequently resided in Nicholas street. He had been apprenticed to Thomas Davies, merchant, and was chosen sheriff in 1631, his colleague being John Gunning, jun.; Henry Yate, mayor. Jackson was short of cash after the surrender of the city to Prince Rupert, as he only gave £20 towards the "token of love;" but he had to give up 198½ ounces of plate, in order to make up his quota, evidently by force. He was an economist, for when appointed, with others, to present the address to the lord protector we find this note:—

	£	s.	d.
August 23rd, 1654. Paid Alderman Myles Jackson so much as he disbursed at London to deliver the recognition to the lord protector ... ..	4	1	6
Paid my own expenses (the chamberlain)... ..	5	0	0
Paid for a dinner and other charges for those that went up ... ..	1	8	0

He acted on the committee for demolishing the castle, but did not take office after the Restoration. He left benefactions to St. James' parish. His son Thomas succeeded him in business.

11. There is a portrait of Hugh Brown in the Merchants' hall, of which society he was an efficient member. Although he attained the chief civic dignity, he is more discernible transacting the business of the hall than in discharging his municipal duties. His name occurs but seldom on the pages of the journal of the corporation. In 1642 he served the office of sheriff with Joseph Jackson. He subscribed £150 for the present to the king; but he did not provide a horse to be used to defend the city against his friends. He was elected an alderman in 1646, the year the destructive fire occurred on the Bridge, to which we have already alluded. This fire probably destroyed that portion of the chapel of the Virgin Mary which had escaped the desecration of Walter Stephens when leader of an Icono-

clastic mob in 1642, for which, it is said, Sir William Birch, of Westminster, in 1649, granted to him and his two sons "the two stone arches on which the priest's tenement formerly stood to be built upon." The means at the disposal of the corporation being inadequate to combat a fire of any magnitude, Alderman Brown was requested "to purchase an engine in London, to be sent down with all speed." It was further resolved "that hooks and ladders be provided by the chamber; also that Mr. Powell, Chamberlain, do provide an engine and fifty buckets for quenching fire also in London, to be paid by the chamber. Every member of the common council to provide at least, in his house, six buckets. The mayor and aldermen to have the same thing done in each parish: these were ordered to be kept in the several churches." The presentment of the grand jury, twenty-four years subsequently, makes it doubtful whether the engine "to be sent down from London with all speed" had then arrived. The corporation complain that at a late fire in Redcliff street "buckets were wanting, and scarce one in a great number was sound." They further order that "a convenient number of links and torches be provided at the city charge, always to be kept in readiness against times of extremity by fire."

Alderman Brown was elected chief magistrate in 1650. The official year then commenced the 15th of September. During his mayoralty there is an entry which has reference to the raising men for the English fleet under Admiral Blake in the contest for naval supremacy with the Dutch admiral, the renowned Van Tromp. It is a charge "for impressing one hundred seamen to be sent to Portsmouth by order of the Council of State to be reimbursed by the Mayor."

That the chamber had secrets of importance may be inferred from the following note:—"March 4th, 1652.—Resolved that members divulging the secrets of the House be fined £10." On the 3rd September, 1652, "a day of thanksgiving was appointed, when it was ordered that two copies of the Act of Parliament be sent to the Churches and sixpence to the drummer; Mr. Mayor sent about to proclaim the same." Hugh Brown now disappears from the corporation records. But, in 1642, he had been chosen treasurer to the Society of Merchants. Subsequently he became thrice master and twice assistant. He was elected, in 1646, to preserve the order of the society and to settle such things as should be necessary for its well-being; in April, the following year, he was directed to proceed to London on the business of the Eastland trade, and, in June, he stated to the hall the result of his labours. In October he voted that Thomas Speed, merchant, a Quaker, should be admitted a free burgess of the hall, Speed having

married the widow of Robert Yeomans, late a master of the hall, who was executed for his loyalty. "After Yeomans' death, his estates, which were of great value, were seized; his widow redeemed the remainder at a cost of £500."<sup>1</sup> The matter was pressed on the ground that "Speed, being a burgess of the society, will and is like to be for the benefit and good of Robert Yeomans' children." Yeomans' youngest child was born after his father's death, and was named Posthumous. The fine, on the recommendation of Alderman Brown, was limited to £5.

Alderman Brown was a benefactor to the city. In 1653 he gave land in Mangotsfield to the corporation for charitable uses; he also gave out of lands in Hambrook £2 14s. per annum to the poor of each of the parishes of Redcliff and St. John, to be distributed in bread; also to the poor of Temple, £3; St. John, £3; Redcliff, £3; St. Augustine, £2; St. Philip, £2. He gave to the Society of Merchants a tenement next to his own house [to secure the above by his will, 31st October, 1653; but the bequest has never, we believe, been realised, and the house has long been lost to the charity]; also £100 to maintain three poor people in their almshouse.<sup>2</sup>

"November 11th, 1650.—At an assembly of the Society of Merchants, he then being mayor and also master of the society, did of his own voluntary and free will become surety unto the society for the annual payment of £7 10s. for ever towards the maintenance of two poor aged men to be placed in the Merchants' almshouse, in addition to those already settled therein; he to have the appointment of the two men during his life."

Hugh Brown's house was in Corn street, on the site of the Royal Insurance buildings. When the cellars were uncovered it was found that the quoins of their doors were built of stone, with moulding of the 13th and 14th centuries, the sculptured work being built into the wall, so that it is probable there had been an earlier structure. The cornice of the banqueting room had the initials H. B. at intervals. The mantelpiece was removed to Bromwell house, Brislington.

12. Alderman Joseph Jackson succeeded to the mayoralty in 1651. He was born in 1611, and was apprenticed to Myles Jackson, merchant, taking up his freedom in 1631. He was assistant to the Society of Merchants in 1640, which office he held at intervals till 1661. When he was sheriff, in 1642, the council elected him captain of the trained band, with 100 men under his command, he being a great supporter of the

Parliament. He sat on Fiennes' committee, and was appointed, on the 16th March, 1643, "to confer with Sir Francis Hawbrey, governor of the forces in the city, touching a scandalous petition presented to the king against the Society of Merchants by Mr. Hugh Lewis, touching the transportation of calf skins and butter, and concerning the arrangement by them made with Lord Hopton." Jackson's name is down for "£100 contributed to the king." He was a member of the corporation appointed by the Parliament which met 30th December, 1645. The same year he was warden of the Society of Merchants, and was engaged by them "to peruse the ordinances and to settle such things as were necessary for the good of the society." In 1647 he married Mrs. Maria Hook, and was in the same year chosen alderman and master of the Merchant Venturers, which latter position he occupied four times. In 1649 he was appointed by the state one of the commissioners for preserving "the timber trees and wood in the Forest of Dean." In 1651 he became chief magistrate of the city, and on April 3rd he was chosen on a committee "to consider of the charges and expenses of those gentlemen which rode up to London to maintaine and justifie the election of the burgesses at the last Parliament, and that such noates of disbursements and charges which they shall approve of, the chamberlain is to repay the same."

Robert Aldworth and Joseph Jackson divided between them the honour of entertaining persons of consideration who visited the city in 1651–2; the latter had for guests Richard Cromwell and General Desborough. Jackson resided in a patrician mansion in Small street, which, after his death, became the residence of his son-in-law, Robert Yate. This house was, during the present century, known as the "Ship" tavern; subsequently it was divided into offices.

Under date of May 31st, 1659, we note:—"This day, the gift of Mr. Doddridge, the late recorder, being two gilt flagons weighing 152 oz. 8 dwts., were presented to the corporation for the use and honour of the city, and the chamberlain was ordered to pay Alderman Joseph Jackson £5, being so much expended by him above the £40 bequeathed by his (Doddridge's) will to the purchasing the said flagons." On every committee, having for its object the consolidation of the Commonwealth government, we find the name of Alderman Joseph Jackson; also on those having for their object restriction of the amusements of the people, and, too frequently, on those distinguished for their bigotry and wild fanaticism. He refused, however, to grant a warrant for the apprehension of the Quakers who were accused of saying mass in Back street and being Jesuits

<sup>1</sup> H. M. Smith's MS.

<sup>2</sup> The receipts from Brown's charity amount to £5 4s. per annum.

in disguise, but he believed the accusation to be true. Previously to the collapse of the Commonwealth he was appointed "with full powers for the better consideration and enlargement of the Charter of the Society of Merchants." The following year, January 21st, he stated to the hall his intention to give £5 4s. annually for the support of a poor man in the almshouse. November 14th, 1660, he entered the hall for the last time. On the Restoration it was resolved to present the king with £500 in gold. There was no money in the treasury, and Mr. Alderman Jackson lent the corporation £525, charging £25 for converting the money into gold, and £16 10s. interest for six months, at 6 per cent., taking a bond for the amount, £566 10s. He died on the 2nd of January, 1661, and was buried in St. Werburgh's church, leaving considerable property to his four children, Joseph, Ann, Eleanor, and Sarah. Ann was married to Robert Yate and Eleanor to Robert Earle, Joseph and Sarah were minors. His portrait, adorned with a skull, is preserved in the hall of the Merchant Venturers. His will, made on the eve of his departure for Oxford, 15th November, 1658, begins, "Not knowing how the Lord may dispose of me in this life, my times being in His hand," &c. On the 4th of February, previously to his going to London, he made alterations in it. He "bequeathed £200, the interest of which was to be applied as his overseers should settle towards the maintenance of the gospel in St. Werburgh's church, also 70 gowns of grey frieze to be given at my funeral." He also expresses his anxious wish that his younger children, Joseph and Sarah, "should be educated in the fear of God, and kept from the fashions of the world, especially from gaudy apparel and naked necks, and that his children should live in mutual love, without jarring, but with all lowliness and meekness, submitting themselves to the ruling hand of God, in what condition they may be, and not to entertain thoughts that might occasion division among them and cool their affections to each other, but professing Christianity, to endeavour to adorn their profession." He left the "care and tuition" of them to his brother, Philip Jackson.

During this year Richard Aldworth, M.P., showed to the council of state the old lozenge-shaped Bristol farthing, which is shown in our CIVIL HISTORY, p. 267, and on receiving encouragement from them he procured a round stamp, and engraved on one side the city arms, on the other the letters C.B. These proved a great accommodation to the public, small change being scarce. The chamberlain of the city guaranteed to exchange them for silver.

"After the death of Charles I. the royal farthing tokens bearing his name and titles were entirely disused, and, in order to

supply the great want of small currency, copper and brass tokens were made and issued by tavern-keepers, coffee-house keepers, and traders of all sorts. Between 1648 and 1672 an immense number of such tokens were struck by private persons in nearly every part of England. The city of Bristol, however, forms a remarkable exception, as neither Snelling nor any other numismatist has ever seen a single tradesman's token of that place of the 17th century.<sup>1</sup> A town farthing only was struck, apparently by authority of the mayor and corporation, and served for the use of the city and its neighbourhood during the whole of this period (1648-78). The Bristol farthing of 1652 is one of the earliest dated town pieces. It is very probable that the corporation prohibited the making and issuing of any private tokens in Bristol, and that is the reason why the only Bristol tokens of the 17th century are all town pieces of the following types:—Type No. 1. There are some scarce farthings which are clearly earlier than the dated ones of 1652 and following years. They are town pieces, probably issued by the mayor and corporation, and, from various circumstances, I should assign them to the 1649-1651. They are circular, eight-tenths of an inch in diameter, and made of copper. *Obverse*, a ship issuing from a castle (the arms of Bristol); *reverse*, the letters C.B. (for Civitas Bristol); and in the centre, surrounded by the legend, 'A. BRISTOL. FARTHING.' No inner circle on either side. There are several specimens in the British Museum, some differing slightly in the execution.

"I have discovered evidence which goes far to prove that many were made by David Ramage, a workman in the London mint. Having carefully compared the Bristol farthings (of both types, 1 and 2) with the Commonwealth farthings made by Ramage, I have no doubt, from the great similarity of their execution, that Ramage engraved the dies of the Bristol farthings of 1649-1662, and that the initial 'R' under the date of them stands for his name. Several numismatists, on very slight evidence, have asserted that the 'R' was the initial of Thomas Rawlings, a Royalist engraver.



Bristol Token.

Bristol Farthing.

"Type No. 2. Copper farthings, diameter eight-tenths of an inch. *Obverse*, a ship issuing from a castle, surrounded by a corded inner circle. Legend, 'THE. ARMS. OF BRISTOLL.' *Reverse*, two large letters 'C.B.' in the field, the date below them; all within a corded inner circle. Legend, 'A. BRISTOLL. FARTHING.' Mint mark, a mullet (or five-pointed star) on each side. The earliest date on these farthings is 1652, and all the specimens with that date have a small letter 'R' under the date on the *reverse*. Those dated 1662 have a cinquefoil for the mint mark on the *obverse*, and on the *reverse* have a cinquefoil or a lozenge between 'C.B.' Some of the 1662 farthings have the small 'R' under the date, and some are without it. Others of these farthings are dated 1670, without the 'R,' and a cinquefoil mint mark on *obverse* (the farthing of 1662 is engraved in Snelling's *Copper Coinage*, pl. 1, No. 15). There are also several contemporary imitations of these farthings in the Bristol Museum cabinet.

"Snelling says, p. 13 of his *Copper Coinage*, that some Bristol farthings are dated 1666, but I have not been able to meet with one. Mr. Sholto Vere Hare has two dated 1676 and 1679 (with-

<sup>1</sup> We have in our possession, however, a specimen of a token issued by a local tradesman in the reign of Charles II., a copy of which we engrave as a curiosity.—Ed.

out the letter 'R'), which dates have not hitherto been noticed; but as the making of town tokens was strictly prohibited by Charles II.'s proclamations of August, 1672, October, 1673, and December, 1674, it is difficult to account for such late dates as 1676 and 1679 on tokens. Mr. S. V. Hare and Mr. W. Brice exhibited Bristol farthings of 1652, 1662, 1670, 1676, and 1679 at evening meeting of the archaeological congress, 8th August, 1874."<sup>1</sup>

13. The following document, bearing date 1785, is a copy of one published in 1712, giving a list of nearly 400 freemen of the city of Bristol who, in 1650-1, protested against the attempt of Ralph Farmer and John Knight to consolidate and assess the parishes on behalf of the Presbyterian clergy (in other words, to make a church rate):—

TO THE CITIZENS OF BRISTOL.

The present attempt of the clergy to fix a pound-rate on all houses and premises in this city, to ensure their independence and increase their revenues, calls aloud for the publication of the following observations, which were printed and dispersed when an attempt like the present was made in 1712, which the inhabitants prevented by a timely and spirited opposition. It is hoped that so much public spirit now remains as will induce you to exert yourselves in like manner at the present alarming crisis.

*Reasons offer'd to the inhabitants of Bristol, 1712,*

Against a tax solicited for by the clergy thereof, containing notes on some animadversions, subscrib'd by above four hundred of the inhabitants, most of 'em members of the Church of England, about sixty years ago, with the animadversions themselves on the other side.

The clergy, who are now soliciting for a tax to be laid upon estates, houses, &c., in the city of Bristol for a more liberal maintenance, having made use of the Act of Consolidation as an argument to persuade the inhabitants of the equity and reasonableness of such an imposition, the design of publishing this paper is to let the present inhabitants know what were the sentiments of their forefathers, to the number of above four hundred (most of 'em true sons of the Church of England in her persecuted state), free burgesses and freeholders of the said city, in this matter. And tho' the reasons in general contain'd in their animadversions are built upon very solid and substantial arguments, such as will hold good at all times, as long as the constitution of the city with respect to its rights and privileges remains unshaken; yet in regard of the different circumstances of the times, the reader may take with him the following cautions in the perusal thereof.

I. As for the grand charter of the city of Bristol, it is a grant and confirmation of all the accustom'd liberties and franchises thereof, of which that of exemption from tythes being not the least, and enjoy'd for so long a tract of time, 'tis not to be doubted but that the citizens have the same right to that as to all other exemptions and privileges which for time out of mind they have enjoy'd.

II. As to the second animadversion, it is humbly offer'd to the present mayor, aldermen and common council, whether what is therein asserted be not true in fact—that is, whether there is not amongst the city records a deed, or grant of the tythes of the lands of Bristol for ever, to the mayor, burgesses and commonalty, whereby it may appear that the city lands are by covenant, for a valuable consideration, exempted from the payment of tythes, &c. And if so, whether the freeholders, and occupiers of lands, houses,

<sup>1</sup> H. F. Henfrey, Letter to Bristol Paper.

&c., within the said city have not reason to expect that the magistrates, who are *ex-officio* conservators of the rights and privileges of the city, should not stand neuters in this attempt upon them, but by humbly representing this matter to the Parliament under their common seal demonstrate to the world that they have used their utmost endeavours to transmit to posterity the rights and properties of the city committed to their charge in the same condition they receiv'd them from their ancestors. And under this consideration 'tis likewise humbly hoped that the Parliament, when this case is laid before them, will be very cautious of alienating the properties of so great a number of her majesty's subjects without their consent.

The inhabitants of Bristol have enjoy'd, time out of mind, an absolute property in their whole estates, which includes every part thereof; and it being so, it is presum'd that the property of any part, whether 1-10th, or 1-15th, or 1-20th, or 1-30th, cannot be alter'd without each particular proprietor's free consent, any more than the half or the whole, which the Parliament in their great wisdom have always considered, and therefore have constantly enquir'd, when a bill has come before them tending to the altering men's properties, whether the allegations of the bill have been made good to the satisfaction of all parties concern'd, which, with submission, 'tis hoped will be consider'd in the present case.

III. The argument drawn from an act of the common council, mention'd in the third animadversion, is refer'd to the present mayor, aldermen and common council for their consideration.

IV. The oath of a freeman is so close to the point, that there needs nothing to be said to enforce it; and all freemen ought to consult the copy of their oath, and then consider how they can discharge the sacred obligation they are under without opposing, by all lawful means, an attempt upon one of those great and antient privileges of the city which they have so solemnly sworn to maintain.

Lastly, as to those parts of the animadversions which relate to the times in which they were publish'd, they are only printed with the rest to render it an intire copy; and it is hoped that such of them as are applicable to the case in hand will have the greater weight with some of the promoters of it when they shall see their fathers' or grandfathers' names in opposition to that which they are now so zealously contending for, a copy of which, with the animadversions before-mentioned, is on the other side.

Upon the whole it may be queried

1st. Whether the present promoters of this tax, if they had lived in the days of their forefathers, would not have opposed that attempt for the same reason their fathers did?

2nd. Whether there is not the same reason for opposing the present attempt, since the rights, privileges and franchises of the city, and the oath of a free burgess for the support and maintenance of them, are the same now they were then?

Fabian Hill	Thomas Moor	Thomas Bradford
Francis Cox	William Hodson	Edmond Lochstone
Richard Child	Bevy Matthews	John Foord
William Hodson, eld.	Samuel Farby	William Fry
Richard Yeamans	Thomas Wallis	James Gould
Thomas Dean	John Hicks	Edward Pierce
Robert Sheward	Henery Davis	Richard Brown
William Watts	George Boswel	William Shatford
Edward Piot	Robert Legg	Richard Tyler
William Cook	Thomas Harris	Edward Averet
William Baugh	Richard Hayward	Edward Tyley
Walter Steavens	John Gamlen	Edward Bagg
Thomas Edwards	Edward Bovey	Edward Summers
George Hartwell	Abraham Berkin	Richard Adams
John Cecil	John House	Richard Sasset
Solomon Waffon	Gregory Popley	Bartho. Williams

Edward Wedmore	Toby Massey	Walter Simmonds	William Pope	Roger Bumsteed	John Carey
Paul Williams	John Nickins	Richard Benson	Robert Reds	Phillip Cartred	Edward Bullock
Robert Hayden	John Walter	Richard Sanford	Thomas Steavens	Robert Challens	John Totterdel
Thomas Yeat	John Smith	Richard Coleman	John Paster	John Lawford	Henry Paul
Richard Batterton	Richard Hales	Jasper Curtile	Thomas Beaven	Daniel Westfield	John Ballen
Thomas Berwick	Toby Goodear	Richard Pope	Edward Morgan	Humphrey Beal	Walter Marks
James Sharp	John Shipway	George Brathwait	Robert Woodward	William Pople	Jeremiah Helliard
John Adams	Gilbert Moor	John Thurstone	Henery Merrit	John Tyler	Robert Brallard
Thomas Haines	John Hayter	Samuel Tibbot	Walter Paine	William Pardew	William Dens
Edmond Lewis	Thomas Walter	Humphrey Little	Thomas Mercer	William Walks	John Walter
Robert Winstone	Henery Joyner	John Collins	Thomas Carry	Samuel Clements	Roger Painter
James Morgan	Richard Biggelstone	Ralph Oliff	Robert Higin	Samuel Wealstead	John Jacob
Thomas Smart	Anthony Hammonds	Theo. Newton	William Gibbons	John Palmer	William Sparks
Christopher Cary	Nicholas Jordan	William Middleton	Richard Long	John Heal	Robert Wear
John Drayton	John Shephard	James Coles	Abraham Barnes	Thomas Watkins	John Bird
Richard Ash	Gregory Tilley	Francis Hawkins	John Bradway	Richard Boxwel	Francis Rogers
Thomas Goldsmith	George Yeamans	John Lovel	Richard Higgins	Nicholas Tilly	Edward Berrow
William Bird	John Saunders	Gabriel Stert	Richard Edwards	Robert Fry	Hugh Lewis
Robert Radley	Charles Jones	Lawrence Swetnam	John More	Richard Baugh	George Dean
Joseph Lawrence	John Crump	John Knight, sen.	Thomas Hart	William Russel	Matthew Williams
Dar. Haine	Stephen Shrimp	Francis Granfield	Edward Price	Thomas Hopkins	Reace Jefferies
Jonathan Richards	William Hancock	William Young	Timothy Parker	James Cramm	Richard Taylor
Richard Orchard	Edmond Dilly	Simon Bower	Matthew Stevens	William Wealstead	John Dussel
Thomas Jones	Samuel Wharton	Edward Hurn	John Hook	Peter Hilley	William Creed
Roger Still	Thomas Evans	John Watts	John Gardner	John Baugh	John Moody
John Hill	William Dean	Thomas Dove	John Dymmer	Nicholas Hort	William Davis
John Goodchild	Edmond Evans	William Vaughton	George Atwood	Henery Diddicate	William Ceymer
Edward Turket	Roger Chapman	John Hawkins	Richard Bubb	Samuel Dobbins	Thomas Salizbury
Charles Watts	Robert Read	George Gibbs	John Morgan	Thomas Butler	John Massey
Francis Hellier	William Allen	Walter Long	Henry Apleton	John Pagter	Peter Becott
William Crabb	William Knight	John Pope	George Coolishey	Robert Nutt	John Birkin
George Evans	Abraham Scott	Miles Dickson	Peter Lodge	Trusterin Gill	William Stafford
William Butts	Alexander Smitwick	Christ. Brinsdon	William Boswell	Nicholas Cause	Steven Keech
Robert Culm	William Redwood	Andrew Jordan	Richard Newman	Robert Webb	Steven Keech, junr.
Christopher Robinson	John Evans	Thomas Prestwood	John Pickering	John Poyke	Thomas Hare
Thomas Woodward	William Adams	John Abraham	Moses Longman	John Hiscox	Griffin Batten
Thomas Prigg	Michael Pittman	John Gray	William Elliot	James Tyther	Francis Price
James Easton	Jeremy Lane	George Salter	Michael Days	Thomas Player	Edmond Dacroser
Thomas Hodson	Joseph Bowden	Thomas Haines	Richard Luckett	George Caro	Henry Saunders
John Wiatt	Roger Pillown	Leonard Hancock	Wat. Ellis	John Marmadance	Peter Hurman
Charles Powel	James Chapel	John Bath	Daniel Adams	Thomas Challoner	William Jane
John Hulbert	Edward Wilcox	Roger Long	Benjamin Snaknel	James Phillips	William Raim
Thomas Pim	Nathan King	John Cateford	George Baddam	Simon Hurl	Edward Jefferies
Ralph Husband	Lawrence Bricker	James Wathen	Richard Howil	Robert Purnell	William Atkins
Edward Undlestone	Thomas Fisher	John Suter	George Parker	Thomas Goldney	John Deem
Samuel Weare	William Jayne	Roger Willowby	John Nutbrown	Robert Fry	Marmad. Williams
William Coole	Thomas Pax'tone	William Liston	George Patridge	Samuel Norris	John Cary
John Smith	Robert Lancaster	Walter Picks	Edward Maid	John Birt	Thomas James
John Owin	William Merrick	Thomas Provis	Strang Mendham	William Harford	Robert Bicroft
Thomas Wells	Arthur Steart	John Witeing	Henery Hort	William Paine	John Orchard
Thomas Thomas	John Wilcox	Robert Simpson	John Poller	William Merriek	William Ling
Robert Brown	Barthol. Allen	Richard Hudson	William Taylor	Francis Bumsteed	William Burnel
Thomas Brown	Thomas Barrat	Thomas Turner	William Dean	Robert Badham	Edward Williams
Richard Holister	John Clark	Richard Fench	George Dy	John Hedges	Alexander Morgan
Thomas Wall	Richard Gregson	John Hawkins	Edward Creswick	John Berkin	Francis Dimer
Joseph Winniat	William Hurd	Henery Warren	Thomas Hall	Henry Morgan	John Collins
Francis Oleed	Thomas Moggs	Leonard Still	John Holcomb	George Linsey	John Bleachley
Tho. Goodman, sen.	Daniel Claxton	Robert Watts	John Knight	Robert Young	Thomas Plomer
John Fluellin	John Eastmead	James Cable	George Chamneys	Walter Tocknel	Benjamin Moseley
Robert Hayford	Thomas Turner	Richard Baker	Jonah Wilcox	John Toney	George Peters
Francis Little	Robert Deffel	John Smith	James Bubb	William Willet	Richard Dean
Nicholas Fox	William Baugh	Thomas Crump	Toby Lamb	Robert Yeamans	Edmond Clymer
Lawrance Joyner	Peter Muggleworth	Francis Fisher	Richard Gold	Edward Mathews	Richard Stubbs
James Wathen	James Hill	Cristo. Tayler	William Harris	Alexander Gray	John Thurstone
William Combe	Thomas Smith	Robert Willet	William Griffin	John Bumstead	James Berkin

*Here is the Cities Animadversions against Consolidation.*

**LIBERTY.**—Its grand charter, which, with all its jurisdictions, privileges, &c., was granted and committed by Edward the Fourth to the mayor, and commonalty, and burgesses thereof, their heirs and successors for ever.

**PROPERTY.**—The discharge and freedom from tythes, or forced contributions for ministers, being its right of inheritance for ever, purchased upon a valuable consideration of an yearly rent.

**LAW.**—An act of common council—viz., that the city should not join with the ministers thereof, to make suit to the Parliament for encrease of their livings, by enforced tythes or contributions.

**CUSTOM, or Prescription,** having always comfortably and plentifully maintain'd its ministers (time out of mind) by free and voluntary contributions.

**PEACE.**—In the avoiding of differences and divisions, which the pursuance thereof may occasion.

**EQUITY.**—That no minister be placed over any parish before he be first approv'd and allow'd of by the major part of the parishoners, who are to provide for him, and chiefly to have and receive the benefit of his ministry.

**COMMON CONSENT.**—As appears by the petition and number of free burgesses, the subscribers.

**OATH.**—The free burgesses being oblig'd by their oaths to use their utmost endeavours to preserve and perpetuate by all lawful means the antient charters, liberties, customs, privileges and franchises thereof, procur'd with much cost and labour, and inviolably transmitted to them by their ancestors.

**GENERAL GOOD.**—Being at present under great decay of trade, losses both by sea and land, customs, imposts, excises, contributions to state and poor, &c., this heavy imposition may become an intolerable burthen and of dangerous consequences.

These things being so, query

1st. Whether consolidation can be submitted unto by the free burgesses of this city without the falsifying their oaths, the breach of their charter, the destruction of their property, the violation of their privileges and franchises?

2nd. Whether the new mayor, aldermen and council in executing consolidation, by assessing the parishes, &c., do not betray the charter, privileges and liberties of the city, which into their hands have been transmitted inviolably for many hundred years past by their ancestors?

3rd. Whether he or they of Bristol, who have procur'd and do promote consolidation, have not and do not act against this city and the free burgesses thereof, as in the particulars beforementioned, and contrary to his and their oaths and duty?

4th. Whether those ministers of Bristol, Mr. R. F. and Mr. J. K., in soliciting consolidation, do not manifest themselves to be men greedy of filthy lucre, oppressors, and evil members of and enemies to the city, and no ministers of the gospel?

The Presbyterian clergy, in the time of the Commonwealth, "acquired a legal settlement of a pretty extraordinary nature—eighteenpence in the pound upon all dwelling-houses, warehouses, stables, &c., besides five shillings in a hundred upon all the stock throughout the town, in whatsoever traffick employed, all of which upon the consolidation of the parishes amounted to a very considerable sum. The above Act is entitled 'An Act for the more frequent Preaching of the Gospel and better Maintenance of the Ministers in the City of Bristol.' The active Presbyterians named as agents therein are—Richard Aldworth, Richard Vickris, Wm.

Lam, Luke Hodges, Henry Gibbs, Joseph Jackson, Hugh Brown, Aldermen Ed. Tyson, Robert Aldworth, John Haggett, James Powel, George Hart, Jonas Clutterbuck, William Grig, George Lane, Robert Harris, Jeremy Holwey, Robert Vickris, Dennis Hollister, George Bishop, Thomas Harris. Five of them to form a quorum. Act printed in London, April, 1650."<sup>1</sup>

14. Henry Gibbs, who succeeded Jackson as mayor in 1652, was the son of Henry Gibbs, brewer, of Back street, whose monument is described in our ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, 43-4. He served on the first Puritan corporation, was sheriff in 1640, alderman in 1646, and sat on every committee until 1650, when he left the city and resigned his gown. He was not long absent; on July 16th, 1652, he was re-elected alderman, and in September following was chosen mayor. Some of the rules of the council at that period have a primitive quaintness, for instance it is ordered:

"That the oath of a common councilman be read at every meeting of the House. When any member hath a desire to speak he shall devoutly stand up, keeping his place, with his hat off, and shall address his speech to Mr. Mayor, and not to any other person. That the usual time of meeting for the members of this house be at nine of the clock in the forenoon; and Mr. Mayor to set up an half-hour glass, and those that come in after the glass is out to forfeit the sum of twelve pence."

Alderman Gibbs was removed from the corporation by Charles II. for disloyalty. His last appearance in the council chamber was September 15th, 1659. There is a portrait of him in the council chamber. Gibbs, who was a draper, married Jane, daughter of Nicholas Meredith, by whom he had a son, John, a silkmercer, and five daughters, Elizabeth, Hannah, Martha, Esther and Sarah. Sarah married Ezekiel Wallis.

St. Nicholas almshouse was built this year on ground granted by the chamber in answer to a petition of the inhabitants of that parish at a rent of 6s. 8d. per annum in perpetuity; the site was under the wall in the Marsh, near to Back street gate, where the house still stands. In St. Nicholas parish was born, in 1652, "Matthew Morgan, son of Edward Morgan, mayor of Bristol in 1667. He was the translator of the two pieces entitled, *The Tranquility of the Mind* and *Consolation to Apollonius* in the rather famous version from the Greek of *Plutarch's Morals*, which first appeared in 1684, and has lately been re-edited in the United States by Emerson the transcendentalist and another. Whether the transatlantic edition includes the *Dedicatory epistle to Wm., Archbishop of Canterbury*, we do not know, but as a curiosity of literature it should not be lost. Morgan was proud to confess himself a clergyman of 'the purest and best reformed church upon earth, but certainly no adulation ever

<sup>1</sup> Apology for the Clergy, 1712.

offered to the Pontiff of Rome could be more blasphemously fulsome than that of this Protestant divine to the primate of Canterbury, and to the king of England, his patron, who attracted by the 'perfume of his lordship's goodness,' had pursued him into his retreats and caused an universal jubilee by raising him to the archiepiscopal throne. With humblest prostrations of reverence he (Morgan) kneels and begs pardon for 'intrusion into such an awful presence,' and prays the person of his adoration to vouchsafe to shine auspiciously upon him; seeing that it is hard not to share in an influence which is so general, since all men enjoy the diffusiveness of the sunbeams, to the resplendent fount of which his lordship is likened. But the culmination of his idolatrous passion is reached when he speaks of the divine majesty of Charles the second, whom he compares to the Most High himself, calling him 'a prince who hath the image of the Deity so closely impressed upon him, that the Idea comes very near the original!' Lord Bacon declared kings to be 'mortal gods' (to whom of all mankind God is least beholden; for though He does most for them, they do least for Him), but to compare a profligate monarch to very God is a vast step in presumption. The swearing of uncle Toby's soldiers in Flanders was nothing in profanity to this."<sup>1</sup>

15. George Hellier, ironmonger, mayor in 1653-4, was a moderate man. He had subscribed £100 to the "token of love," had been sheriff under the Royalist régime in 1638. The following are the chief records of his year of office:—

February, 1653-54. Thomas Hobson, innkeeper, and G. Linelle, gent., made oath before George Hellier, mayor, that the Commonwealth was indebted to the innholders of this city the sum of £988 11s. 5d., due to them for quartering of soldiers in February, 1646-7, and the Court of Parliament which then sat in the city confirmed the account by signing it, to be laid before the grand committee at London.

April 3rd, 1654. A former act, rendering it necessary that twenty-six of the members of the chamber must be present for the making of any orders, laws, and ordinances, and it being found that at several meetings soe greate a number of twenty-six persons doe with very greate difficulty come together, and in consequence of the frequent absence of many from various lawful causes, being often productive of disappointment and delay in despatching public affairs, some of which were urgent, it was enacted that in future four-and-twenty should be considered a sufficient number to all intents and purposes for making any act of common council.

According to an ancient custom the chamber had used a Form of Prayer preliminary to the transaction of public business. This form lapsed when the times were out of joint, but now the crisis being past, the chamber resumed its ancient custom.

December 4th, 1654. Whereas it appears by the records of this citie that heretofore at the assemblies of the mayor, alder-

men, and common council—before they began to consult of any business—supplications and prayers were made to Almighty God for a blessing upon their council, which of late years having been discontinued, and being very desirous to revive a matter of so great concernment, knowing that without the Lord's presence and assistance no council or consultations can prosper, or be to any good purpose.

In conclusion it was

This day agreed and ordered that Mr. Farmer, a godly, able minister of the gospel, be desired to pray at every assembly with the mayor, aldermen, and common council, in their place of meeting, to implore God's presence with them, his directions in their debates, and blessings upon all their councils that their resolutions and determinations may be for his glory, and the good and welfare of this city. And the said Mr. Farmer to have £10 a year for his pains.

Hellier did not serve on any committee of note. He died 21st April, 1656, and was buried in St. Thomas' church. For a sermon in this church he left 10s. per annum, part of the profit of £40. The remainder to be given to the poor of St. Thomas for ever.

On the 14th of September, 1654, a petition was read from the feoffees of Mrs. Alice Cole, wife of Alderman Cole, deceased, and sister to John Carr, deceased, desiring to have granted them "soe many foote of ground in fee farm as may serve for their building thereon an English free school and an house for the master thereof upon part of the city's waste upon St. James' back. This House being willing to further soe pious a worke doth order that the surveyors do lay out ground in the waste according to the petitioner's desire. The removal from fear of the plague of many wealthy families and consequent loss of trade had impoverished the inhabitants and the poor were in great straits. The Protectorate chamber was charitably disposed."

4th January, 1658-9. The House this day taking into consideration the manifold and extraordinary necessities of the poor at this time agreed that a collection should be made throughout the city from door to door towards the relief and comfort of those that are much in want, and out of a deep sense of the miseries that many now lie under.

The mayor, aldermen and common council liberally headed the subscriptions, and the absentees were requested to "forward such sums as they may feel disposed to contribute to the laudable purpose."

Monday, 17th instant. These particular persons for the several wards be desired to go from doore to doore and to gather and receive such sums of money as the Lord shall stir up their hearts to give towards soe charitable a worke in such a tyme of extremity. And the ministers were requested on the next Lord's-day, by an order from the mayor, to signifie to their several congregations of the tyme and manner of this collection, and that they stir up ye people to a free and large contribution.

16. 1654. "Forasmuch as Mr. James Read, of this city, clerke, uppon Satterday ye 26 day of August last did marry John Bradley and Sarah Bannister ac-

<sup>1</sup> Taylor's Book about Bristol, 268-9.

cording to ye old formes as he hath confessed before us. It is therefore ordered that he finde sureties for his good behaviour, and to appear at the next sessions, &c."

The Presbyterians were now seeking by the strong hand to make men orderly and religious, according to their standard. The foregoing and following items will serve to show how they confounded things that differed, and to illustrate the Judaic manner in which they endeavoured to keep holy the Lord's day, by fitting man to the Sabbath:—

1654. February 23, all importers of wood for fuel were ordered to land it below the lower brass post upon the Quay, having first of all waited upon the mayor and told him their price.

June 6, no butter to be exported again after it had been brought to the city until it had been offered openly in the market at 3*d.* per lb., and on June 21 it was further ordered that 8*d.* should be paid out of every kilderkin exported, the money to go to the relief of the poor.

September 23, the assize of bread was as under, wheat being 3*s.* per bushel. "The twopenny white loaf to be 22½ oz. in weight; the twopenny wheaten loaf to be 33 oz.  $\frac{3}{4}$  and 1*d.* weight; the twopenny household loaf to be 45 oz. in weight."

October 4, an order was issued against badgers and regrators of corn. None to be brought until the market bell had ceased ringing.

October 25, Richard Rogers, blacksmith, and Ann Dabder, single woman, of Tewkesbury, were apprehended, the woman in man's apparel, for having kept company together at the Seven Stars, in Thomas street, and at Thomas Beale's house on St. Michael's hill, where the said Ann put on the man's apparel, and being both drunk the night before, when they abused the constables with very filthy language. They were ordered "to be set upon a horse, back to back, and so to ride, the constable going before them, through High street, Redcliff street, St. Thomas street, and Wine street; the said Rogers to be set down at Newgate, and remain there till he found sureties for his good behaviour; Ann Dabder to be set down at Bridewell, to be whipped, and sent to the place of her dwelling, from tithing to tithing, with a pass. Alice, the wife of Thomas Beale, who aided the disguise, to be set in the stocks for being drunk, there to remain for three hours, she refusing to pay 5*s.* according to the statute in that behalf; and that she be committed to Newgate for trial at the general gaol-delivery, for being a common bawd and entertainer of lewd persons in her house, and prohibited from keeping any longer an alehouse within the city."

November 3, Capt. William Davis obtained an ordinance which enabled soldiers who had served in the war in Scotland to exercise trade in the city, *i.e.*, made such freemen.

November 11, Ann, wife of Thomas Ilsly, butcher, for swearing two oaths within the parish of Christ church, having forfeited 3*s.* 4*d.* each oath to the poor of the parish, and having refused to make payment or give security, was ordered to be openly set in the stocks for three hours. The husband having resisted the sheriffs' officers in the execution of this order, he was committed to Newgate till he should find sureties for his appearance at the session.

November 13, John Amory appointed Lead Reeve to dig for lead ore in the manor of Conglesbury belonging to this city.

December 19, there was an order against apprentices rioting in the streets. "Oliver P.—You are, within seven daies after sight hereof, to draw all the forces out of the castle within the cittie of

Bristol (except onely such as you shall thinke fitt to appoint for the guard of y<sup>r</sup> house and family), untill the tenth day of May next ensuing, and to put them into the great fort above the said cittie. And our former order for demolishing of the said fort and disbanding of the forces there, you are to suspend untill further order. Given at Whitehall, the 27th December, 1654. To Coll. Scroope, Gov<sup>r</sup> of the cittie of Bristol."

"1655. 10th February, whereas I have been arrested and am now in prison at the suit of the Company of Taylors, for useing their trade; in consideration that the Taylors will consent to release me from prison, I doe hereby promise to depart out of ye city, by the tenth of May next, with my wife and children, and will not returne againe hither and offend in the like kinde.

"JAMES CORBETT."

"The 7th of September, 1655. I have now rec'd of Mr. Maior xlvs., and therefore will be gone with my wife and children for Ireland, in the space of the fortnight next ensuing, if the wind serve, otherwise with the first faire winde. "JAMES CORBETT."

April 3, it was ordered by the corporation that two ladders, one long and the other short, should be provided by the churchwardens of every parish, for the better prevention of the dreadful consequences of fire.

May 3, for the prevention of sickness, Mr. John Stone, merchant, was ordered to remove out of his cellar in Marse street, over against Baldwin lane, "all such trayne-oyle as there now remaineth, and that he place the same in some other convenient place, where it may not be noisome and offensive to the neighbourhood, &c."

May 5, "for the prevention of sickness during this hot season of y<sup>e</sup> yeere, It is ordered that all inhabitants of this city doe forbear to throw any dust or filth before their doores, or in the streets or lands of this city; and that they twice every day during this hot weather, throw water before their doors in the said streets and lands."

May 9, Robert Rutter, a soldier of Major-Gen. Skippon's and Col. Haynes' regiment, exhibited his certificates; and Richard Balcomb, shoemaker, and Thomas Reeve, soldier, claimed their freedom to exercise their trades; and John Parker, a founder, admitted on payment of a fine of 40*s.*, there being none of that profession within the city.

October 22, the innkeepers were restrained from taking more than 6*d.* for a night's hay for a horse, and for a bushel of oats only 2*s.*

November 23, "Samuel Bearhañ made oath that a contract and intention of marriage betweene John Hardimer, of Christ church parish in Bristol, taylor, and Frances Donnoell, of the parish of St. Peter hath beene published three market days in three severall weekes within this city."

1656. August 29, an order of the mayor stated that in pursuance of a statute of January 25, 19 Henry VII., "the masters, wardens and brethren of the fraternity and company of Innholders within this city, being an ancient fraternitie, time out of mind," obtained a confirmation, bearing date March 1, 3*d.* of the late King James, under the hands and seals of the lord chancellor, lord high treasurer, and lord chief justice of the King's Bench, of "certain ordinances and constitutions for the well ordering and governing of themselves. Amongst which ordinances a certain number of ancient innes are declared to bee common innes and hosterries within this cittie and liberties thereof, and that noe more or noe other than are therein particularized should bee made use of as innes and hosterries. And whereas a certain message without Redcliffe yate, within the liberties of this cittie, commonly called the Angell, was heeretofore used, employed, and allowed as a common inne and hosterry, ass well by the maior and aldermen of the said cittie as by the said company, although not within the

number allowed by the said ordinances and constitutions, and particularly soe confirmed in the yeare of our Lord God 1624; since which the said messuage haveing beene wholly taken downe and demolished, and now againe newly erected and built, and made very large and commodious for entertainment of men and horses, and the present master, wardens, and company of innholders, together with Anne Pruett, widow, owner and occupier of the said messuage, making their application to us that the said messuage might be for ever allowed as one of the common innes and hosteries within the cittie, soe as it might not be prejudicial to the said ordinances and constitutions. We therefore, considering the said request, and their reasons enforcing the same, conceiving it may tend to the common good of the people coming and travelling to and from this cittie, have thought fitt and doe declare our willingness thereunto," &c.

1657. March 6, William Hobson, merchant, having been convicted upon the oath of two witnesses, for that he, within the space of six months past, had avowedly in words professed that the act of drunkenness might be committed without sin, it was ordered that, according to an Act of Parliament in that behalf, he should be committed to prison, there to remain for the space of six months without bail or mainprize, and until he should put in sufficient sureties to be upon good behaviour for the whole year.

1658. June 14, William Wilkes and John Barnes were committed for walking in the Marsh, about six o'clock on the preceding Sabbath-day, and not paying the fine.

October. A lecture having been set up without authority in St. Maryport church, at seven in the morning of Sundays, the churchwardens were ordered not to suffer the bells to be rung nor the church doors opened, nor any one to preach, without further order from the mayor and aldermen.

1659. March 27, Hugh Millerd, a journeyman tailor, taken up by the constables of St. James' ward, for walking on the Lord's day in time of sermon, and refusing to pay the fine of 10s. John Whiting, a carpenter, having charged John Moats, one of the St. James' constables, as a persecutor in this particular, he too was committed, to answer for the offence.

July 18, Christopher Poole, tailor, with Sarah Harbert and Ann Long, ordered to be set on horseback (Christopher to ride in the midst, with his face towards the tail of the horse), and so to ride through the city and be set down at the house of correction.

17. The Barebone's parliament, torn by internal dissensions, abdicated its functions in December, 1653, having first named a new and more numerous council of state. This body drew up a new constitution, which they named the Instrument of Government, and this being adopted by the council of officers, Cromwell was by them declared Protector, and on September 3rd, 1654, a new Parliament was elected. It consisted of 400 members from England, 30 from Scotland and 30 from Ireland; rotten boroughs were abolished and the seats transferred to larger constituencies; the suffrage was conferred upon all who owned property to the amount of £200, but Catholics and malignants (*i.e.* Royalists who had borne arms) were excluded from the franchise. Now for the first time members from the three kingdoms sat side by side in the House. The Presbyterians were returned in large numbers, and the right of veto by the protector was by them early challenged. "I called not myself to this place, God and the people of these kingdoms placed

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me here. Why may I not balance this Providence with any hereditary interest?" To which "divine right" they could make no effective reply; but if his argument were good the means which he took to enforce the joint government by a single person and a Parliament was as bold a defiance of constitutional law as any perpetrated by the Stuarts. "God and the people have called me to this post, none but God and the people shall take it from me." But to secure his position he compelled every member ere he could enter the House to solemnly engage "not to alter the Government." One



*The Angel Inn, High Street.*

hundred of the elected declined to do so, and the remainder, instead of "healing and settling" the affairs of the nation, stubbornly contended for power, reversed the protector's ordinances and revived the old doctrine, no supplies until grievances were redressed, whilst they left the army unpaid and upon the verge of mutiny. In January, 1655, the sittings of the House were closed by Cromwell and the government became a personal despotism, his declaration that "the people prefer their real security to forms" were words that Charles himself might have uttered. Now was seen the energetic

spirit of the man; the whole land was divided into ten military governments, each with a major-general at its head, possessing ample powers. Taxes were levied by sole authority of the protector; all who had fought for the king had to contribute one-tenth of their income; Episcopalian clergy were forbidden to act as ministers or as tutors, but this harsh measure, at the instance of Archbishop Usher, Cromwell rendered inoperative; a censorship of the Press was established, and council who attended in court against the legality of the above proceedings were imprisoned. These were, indeed, harsh measures, but the wisdom and grandeur with which Cromwell used the unconstitutional power he had thus assumed, as well as the necessity for its assumption, must be well weighed before a correct decision can be even approximately arrived at in judging his character and conduct.

The following, taken from Dring's *Catalogue*, are some of the Bristol men who compounded for their estates in 1655:—Arundel, Edward, £50; Boucher, John, £135; Grigton, Richard, £105; James, Alexander, £669 10s. 11d.; Jones, Gilbert, £43 5s., late chancellor of Bristol; Long, Richard, £600; Wallis, Ezekiel, £177 10s.

18. In January, 1654-5, the corporation was given information that certain persons of the Franciscan Order had arrived from Rome, who, "under the garb of Quakers, were suspected to be Jesuits." Crediting this absurd report, with the blindness of sectarian hatred, Richard Vickris, deputy-mayor, in Gunning's absence, granted a search warrant for the apprehension of "strangers come to this city and can give no good account of themselves." The warrant was also signed by other members of the corporation; viz., "John Locke, Gabriel Sherman, William Cann, Joseph Jackson, Henry Gibbs." The warrant was put into execution. The constables entered the house in Corn street where the Quakers assembled, and turned them into the street, where they were violently assaulted and knocked about by the mob. The deputy-mayor, Richard Vickris, and other members of the council, with John Knowles, priest, are described as beholding the outrages from the Tolzey.

In July, 1655, Benjamin Moseley was "to find securities for saying that Aldn. Vickris had spoken nonsense, and if he did not hold his talking there would be a course taken with him and some of the rest of the justices in a short time!" This extract may be taken as a sample of many illustrating the iniquity of the community during the protectorate. Vickris served on the committee of the corporation which on May 2nd was appointed to draw up an address of congratulation to the protector. The council seem to have been

rather tardy, the appointment being then five months old.

Evelyn, visiting Bristol in 1654, says, "Here I first saw the manner of refining sugar and casting it into loaves, where we had a collation of eggs fried in the sugar furnace, together with excellent Spanish wine." At the end of this year we find the common council debating whether one or more persons shall preach the Tuesday's lecture at St. Nicholas.

One of the most remarkable results of the liberation of religion from the control of the Episcopacy in England was, as we have already seen, the rise and rapid spread of Denominationalism throughout the land. It was at this juncture that the Quakers first made their appearance in Bristol, as shown in our *ECCELESIASTICAL HISTORY*, 285. Bristol was at this period the very hotbed of polemics. Never is religion so disgraced as when professors of it who claim each to be a follower of the Saviour, the Evangel of love, bespatter each other with foul words, and persecute even unto death men who differ from them on dogma, when

"Round their narrow pale they plod,  
And scornfully assume,  
That all without are cursed of God,  
And justify their doom."

Verily of this age the Master would have said, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of." We gather from the writings of the time that the Church of England was ignored, and the Presbyterian party, which had, as we know, become the church of the state, occupied generally the pulpits of the Establishment and were bitterly hostile to the Independents, Baptists and Quakers. William Grigge, in 1659, published a little book, and, in order that it may spread in the nation, says "there are store of them in Bristol to be sold at Nicholas Jordan's for three farthings a piece." Grigge was a tanner, a leading Presbyterian, very intimate with Ralph Farmer. He exclaimed with great volume against Cromwell's "wicked toleration" and "liberty of conscience," whereby "Bristol was become the receptacle of blasphemers." He charged the Baptists with the same adulteries and enormities that had disgraced the separatists at Munster, accused Dennis Hollister, once an elder and preacher, who had become a Quaker, of defaming the scriptures, and one T. C. (Timothy Cattle) of saying that "infant baptism was one of the most soul-ruining mysteries that ever came from hell." On the shallowest pretences he raked up accusations of drunkenness, blasphemy, and murder against the Quakers; he praised the Parliament for passing that honourable sentence against Naylor, death itself being his desert, he "conjured them to put a restraint on all

soul infecting parsons, and to compel everyone, however unwilling, to attend the Presbyterian ordinances." Grigge was answered in a masterly manner by a firm friend of liberty of conscience, in a tract, *Rabshakek's Outrage Reproved*, wherein the writer disproved Grigge's assertions and facts so called; he further showed from Grigge's own words, that the sole object of himself and his master, Ralph Farmer, minister of St. James', and their party, was to bring the whole nation into subjection to their "lordly Presbytery," that they had thrust the bishops out of their chairs in order to get into them themselves; and "did hope ere this to have had the necks of all dissenters under their feet, and to have made the little finger of the Presbytery heavier on sectaries than the bishop's loins." He predicted that if the reins of government ever got into their imperious hands the days of the Marian persecutions would be as a year of jubilee in comparison therewith. "There is little doubt," he adds, "that if thou and thy Master Ralph could have had your wills we should have seen the same work made with the innocent in Bristol as Manasseh made in Jerusalem. (2 Kings xxi. 16.) And though the hand of the Lord hath so limited your rage that that hath been prevented; yet let me tell thee that thou needest not to wish more to rest upon the city's score than already doth. For a large account have they to give to Him that sitteth in judgment for the innocent blood that hath been shed, and for all the cruelty and oppression that hath been exercised upon the persons and estates of those that have no helper but Him that is higher than the highest." This gentleman's language, although plain, is as unobjectionable as his arguments were unanswerable. But it was not so with all even of the long suffering Quakers. Dennis Hollister, when he had joined their body, sent out a book entitled *The skirts of the whore discovered, and the mingled people in the midst of her. In a letter sent by Dennis Hollister to the independent baptized people, who call themselves a church of Christ in Bristol, but are found to be a synagogue of Satan*; another pamphlet was entitled *Satan enthroned in the chair of Pestilence*. The Baptists replied, but with far less of scurrility, their hardest words were such as follow:—"Quakerism begun (no doubt) by Satan, and carried on by his instruments, 'Popish seminaries,' 'Jesuits,' and some 'apostate professors;' 'ignorant, bewitched, and deluded people,' these they affirm would come into our meetings on the Lord's day, in the open public places called churches (which we had then liberty to be in during the whole of Cromwell's reign), and in the midst of the minister's sermon they would with a loud voice cry out against them, calling them 'hirelings' and 'deceivers,' and they would say

to the people, they must turn to the light within as their teacher, and that that was Christ within. Thus, with many other railing, judging, and condemning words, they would frequently trouble us, shaking, trembling, or quaking, like persons in a fit of the ague, while they spake with a screaming voice, and would not cease until they were carried forth of the place, pretending they were moved by the Spirit to come and warn us. Thus Satan transforming himself like an angel of light strove against the true followers of Jesus Christ. These against the doctrine of our Lord Jesus, and others against the discipline, as our friends, called Presbyterians, those of them that were better spirited or rigid, who would vilify our ministry, and their call 'to it;' saying they were not true ministers, because not called, and ordained in their way, by a classical or synodical assembly, and not brought up at the university for such literature; and because we met in houses divers times in the week for prayer, &c., they spake evil of us as seducers."<sup>1</sup>

Ralph Farmer, on the death of Nicholas Meredith, in 1639, had been nominated as his successor to the office of chamberlain by the king; but the corporation, Puritan as it was, did not accept the nomination, having themselves chosen William Chetwynd. We next hear of this gentleman as the lecturer at St. Nicholas and the Presbyterian minister at St. James'. When the city surrendered to Fairfax, in 1645, there was a Parliamentary ordinance in force, by which the Church of England service had been abolished, and a Directory set up in its stead. All clergymen who refused to conform were deprived of their benefices, and "honest men" were appointed in their place. A large portion, if not the majority, of the soldiers being Independents (this name, in 1645, embraced all dissenters from a state church, and was used in contradistinction to Presbyterians and Episcopalians), some of the Church pulpits in Bristol were filled by them. Thus when Cromwell was in Bristol, in 1649, he went to St. Ewens' church to hear Major Kem, who is described as "a babe of grace in a scarlet coat, with silver lace, and a sword by his side, who preached very strange things, wherewith the people were much moved." Then Thomas Ewins, of All Hallows, London and Llanvaughas, who adopted Baptist views in 1656, and who was a man of great power and godliness, became rector of Christ church. Hancock, a butler, succeeded to the vicarage of St. Philip. The deprived vicar of St. Nicholas, Towgood, was succeeded by John Paul, Constant Jessup and others. Of the latter the Quakers said the city had no reason to be grieved at his removal, but that they had gotten a worse in his

<sup>1</sup> Broadmead Records, 57.

place, meaning Ralph Farmer, the Presbyterian. But Matthew Hazard, of St. Ewen, a moderate man, who resigned that benefice in 1643, and Nathaniel Ingelo, both spoke in favour of his removal. Ingelo would not be a likely man to suit the severer Puritans; he dressed well, "in garments not becoming the gospel;" he was passionately devoted to music, which he practised at home and at the houses of the gentry; at this, his church-members were troubled, and for it they admonished him. "Take away my music, you take away my life," said he. He afterwards became the author of several works—one a romance, *Bentivoglio and Urania*—was a Fellow of Eton college, a Doctor of Divinity, and became the talented leader of the band of Charles II. Farmer was rigidly orthodox, a lordly bishop in all but the name, possessing a fluent delivery, and was a man of considerable literary attainments; he was a violent antagonist of the Quakers, not altogether without reason, for "they were continually disturbing him," says a contemporary, "whilst praying or preaching, so that this attracted large congregations, making the church like a playhouse." He wrote a book against them, which he entitled *The Mystery of Ungodliness*. It contains an account of the examination by the magistrates of the first Quakers who were apprehended.

These social amenities between professing Christians were confined to no denomination, even the Quakers used strong language. "Sons of Pride," "Priests of Baal," and "Ministers of Antichrist," are amongst the appellations bestowed on the preachers from whom they differed.

The only excuse we can make for this departure on all sides from the true spirit of the gospel is that its nature was misunderstood, religion was in a state of transition; and whilst the persecutors were highly culpable, the sufferers were often most exasperating and far from blameless. With this remark we gladly close this sad page of Bristol history.

In 1654-5 the Parliament discovered that castles were antagonistic to liberty, and ordered their demolition throughout the land. The following order sealed the fate of Bristol castle:—

OLIVER P.

These are to authorise you forthwith to demolish the castle within the city of Bristol, and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given at Whitehall,  
28th day of December, 1654.

To the Mayor and Commonalty  
of the City of Bristol.

Nehemiah Wallington, a Puritan diarist, tells us that a new chapel was built (*circa* 1630) in the castle of Bristol for the queen, and the workmen having hoisted

a great beam for the roof tree, they found it in the morning broken in two, nothing having been laid upon it to cause the fracture; moreover, the chief workman fell and broke his neck, which things he concludes to be omens against Popery.

One of the last captives was John Fitzherbert, who had been engaged in the attempt of Yeomans and Boucher, but had effected his escape at that time. When the city was taken by Fairfax he was captured and imprisoned, chained to another for nine weeks in a dungeon in the Castle. He was a man of substance, and was fined £360 ere he obtained his liberty; he lost at least £5,000 by his loyalty.

On the 28th December, 1654, Cromwell's order was sent for the immediate demolition of the castle; but although our *Calendars* say that this was accomplished in a fortnight by the householders, who had each to work in person or else to pay a substitute, it is clear that the work was not so speedily executed, for on February 28th, 1655, Major ——— brought another peremptory order from the lord protector, and the major declared that he would stay until the work was completed, notwithstanding the badness of horse quarters and the dearness of the place to the soldiers. The fortnight of hard, effectual work must therefore be transposed from Christmas to March, 1655.

19. In 1655 a bridge was made over the ditch of the castle at the west end of the Old Market street, and a new street (Castle street) was built and opened through the site of the castle, to the great convenience of the citizens, who before this had to pass down Lower Castle street, along Castle ditch and up Newgate hill, in order to get from the east into the city. That the river at this period had not a good reputation for the navigation of large ships is evident from the following order made this year: "No ship of above 100 tons shall be allowed to come up to the Quay, or Back, under a penalty of ten pounds." The West Indiamen and other large ships had to lie at Hungroad in deep water (the mooring chains remain), and their cargoes were sent in lighters up to the city. This year a frigate called the *Islip*, pierced for 30 guns, was built in Bristol, and another named the *Nantwich*, pierced for 44 guns, was launched the following year by Mr. Bayly.

July 24th, 1655, an order was received to demolish the Royal fort, and to remove the munitions of war to Chepstow castle. The demolition was not completed until subsequent to February 28th, 1656. It is a popular fallacy that Oliver Cromwell pulled down the western nave of the cathedral. This arose doubtless from the fact that a Cromwell in Henry VIII.'s day was the destroyer of the monasteries. Neither when lieutenant-

general nor as lord-protector did Oliver order or countenance so sacrilegious an act; but in the year 1655 "Walter Deyos, a god-fearing mayor, stripped the lead from the nave and cloisters of the cathedral. But some did cause the spoliation to cease, and did order the chamberlain to sell the lead and to expend the money in the repairs of the cathedral.

Jane Barry, sextoness of the cathedral, for the repairs, £79 8s. 6d." Deyos was sheriff in 1639; warden in Merchants' hall in 1641; treasurer in 1644; mayor in 1655-6; died in 1658. His widow resided in St. Werburgh's parish at the Restoration. Six marshals were chosen to be constables to attend the mayor in long gowns, with the city arms upon their sleeves. Every citizen not attending in his turn the nightly watch was fined in summer sixpence and in the winter eightpence for his neglect. During his mayoralty some of the instructions issued to the aldermen's deputies for the better observance of the Sabbath are worthy of especial notice. "That each deputy in his ward

do of his uttermost care and endeavour, for the sanctifying the Lord by walking about his ward." People were not allowed to walk except to and from their respective places of worship. They were watched and fined for each offence of non-attendance 2s. 6d., or "clapt" into prison. The constables are particularly to "observe boys, children and others, and to take notice of the names of the parents and masters of such boys or children, who may be playing, sitting,

vainly or profanely walking or idling on the Tolzey under Christ church, or about the High Cross, or in the streets at Farthing pitt, in the Marsh or Castle fields, or elsewhere within the city which are usually the receptacles of such disorderly persons." An account was also to be kept of all vessels going up and down the

river, and of the persons who employed them. No persons were allowed to pass over the ferry at Limekiln slip. The officials were to "exercise due vigilance and mark all those who do not regularly attend publick worship that they may be reprimanded accordingly." But the most absurd, unhealthy prohibition, from which will be seen the extreme length to which unchecked fanaticism would ride its hobby, was this: "That all conduits be shutt, and kept fast, and the keepers of the same presume not to suffer any water to bee drawne from ye pipes on yt. daye." And the constables are to present the names of persons so offending, or seen carrying a "payle, stand, or vessell through the streete."

Cleanliness in the



*The Pie Poudre Court in Old Market Street.*

estimation of these men had evidently no connection with godliness. After these samples one may doubt whether it was all a caricature when the satirist wrote of a man

"who hanged his cat on Monday  
For killing of a mouse on Sunday."

20. Richard Balman, mayor in 1656, was a brewer who had been apprenticed to William Baldwyn. Whilst we write (1881) a mantlepiece has been discovered in

the house in which he lived in Mary-le-port street, bearing two shields, with his monogram, and also the brewers' coat of arms. In 1641 he was sheriff, his colleague being the unfortunate Robert Yeomans. Balman, on September 30th, 1643, with William Colston and others, was on a committee "to think of levying and bestowing £100, and also a tun of wine, to be presented to the governor for the prince's table." A curious trait of the times was the scarcity of domestic furniture, and the now common necessities of the sleeping apartment were then luxuries only to be found in the mansions of the opulent. On the 9th March the following year he lent "a feather bed, with a mattress, bolster, two pillows, a pair of sheets, a pair of blankets, and pillow bearers," for the use of Prince Charles. These were lent in response to the following invitation from the Royalist chamber: "Whosoever of the city shall furnish or lend any bedding or furniture for the prince's accommodation in the Great House on St. Augustine's back shall have the same safely restored to them, and in case any shall be lost or spoyle, the same to be made good to them." Balman (although he had been fined £100) was apparently the only Puritan who contributed to the prince's comfort. He also provided a horse for the defence of the city, but after its capture by Fairfax he enrolled himself on the popular side. On January 14th, 1647, he was appointed on a committee for presenting to Parliament some grievances of the city, and, in 1656, was mayor and alderman. During his mayoralty fasts were numerous; we give one example out of many:—

Sir,—His highness the lord protector of this Commonwealth have agreed upon a declaration for a general fast, to be holden in all places within England, Scotland and Ireland, upon Thursday, 30th October next, whereof the ministers and teachers of the respective parishes and congregations are, by the tenor thereof, to take notice. We have therefore sent you several copies of the said declaration, which you are strictly required carefully to send abroad and disperse to the several parishes and congregations within your city. In proving your utmost endeavour and diligence that the same be done with effect, and returning a speedy account to the Council of your receipt hereof, and proceeding thereupon.

Signed in the name and by the order of the Council for the mayor of the city of Bristol, these.

Whitehall, September, 1656.

To this the mayor replies:—

Right Honourable,—Your letter, together with the copies of the declaration for the fast to be kept on the 30th October instant, I received, and immediately sent abroad and dispersed the said copies to the several parishes and congregations within this city, and shall endeavour in what I can to maintain a due observance of the day from only at present,

Your humble servant,

RICHARD BALMAN, Mayor.

Bristol, 18th October, 1656.

To the Right Honourable the Lord President Lawrence,  
at Whitehall, London, these.

Balman attended the last meeting of the Commonwealth corporation, he was also chosen on the Royalist corporation after the Restoration, and attended the first meeting of the chamber. In 1663 he lent £50 towards the expense of entertaining Charles II. and his queen. He resided in Mary-le-port street, and retired from the city in 1667. His daughter, Mary, married John Hicks, who was mayor in 1671.

21. The following incidents of this period are epitomised from Evans:—

1656. February 20, the constables were ordered to assist Capt. Robert Doleman of the *Weeford* frigate in the impressment of 200 able mariners, seamen and watermen, above fifteen and under sixty years of age.

June 4, wheat at 5s. per bushel, the assize fixed the twopenny white loaf to weigh 14 oz. 3 qr. 1 dm., the wheaten 22 oz., and the household 29 oz. 1 qr. 3 dm., so that the poor man this year had less bread for his money by nearly two parts out of five than he had in 1654.

September 8, Captain Morgan who had built some houses at Crockerne Pill without the consent of the corporation of Bristol, apologized by letter, and promised that no more should be built without their leave.

1657. John Cottrell and Robert Jones, bakers, of Pensford, admitted to sell bread in the market, being two out five persons thus privileged.

July 17, a new inn built by George Hele, tailor, adjoining the site on which the "George" inn formerly stood, was allowed to be used as a common inn and hostelry.

August 26, an order was obtained that there should be no other inn within the precincts of the castle.

This month also complaint was made that Ed. Morgan, Thomas Wallis, Bartholomew Allen and others had digged wells in the vicinity of the spring that supplied All Saints conduit in Maudlin lane. Ordered no more should be dug, and these be filled in if they affected the supply.

1658. August 19, the water bailiff was sent to Crockerne Pill to require Mr. Morgan and all his tenants to pull down the several houses built there, contrary to the decrees of the Exchequer with which they had been served.

December 8, all private persons are ordered not to take in the horses of travellers to the prejudice of inn holders, who by law and custom of England are responsible for all such horses. By another order horses are not allowed to be fed in the streets. Penalty on the owner 6d., to go to the poor. Inhabitants suffering a horse to stand to forfeit 1s. A constable or serjeant-at-mace bringing such horse to the next common inn to receive 4d. from the owner, who was also to pay 2d. to the inn holder for the standing of the horse.

Elizabeth Nut, of Chelvey, a vagrant, was whipped from the High Cross to Redcliff gate, and so sent home.

Arthur Farmer was chosen mayor in 1657-8. During his mayoralty, August 12th, 1658, an entertainment was given to the natives of Bristol at the great house at the bridge-end, "over against the 'Bear' tavern." Tickets 5s. each. His worship being a Bristol-born man was treasurer.

On January 5th, the manor farm and prebend of Tollerton, in the county of Gloucester, and the manors of Westhatch and North Weston, in Somerset, were

ordered to be sold in fee to meet the many thousand pounds the chamber was indebted.

The previous mayor had ordered, by virtue of Act Parliament, that £909 should be yearly levied by assessment on each parish for the support of the ministers of religion, viz., St. Michael, St. Augustine and St. James, £50; St. Thomas, £12; Temple, £48; Redcliff, £40; St. Philip and the Castle, £20; St. Stephen, £90; St. Nicholas, £120; St. Werburgh and St. Leonard, £85; All Saints and St. Ewen, £70; Christ church and St. John, £120; St. Mary-le-port and St. Peter, £96. These assessments only amount to £791. So, in 1658, the corporation contributed £100 to make up the sum total. From the above it will be seen that St. Nicholas was by far the richest parish in the city.

Hooke's Mills orphan asylum bears the date of this year in the carved work of one of its fireplaces. The New Castle gate<sup>1</sup> and the Queen's gate were built this year.

Arthur Farmer bequeathed to St. James' parish £40, the profit thereof to six poor housekeepers for ever; and to St. Mary Redcliff £40, St. Thomas £40, Temple £40, Christ church £40.

The following letters were this year (1657) addressed by Cromwell to the corporation:—

Oliver P.—Trusty and well-beloved we greet you well. Remembering well the late expressions of love that I have had from you, I cannot omit any opportunity to express my care of you. I do hear on all hands that the Cavalier party are designing to put us into blood. We are, I hope, taking the best care we can, by the blessing of God, to obviate this danger; but our intelligence on all hands being that they have a design on your city, we could not but warn you thereof and give you authority (as we do hereby) to put yourself in the best posture you can for your own defence by raising your militia, and putting them in readiness for the purpose aforesaid: letting you also know that for your better encouragement herein you shall have a troop of horse sent you to quarter in or near your town. We desire you to let us hear from time to time touching the malignant party, and so we bid you farewell.

Whitehall, 2nd December, 1657.

Upon receipt hereof the chamber immediately appointed two committees, one to answer the protector's letter the other for placing the city in a posture of defence. Alderman Henry Gibbs was on both committees. In pursuance of the command the chamber ordered the militia to be raised, and that the officers of which, formerly approved by this house, do forthwith undertake the charge of their respective companies. Another letter from Cromwell followed:—

Gentlemen,—We have certain intelligence that the old Cavalier party, and those who favour their interest in these nations, do

design a sudden insurrection in this nation, and are to be encouraged therein by the Spaniards, who, together with Charles Stuart, intend an invasion, and we are informed that your city is particularly designed upon, and that some of their agents are sent down privately to prepare both persons and things against the time they shall be ready. Wherefore, we have thought it necessary to give you timely notice thereof, to the end you may be upon your guard, and be in a posture to defend yourselves either against open force or secret undermining, and we shall be ready as you shall let us understand your condition to give you any assistance as it shall be necessary for preserving the peace of the city.—

We rest your ever loving friend,

OLIVER P.

Whitehall, March 16th, 1657-8.

To the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council  
of the City of Bristol.

Although Cromwell had before this date destroyed the castle and "purged the chamber of malignants" the above letters denote his apprehensions of a revolt and his anxiety to secure the allegiance of the city. For these he had good reason. A plot was on foot by which Clayton, Pyle and others, were to seize Bristol and Gloucester, which was to be the signal for a general insurrection.

22. In December, 1658, a rate was ordered for the castle liberty for the relief of the poor. On January 4th, 1659, twenty watchmen were appointed at 4*d.* per night in summer and 6*d.* per night in winter, to be under the control of Richard Hopkins, marshall. In March, the market in Broad street on Saturdays was confined to butchers from the country; city butchers, who had shops elsewhere all the week long, were prohibited from stalls on penalty of 6*s.* 8*d.* per day. October 1st, a survey of the conduit head (at Breene's mill) which supplied the Quay and Back pipes was ordered, there being a leakage. October 18th, the country butchers ordered to leave the market in Broad street at three o'clock on Saturdays. The mayor and aldermen directed search into all charters, books of records, writings and evidences, relating to the city. The report thereon to be made in writing.

We give here another instance of the manner in which Bristol closely followed the customs of the metropolis:—

1658. 26th August. It is this day ordered and ordained that a handsome barge be rowed with eight or ten oars, after the manner of those barges used by the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and other companies there, to be built at the city's charge, and a convenient place be also built for keeping of the same. And the chamberlain is to take care for providing the same accordingly.

Eight days after the chamber had issued the above, Cromwell died and the Government was shortly dissolved, leaving the Royalists to follow out the idea.

1661. January 31st. Paid Michael Deyos, water bailiff, towards building of a barge for the mayor and aldermen, £20.

The mayor's *Calendar* informs us the barge was completed. "This year, 1661, a new barge was built to

<sup>1</sup> This was the Newgate, which was removed and re-erected in Brislington, where, at the entrance to the Black castle, it may still be seen.

pass up and downe the river to bee used by the maior, aldermen or counsell." From the epithet new, it will be inferred there was an old barge, although the Commonwealth does not point to any precedent.

We have elsewhere recorded the gift, by Robert Redwood, of a house and books, wherewith to found a free library for the city as early as the year 1613; and in the year 1657 the thoughtful among the Puritans were desirous of having another in the heart of the city. The site they selected is that now occupied as the printing and publishing office of the *Western Daily Press*. Coming events are said to cast their shadow before, but two hundred years is too long a stretch for even a fanciful imagination to connect a desire to make the spot a seedplot of learning with the establishment of the first penny newspaper in the west of England. The city groaned beneath a plethora of churches, and the citizens sought to make one of these more useful, although in another way, so they petitioned Parliament as follows:—

1657. April 1st, whereas there is a very small church and parish situated in the centre of the city, called St. Ewens, or St. Audens, consisting of but 22 families, and in distance from two other churches but the breadth of a street; there not being any maintenance for a preaching minister belonging thereunto, and may with consistency be united to another parish; and whereas there is a great want of a library within this city, for publick use and propagation of learning; it is ordered that Mr. Aldworth, now burgess in Parliament, be desired to use his best endeavour in Parliament, that the said church with the appurtenances, may be given to the mayor and commonalty of this city, to be employed to that use or other publick uses.

A free library was even then felt to be a necessary corollary to a free school: our intelligent forefathers discerned this in an age that was narrow-spirited, bigoted and fanatical. There were those, however, who said that not only was instruction in the rudiments of learning necessary for the young, but that a man's education was not complete when he left school, or even the university, but that it was the work of a lifetime, and its growth should be encouraged by public grant and support as being a national benefit; a thoroughly educated people are practically masters of the world. These men were wise in their generation. They had, as we have seen, secured land for a free school; but the death of Cromwell and the dissolution of the Government prevented the carrying out of the great idea of a central free library in the heart of the city, and the matter has remained in abeyance to the present day.

23. In 1658 Richard Cromwell made a progress through the country and came to Bath. Bristol, which had earned great fame from its profuse hospitality and sumptuous banquetings, was anxious to have a visit from the son and presumed successor of the lord protector. A meeting of the common council was called,

and Mr. Farmer, the mayor, Walter Sandy, and the aldermen, together with John Willoughby and Henry Appleton, sheriffs, were deputed to wait upon him and General Desborough, at Bath, to present them wine and sugar as they shall see fit (a regular Bristol custom this), to give them an invitation to the city, and then to make such provision for their entertainment and their retinue as shall be agreeable to them, and uphold the dignity of the city. The chamberlain was despatched to Bath with a cordial invitation, taking with him 103lb. of fine loaf sugar and a cask of wine, £8 13s. 6d. His expenses are given at 12s. 6d.; his attendants at 8s. 6d.

The most illustrious Lord Richard accepted the sweets, sent Mr. Mayor a present of venison (two bucks), and complied with the request. He arrived in Bristol on July 3rd, 1658, accompanied by his lady, the Hon. William Cromwell, Mr. Dunche, and a numerous train of gentry. He was met on the road by the sheriffs at the head of 200 horsemen. At the city boundaries the mayor and aldermen awaited him with 400 mounted men. The guns thundered a salute from the Marsh, the ships in the harbour fired off their artillery, and amidst the heartiest demonstrations of goodwill he was escorted to the house of Colonel Aldworth, in Broad street. Next morning he rode out to view the city and neighbourhood, returning to a noble dinner at which, although there was abundance of wine, &c., the utmost decorum prevailed (so says our chronicle). The wine bill amounted to £145 18s. 2d. In the evening he took another ride into the town Marsh, amidst salvoes from the great guns, partook of another banquet at the house of the mayor, and returned the same evening to Bath. The narrator, enlarging upon the duty and good affection shown to him, adds, "Yet it is no more than is paid to that noble lord in every place by such as have had the honour to observe his great humanity, joined with so great hopes and the noblest indications of a virtuous mind." Another item indicates the prevalence of the Puritanic element at their convivial gatherings: "Mr. Ralph Farmer for prayers and graces which was extraordinary, 13s. 4d." Amongst the luxuries is "a gross of pypes," but there is no price attached, and tobacco is not named in the disbursements.

"Man's life is as the grass of the field: in the morning it is green and groweth up, in the evening it is cut down, dried up, and withered." With these impressive words of a sublime old psalm did Ralph Farmer conclude a solemn prayer at a mournful meeting of the corporation three days after the death of Cromwell. The great leader who stood between them and monarchy had been removed. He had come to his end by no rugged

path, but tranquilly upon his bed; above the voices of the storm he had heard and answered to the last stern roll-call. This was to the chamber an important meeting. There were present the mayor, Arthur Farmer, seven aldermen, the sheriffs, and fifteen common councilmen. After the reading of the letter announcing the death of the protector and commanding the proclamation of his son, "the most noble and illustrious Lord Richard," it was ordered, ordained and enacted, that according to the purport of the same, his highness shall be this day (September 6th) proclaimed by one of the sheriffs at the High Cross, and the manner of the solemnity to be this:

That the mayor, aldermen, and common council shall forthwith meet at the Guildhall in their scarlet gowns. That warning be presently given to all the several companies of the liveries within the city to attend at the Guildhall; also that all the superior officers of the trained bands, and their sergeants and drummers be there and here likewise, with the city musicians, and all other civil officers belonging to the corps also. That directions be given for bonfires, trumpets, ringing of bells, firing of great guns in the Marsh, at the city's charges, as also for discharging all the great guns in the several ships at the Key, Hungroad, and Kingroad.

The proclamation was as follows:—

Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God in His wise and ever-ruling providence, to take into His mercy the most serene and renowned Oliver, late lord protector of this Commonwealth. And whereas his said late highness did in his lifetime, according to the humble petition and advice, appoint and declare the most noble and illustrious lord, the Lord Richard, eldest son of his said late highness to succeed him in the government of these nations. We therefore, the mayor and the other magistrates of this city of Bristol, in the name, and with the consent and concurrence of the commonalty of the said city, do with one full voice, and consent of tongue and heart, publish and proclaim the said most noble and illustrious Lord Richard to be the rightful lord protector of this Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging. To whom we acknowledge all fidelity and constant obedience according to the law, and the same humble petition and advice: with all heart and humble affections, beseeching the Lord, by whom princes rule, to bless him with long life, and these nations with peace and happiness under his government.

The cost of the proclamation:—

	£	s.	d.
Paid the drummers and sergeants for their attendance and also the trumpeters at the proclaiming the Lord Richard Cromwell, protector ... ..	2	10	6
Paid the seamen for firing the guns... ..	0	12	0
Paid Michael Deyos for 3 barrels of powder, and other charges, in shooting of the great guns in several ships at the Key ... ..	16	6	2
Paid for a butt of sack given away by order of the mayor and aldermen ... ..	28	0	0
Paid the trumpeters and waits at the proclamation ... ..	2	10	0

Although on the surrender of the city by Fiennes to the Prince Rupert, Arthur Farmer was fined £100 for his anti-monarchical proclivities, yet he lent another £100 for the payment of the king's troops on the security of the public faith. He also (on compulsion) gave one

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horse to defend the city against the attack by Fairfax and Cromwell.

Cromwell's government has been aptly described by Burke "as somewhat rigid, but for a new power no savage tyranny." Clarendon, the Royalist historian, says, "His greatness at home was but the shadow of the glory he had abroad." He raised his country out of a state of pitiful subjection to foreign powers, to which the Stuarts had reduced it, to a commanding position. "It was hard to discover which feared him most, France, Spain, or the Low Countries, where his friendship was current at the value he put upon it."<sup>1</sup>



RICHARD Lord Protector of England Scotland & Ireland and the Dominions & Territories therevnto belonging;

He threatened that the thunder of his guns should be heard in St. Angelo, unless the persecution of the Vau-  
dois ceased; he refused the alliance of Spain because "there is no liberty of conscience in the land;" the flag of England, under Blake, was victorious on every sea; he demanded and obtained from the Pope and the Grand Duke of Tuscany indemnity for British ships that had been seized by Prince Rupert, and been sold in their states. Algiers and Tripoli complied with his demands, and when the Bey of Tunis, pointing to his fortresses, bade him for answer "do his worst," he battered the forts and burned the Corsair's fleet in his harbour. Without affecting a supremacy for England over the nations on the Continent there can be no question that

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon, VII., 207.

she at that time occupied a foremost place. At home his toleration made him many enemies. Sectarian prejudice was too strong for him to act up to his principles always, but it is abundantly evident that Cromwell's very soul revolted from persecution in matters of religion. "If a man who is an Independent will despise him who is under baptism and revile him, and will reproach and provoke him, I will not suffer it in him . . . neither should Presbyterian censure Independent, nor Baptist either. . . . I have borne my reproach, but I have, through God's mercy, not been unhappy in hindering any one religion to impose upon any other." The Quakers, hunted and persecuted by every other sect, found a friend in Cromwell; he moderated the sentence passed upon poor crazy-brained Naylor, and listened to George Fox with pleasure, dismissing him from custody with the words, "Come again to my house. If thou and I were but an hour of the day together we should be nearer one to the other. I wish no more harm to thee than I do to my own soul." In 1655 Cromwell brought before his council a petition from the Jews in which they prayed for liberty to settle again in England; but the rags of intolerance clung to the men who had themselves suffered the heaviest, it was William Prynne who published a manifesto against their being suffered to return; the clamour was great, but the next year the protector sought for no legal sanction but gave them a welcome, and raised no objection to their erecting a synagogue. In 1658 he honestly tried once again to revert to constitutional government by Parliament. The elections were fiercely contested. Forty members were selected to form an Upper House. The Houses met on the 20th of January, 1658, but were in so intractable a mood they did no business, so were dismissed on the 14th of February. Plots and conspiracies, both in the army and among the people, grew prevalent, Anabaptist joined with Royalist, and Protestant 'prentices leagued with the Catholics of Spain, but the ringleaders were seized and made an example of. A calm ensued, but in the midst of it Cromwell lost his favourite daughter, his son-in-law Rich, and the Earl of Warwick, his constant friend, and bowed down by private griefs and public cares the burden of the state proved too much for him to bear. "The greatest man that ever was," so said Cardinal Mazarin, "broke down." "As he rode at the head of his life guards I saw, and felt a waft of death go forth against him; and when I came to him he looked like a dead man. After I had laid the sufferings of Friends before him, and had warned him, according as I was moved to speak, he bade me come to his house. So I returned to Kingston, and the next day went up to Hampton Court to speak further with him; but the

doctors were not willing, so I passed away, and never saw him more," so wrote George Fox.

"He must stand  
Among the heroes of his native land,—  
There let him reign the grandest of the grand."<sup>1</sup>

In a night of terrible storm, on the 3rd of September, the anniversary of Dunbar, and Worcester, the great man, who, with all his mistakes and blunders, did more for us as a nation than any king from the days of Alfred the Great passed to his account. The night before his death he said, "I would be willing to live to be yet more serviceable to God and His people; but my work is done. Yet God will be with his people."

24. Walter Sandy, mayor in 1658-9, was a contributor of £50 to the "token of love and affection to the king;" he became sheriff in 1646, when his name occurs in an instrument as follows:—

May 10th, 1646.—Alderman Gibbs and Sheriff Sandy to confer with Mr. Edwards, on the bridge, and his wife and Mrs. Sly, and to correspond with them for the estate of Mr. Sly, which is escheated to the city by his attainder.

July 13th.—The composition made with Mr. Edwards and his wife, sister and heir to Mr. Sly, of £100, Edwards to pay all creditors that are townsmen, and secure the payment of the £100, and thereupon is to have a conveyance in fee, paying the ancient fee-farm rent under the city seal.

On Walter Sandy's elevation to the chief civic dignity the corporation met to prepare an address of recognition to the "most noble and illustrious Lord Richard;" but they were so long considering the matter that the Lord Richard had descended from his dangerous elevation before the address was presented. That so much intellectual labour might not be thrown away, the Royalists cleverly made the address presentable at the restoration by substituting Charles for Richard and other verbal alterations. The corporation met again the 20th September, apparently for the purpose of putting a black border to a page in the corporation *Journal*, as no other business was transacted, or if there was it is not recorded. At the last "calling of the House" for the election of officers by the Commonwealth-appointed corporation, 15th September, 1659, Walter Sandy in the chair, Alderman Tyson was chosen "maior for the yere ensuing," Mr. Gleed to be eldest sheriff, Mr. Maier elect, according to an ancient privilege, desired Mr. Timothy Parker might be chosen second sheriff. At the restoration Walter Sandy joined the Royalists. He lent £25 towards the entertainment of the king and queen, but he was not desired to resume his seat. We may rightly estimate the character of this man when we find his name attached, without compulsion, five years after his mayoralty, to the following warning to all who had the

<sup>1</sup> The New Bristol Guide, a comic poem by Rev. Francis Barham.

audacity to worship God in a different form to that ordered by the Church of England. Six males and three females being found guilty of attending conventicles were, on the third offence, committed to Newgate, tried, and were thus condemned:—

That they and every of them should be transported beyond the seas to the Island of Barbadoes, one of his majesty's foreign plantations, there to remain for the space of seven years; and if they shall escape before or after their transportation and shall return to England without his special license, they are to suffer as felons without benefit of clergy, and lose all their goods for ever and lands for life, if they have any, unless they shall, before the said sessions of gaol delivery be ended, pay down £100 a peece of lawful money of England in pursuance of the said Act and by authority thereof. These are in his majesty's name to will and require you forthwith on sight hereof to embarque the several persons to be safely transported from this port to his majesty's plantation of Barbadoes aforesaid, and for so doing this shall be your warrant, whereof you are not to fail, as you will answer the penalty in the aforesaid Act for your neglect therein.

Given under our hands and seals, this 16th day of Sept., 1665.

JOHN LAWFORD, Mayor.

ROBERT ATKYNS, Recorder.

John Willoughby, Henry Creswick, John Locke, Walter Sandy, Edward Morgan, John Knight. To the sheriffs of the city and county of Bristol.

The severe restrictions of the Puritans, their condemnation of all pleasures, however innocent, had created a powerful feeling of discontent in the minds of the majority of the nation. This was especially the case amongst the young generation, who knew only by repute of the hardships and early sufferings which their fathers had endured. Young people cannot be dragged into religion; the tighter the cords with which they are bound, the more desperately outrageous will be their rebound when they get their liberty.

The 'prentices of the city during the war had been in the scarcity of men elevated, in 1642, into undue importance. All who enlisted were indemnified, and their term of service was counted as a portion of their apprenticeship, whilst their masters were bound to receive them on their return. This did not tend to make them more obedient servants, or to set a good example, in 1660, to a generation eighteen or twenty years their junior. In that year, when General Monk entered London with the full intention of restoring Charles II., Bristol was in a ferment. At this critical juncture Edward Tyson, merchant, held the official dignity of chief magistrate, and experienced more of the anxieties of office than most of his predecessors.

The quartering of the military upon the inhabitants was an oppressive burden. Some few, comparatively, of the soldiers were little better than brigands, and to the mayor the housekeepers looked in their extremity for protection and redress.

"December 16th, 1659.—By a resolution of the committee, the mayor (Mr. Tyson) and aldermen were to treat with Lieut.-Colonel Mainwaring to prevent the soldiers taking free quarters unless one week's pay was made them in advance." The soldiers were, however, induced by a pecuniary consideration to forbear helping themselves.

"December 25th (Christmas-day had been abolished by Act of the Commonwealth Parliament). Paid certain officers and soldiers of Mainwaring's regiment, by order of the mayor and aldermen, to prevent plundering, £50."

Tyson's position as chief magistrate could not have been a comfortable one, as witness the following records:—

"1660, January 6th.—Ammunition ordered to be provided, and satisfaction to drummers and sergeants. A guard to be kept night and day. The expense to be raised upon the inhabitants."

This was a heavy burthen to the respectable poor, and Mr. Mayor was expected to assist them.

"January 16th.—The mayor agreed to advance the poor housekeepers who entertained the soldiers £105, to be repaid out of the subscription money."

The corporation did not omit in this season of trial and tribulation to unite in supplication to the throne of grace. They ordered "that some time be set apart by this assembly to seek the Lord solemnly and publicly by fasting and prayer, in respect of the nation, and a committee to draw up a declaration holding forth the grounds thereof, and to appoint days and times and churches where it is to be observed."

A contemporary MS. says:—"When the eve of Shrove-Tuesday was come there was a great commotion, and the bellman who, by order of Mr. Mayor, did read the proclamation forbidding the throwing at cocks and tossing of dogs, according to ancient custom on Shrove-Tuesday, had his bell cut from his back; and the next day being Shrove-Tuesday, there was a gathering of much people, and the apprentices did rise, and did show their contempt for Mr. Mayor his orders, and did make much sport by tossing of dogs and cats and squailing of geese and hens. In St. Nicholas street a goose was squailed before Mr. Mayor's his own door, which so irritated Mr. Timothy Parker, the sheriff, that he endeavoured to disperse the mob, but had his head broken for his pains.

"Shops were closed, business was suspended, and labour ceased. The apprentices assembled in the Marsh, crying out for a Free Parliament, some for Charles Stuart. The streets swarmed with noisy swaggering crowds, rudely armed, whose pent-up loyalty grew dan-

gerous. In an orderly manner the disorderly apprentices set guards in several places, and also secured the main guard. They even set a guard upon Mr. Mayor in his own house, leaving the corporation without a head. Thereupon the people did beat up drums round about the city, and made great brags what they would do; and being in no wise let, forced open the houses of those most attached to the Commonwealth, the masters of families hatching and fomenting the tumult and setting them on." Democracy was at a discount and Monarchy at a premium.

The mayor being in durance, the council appointed a committee who issued a proclamation which the apprentices only laughed at. "On February 2nd, 1660, the apprentices who cried a Free Parliament in Richard Cromwell's day and kept the city a week kept guard in the meal market and guard house in Wine street. On the 10th they were ordered to deliver up their arms at the Guildhall. Masters, trustees and widows were to make a register of apprentices and servants who went in arms."

1660. March 14th.—Paid Richard Burges and the drums for making proclamation for the apprentices to lay down their arms.

For a week the city was literally in the possession of the apprentices, and there is no knowing what the upshot would have been had not a troop of horse entered when the insurgents, to avoid bloodshed, prudently dispersed. The advent of more soldiers subdued the insurrection. But Mr. Mayor's troubles were not over. There arose another apprehension of the soldiers "making free quarters." How this danger was overcome the following record shows:—

March 22nd.—Paid by order of the mayor and aldermen to the two troops of horse that were in the town to send them going, £20.

The Royalists paid Edward Tyson the equivocal compliment of retaining the empty title of mayor until his official year had expired. He was therefore a municipal dummy—as the *Chronicle* expresses it, "a mere thing of a mayor." When the merry month came round the lads and lasses raised a maypole in their gladness at a break in the Puritan régime; but they were a little too soon, for on May 14th an order was issued against the erection of maypoles, on the ground—"First, that their origin was heathenish; secondly, that under the gospel they were scandalous."<sup>1</sup>

In 1660, on March 27th, several letters were read in the council, one from the Lord General Monk, another from Vice-Admiral Penn; and it was resolved "that the same be referred to a committee to consider of both, and of what answer to be returned thereunto, and to report their opinions to the House." But while they

<sup>1</sup> Old MS.

were pondering and deliberating the Royalists were acting, and the committee were rudely awakened by the intelligence that the New Parliament had voted money for bringing over the royal family, therefore the "opinions" of the committee are lost to us. But instead of the momentous change in the government of a great nation absorbing all the faculties of the corporation, it was a secondary consideration; and they occupied themselves, not in endeavouring to secure the permanency of their government, but in ascertaining the right of Sir William Penn to the freedom of the city. This last resolution is as follows:—

That taking into consideration the freedom of General William Penn, the House have thereupon ordered, ordained and enacted, that it be referred to Mr. Robert Vickriss, Mr. William Grigg, and Mr. Chamberlain, to search the records of this city for the freedom of his late father, deceased, and if it appears that the said father was admitted a free burgess of this city, that then they shall make report thereof unto the mayor and aldermen, who are hereby authorised and empowered notwithstanding any acts or ordinances of the mayor and aldermen and common council to the contrary, to direct and appoint the chamberlain according to custom, to admit the said General Penn, as the son of a freeman, into the liberties of the city.<sup>1</sup>

Admiral Penn was not a Quaker; and it is notorious that he turned his son, the real illustrious Penn, out of doors for joining that body. The admiral was a Bristol man, but he was no credit to the city. By dint of the arts which flourished in the court of the restoration he obtained a lucrative office in the navy; but Pepys, the honest old secretary, tells us repeatedly in his diary that "the admiral was a worthless, jobbing, indolent, and time-serving knave."

In 1660 Christ church bells were recast, and chimes were set up by Richard Gregson, churchwarden, who was one of the sheriffs this year. On March 15th the Parliament was dissolved. Admiral Penn (who with Venables had been sent to the Tower, in 1655, for mis-managing an expedition to the West Indies, and not exerting themselves in an attempt upon Hispaniola), was a candidate for the representation of the city in the new Parliament; but the corporation favoured Mr. John Stephens, the recorder, and John Knight, sen., merchant, who were both elected.

The Houses met at Westminster on the 25th of April, when the king's letters and declaration were read to the Houses, and the Commons voted "£50,000 for his majesty's present occasions."

"On the death of Oliver Cromwell, who died September 3rd, 1658, when various attempts were made to set up strange forms of government, and the state fell into such confusion that it was evident nothing but the restoration of royalty could restore peace and order,

<sup>1</sup> Tovey's Local Jottings.

Bristol was no indifferent spectator of the troubles, but took its part in promoting his majesty's return. The following paper gives honourable testimony of this loyal spirit:—

“*Vera Copia.*”

“These are to certify all those whom it shall or may concerne, that we are credibly informed, and many of us of our own knowledge doe know that Richard Ellsworth, of the city of Bristol, merchant, in September, 1645, so farre adventured his person in loyalty to his Martyred Majestie (of never dieing memory) and defence of the said city, against the then Parliament's forces, as that in the then stormeinge thereof he was sorely wounded to the hazard of his life, he being then a commission officer. That ever since he hath continued his loyalty to his lawfull Prince and Sovereigne, notwithstanding all the late vicissitudes and changes of governments and governours, rejecting and refusing both offices under and all charges, covenants and engagements unto the said governours and governments.

“That when the late Committee of Safety treasonously usurped the Supreme Authority of this kingdome, he in December last, in the yeare 1659, invited the Apprentices of the saied city to petition the Mayor thereof to associate with the adjacent counties, and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Councel of London, for and towards reprieval from that slavery they were subjected unto by the tyranny of those usurpers, which by its discovery ere it came to the birth proving abortive, he in January followinge stirred up the said Apprentices to rise in opposition to the then Rump Parliament, under the pretences contained in their letter and declaration by him drawn upp for and sent to the Apprentices of London, committing the same to the press for publicke viewe, to encourage and quicken the said Apprentices and all others to rise also att the same time and contribute their utmost assistance towards the accomplishment of the great worke of his Majesties most desired restoration to his just rights and prerogative, which said risinge at that time gave the life to the then turneing scale of State affairs.

“That when the secluded Members were readmitted to sit in

Parliament, he did then also encourage and quicken the said Apprentices of Bristol to petition the then House of Commons for his Majesties restoration as aforesaid. And to the end God Almighty might hasten his Royall Majesties returne to his Crowne and Kingdomes, he in February following drew upp a narrative to perswade his Majesties loyall subjects to be fervent and frequent in effectual prayers at the throne of God's grace on his behalf, and sent the same to London for publicke view.

“That in the March followinge, he advised his Grace the Duke of Albemarle of an intended risinge of the officers of the then army in and about London, to obstruct the settleinge of the militia and sitting of the New Parliament, for the which he had his Grace's thanks, as per his letter of the 28th of March, 1660, now last past.

[“Concerning this branch of this Certificate, I do certifie that it is true.—*Albemarle.*”]

“All which appears by the severall petitions and papers aforesaid which we have seen, and therefore beinge fully satisfied of the truth thereof, and that the said Richard Ellsworth hath thereby given very signall testimony of his affections to his Majesties interest, government and service on severall occasions to him presentinge, we have hereunto subscribed our names, anno. 1660, &c.

“HENRY CRESWICK, Mayor.

“RICHARD GREGSON, Sherrife.

“ROB. POYNTZ.

“NATHER, Late Lieut.-Coll.

“WILLIAM COLSTON, Dep.-Lieut.

“Rt. MARCH, JOHN LOCK, Aldermen.

“ALEX. JAMES.

“WALTER SANDY, Alderman.”<sup>1</sup>

On May 8th King Charles II. was solemnly proclaimed at the High Cross in Bristol by Francis Glead, one of the sheriffs, the mayor and aldermen being present in their scarlet robes, and on May 25th Charles landed at Dover.

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 507-8.

*The materials for this and the previous chapter have been gathered from many sources beside those already acknowledged in the foot notes; amongst these may be mentioned Barrett's and Pryce's Histories of Bristol, The Bristol Memorialist, Robinson's Lecture, Clement Markham's Life of Fairfax, Oldmixon's History of the House of Stuart, Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Burnet's History of his Own Times, Stubbs', Green's, and other Histories of England.*





## CHAPTER XII.

### ➤ THE † STUART † ERA—CHARLES † II. ‹

1. Accession of Charles II. Reaction of the Presbyterian party. Disbanding of the Army. Character of the Court and the King. 2. The bulk of the people hold on to the liberty they had gained, and keep the King and the Lords in check. The Breda Proclamation. 3. Henry Creswick, Mayor. Incidents of the period. Nathaniel Cale, Mayor. Charles restores the Royalist members of the Common Council. The Solemn League and Covenant burnt by the hangman. Cale pensioned. The Treasurer's mace. 4. Act of Uniformity. The Nonconformists of 1662. The Five-mile Act. The King's marriage; his conduct. 5. Robert Cann and Company's claim. Cann is made a baronet. Incidents of his life. 6. Sir John Knight; his conduct in the House of Commons and as Mayor. Disputes as to precedence between Cann, Yeamans and Creswick. The Mayor, Mr. John Knight, is committed for breach of privilege and acquitted. Sir John, his namesake and accuser, sneaks home; his character. 7. Sundry payments. Sir John Knight presented by the Grand Jury for assaulting Sir R. Yeamans and the Mayor; his death. 8. Land on Montague Hill devised. Incidents of the period. Ducking a scold. The plague stayed. 9. Sir Thomas Langton, Mayor; incidents. Edward Morgan, Mayor. Visit of the Duchess of Monmouth. Thomas Stephens, Mayor; his gifts to the city. 10. Jonathan Blackwell. Christmas Steps. Rochfort's description of Bristol. 11. Sir Robert Yeamans. Mr. John Knight, the late Mayor, leaves for London. 12. John Hicks, Mayor. A sunken ship in the river. Attempts to make men religious by Act of Parliament. Persecution of Dissenters. Millerd's map published. Topographical description of the city at that date. He publishes a larger map, with engraved border. 13. Act for the encouragement of the Woollen trade. The tide of the Avon utilised as a motive power. The Queen visits Bristol. 14. Ralph Oliff, Mayor; his persecuting proclivities. 15. Robert Rogers; his great house haunted by a ghost. The old timber-framed house in High Street. Bill for a Girl's Board and Schooling. Sundry incidents of the period. 16. William Crabb, Mayor, at issue with Bishop Guy Carleton, who sought to impose an inquisition upon the citizens. Correspondence relating thereto. 17. Queen Catherine visits Bristol. Sir John Lloyd, Mayor; his credulity. Bedloe, the informer. John Lewis, the antiquary. 18. Richard Thompson and his famous sermon, for which he is impeached. Proceedings quashed by dissolution of Parliament. His fulsome sermon on kingly power. 19. Struggles and mistakes, political and polemical. A Bristol slave in Morocco. Money gifts to redeem captives. 20. Establishment of a Linen Manufactory in Bristol. Appropriation of part of the gift money. Sir John Knight's protest. 21. Bristol Artillery Company. The King and the Catholics. 22. Sir R. Hart and the ghost. Chief Justice North and Bedloe. Sir John Knight, sen., and others presented by the Grand Jury as petitioners. 23. Address to the King. Election contest. Party strife in the Common Council. 24. Incidents of the period. Sir R. Southwell's letters, etc. 25. Thomas Easton, Mayor. Fulsome address to the King; incidents. 26. A "Quo Warranto" brought against the Corporation. Charles grants a new Charter. The King nominates the Council. Abstract of the letters patent. 27. Occurrences arising out of this Charter. An Insurrection planned. Holloway escapes, but is subsequently taken and hanged. 28. Nell Gwynn in Bristol. Sir William Clutterbuck, Mayor; his bequests. 29. Corporation address on the death of Charles II., and accession of James II. Address of the Quakers. Charles's death and character. Sundry items of historical interest.



THE death of Cromwell sealed the fate of the Republic. Charles had, by his conduct, made that form of Government for the time being a necessity; but it had no healing, consolidating power, and, consequently, no chance of continuance, save by the strong hand of force. Under its *régime* the dislocation of the people into parties had rapidly progressed, and contention was more bitterly manifest than in the period of open warfare. Disappointed politicians, of many and diverse factions, helped to swell the ranks of the reactionists. Especially was this the case with that most influential body, the Presbyterians, who, since the advent of the Independents to power, had become decidedly Royalist. It was they who played the chief part in the Restoration, and the bulk of the members of the Convention Parliament, which met on the 25th of April, 1660, were Presbyterians. They were also well represented in the privy council. Their loyalty knew no bounds, for the king had solemnly promised that he would preserve and maintain the Presbyterian establishment as the church of the realm. Ere the veil was torn from their eyes, and they were relegated to a fiercer persecution than their fathers had endured, they voted that the annual royal revenue should be fixed at £1,200,000. To make up this amount, the odious excise laws, first introduced in the time of the Civil war, were perpetuated, by which means the king was rendered more independent of Parliament than any of his predecessors. But before many months had passed they saw the very instrument by which they considered their religious system was secured, and to which the king had solemnly thrice given his adhesion by oath, burnt by the hands of the common hangman; and again, by the unjust execution of that great statesman, Vane, they found that a Stuart had only to resolve to suspend a law which protected an offender against the state, and he would find ready and subservient tools upon the bench to effect his object.

One of the most remarkable events of that or of any other age was the disbanding of the army, which had been practically for many years the instrument of government: 30,000 men, numbers of them old soldiers, having been paid their full arrears, assembled with their regiments in different parts of the country, and, with the exception of 4,000 foot and 1,000 horse, were dispersed to their homes. "No roadside inn witnessed a brawl of their creating, no cottage door ever saw one of their number in a beggar's garb. Ceasing to be soldiers, they dropped quietly into their old honest ways, to be

known from other men only by their more sober habits and more thoughtful industry."<sup>1</sup>

The exuberant loyalty of the Presbyterians descending to servility, which, in 1660, characterised at first the leaders of the people, was simply the rebound from the severe Puritanism of the Commonwealth. Then the state, godly in its conception and arrangements, had honestly, but mistakenly, aimed at making the people godly by human enactments. No public office could be held or pulpit occupied by men who did not, at least, profess to be religious. The village revel, with its rustic sports, the merry dance around the maypole on the green, the Christmas feasts, theatrical representations, bull-baiting, bear-baiting, cock-fighting, horse-racing, song-singing and a country walk on the Sunday were put on one level, all were alike considered to be works of the devil and had all been prohibited. To deck one's house with holly, eat mincepies and burn the Yule log stamped the perpetrator as a Papist. Under the name of religion the Puritans had built up a narrow social tyranny, which, because of its petty meddling with things not sacred, was more galling and oppressive than the political system of Tudor or Stuart.

What wonder, then, that under Charles II. all that was noble and good in Puritanism was confounded with its failings, its weaknesses and its miserable *exuvia*, and both the court and the nation rushed into an opposite extreme, one in which godliness had neither an assumed nor a real place. Lewdness, debauchery and the duello became the marks of the fashionable gentleman. The poems of the day are revolting in their fleshliness; the drama, redundant with wit and sparkling with genius, is foul with obscenity, and its lessons are the reverse of those of morality and honour.

The stage, however, was only the reflex of the court, where the king

"Of a tall stature and of sable hue,  
Much like the son of Kish, that lofty Jew;"<sup>2</sup>

"Who never said a foolish thing  
And never did a wise one,"<sup>3</sup>

led the revels; and in his love of what was false and vile, in his contempt of virtue and disbelief in purity and honesty, stood a full head and shoulders above his most dissipated courtiers. On the very night of his Restoration day he took the wife of Colonel Palmer as his mistress, and ere long made her a duchess.

2. But the people had, to a certain extent, been bettered by their late masters, and a great proportion

<sup>1</sup> Vaughan's *Revolutions*, III., 431.

<sup>2</sup> Andrew Marvell. <sup>3</sup> Rochester.

remained Puritan in belief, although they cast off its ridiculous phrases and exceptional prejudices. They got back their mincepies and maypoles; but, whilst rejecting the extravagances of religious enthusiasm, they retained the habit of free inquiry, which resulted in a wonderful activity of scientific research and theological latitudinarianism; from the one school we derive the Royal Society (founded in 1662), from the other profound thinkers like Hobbes, and liberal Churchmen like Hales, Chillingworth, and that most brilliant of preachers, Jeremy Taylor. When Charles entered Whitehall, and Monarchy was restored without restriction, the frivolous courtiers considered that "finis" was written upon the great revolutionary work of the 17th century. Never was there a greater mistake. Amidst the exuberant professions of loyalty the spirit of constitutional liberty retained its vitality, and step by step the supreme power was transferred from the crown to the representatives of the people. The blind, unreasoning devotion to the crown of the old Cavalier had died out, and loyal as the nation now undoubtedly was, it was a loyalty that discerned how powerfully to influence all administrative measures and to prevent a wholesale policy of reaction. Charles and the House of Lords pressed

hotly for revenge upon those whom the king styled his father's murderers; but the privy council actually contained twelve members who had borne arms against the king, and the Commons steadily resisted and repressed the cry for blood. Twenty-eight of the late king's judges were arraigned at the bar, but only thirteen were executed. An Act of Indemnity was passed. But not a voice was raised for the restoration of the Star Chamber, of monopolies, or of the court of High Commission; the right of the king to levy ship-money could find no advocate, and Parliament was admitted on all hands to be the medium by which supplies were to be granted to the crown. Crown lands held by military

tenure had ceased to be of any great pecuniary value, but the sovereign still held the guardianship of orphans' estates. Elizabeth had used this power to educate Catholic minors in the Protestant faith. James and his unfortunate son had given their wards when they were heiresses to court favourites, and had even sold them in open market to the highest bidder. One of the first acts of the Convention Parliament was to free the country gentry, by abolishing the claims of the crown to reliefs, wardship, purveyance and pre-emption, and by the conversion of lands held in chivalry into lands held in common socage. In lieu of these rights Charles

accepted £100,000 per annum, which, as we have stated, was raised by a general excise, instead of, as in justice it should have been, out of the lands thus set free from ancient, although arbitrary, enactments. In his proclamation from Breda, Charles had solemnly promised "to respect liberty of conscience and to assent to any Acts of Parliament which should be presented to him for its security." A compromise was attempted between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism, the Independents holding aloof; but it fell through, and the Convention Parliament was dissolved on December 29th, 1660.

"Ralph Sadler, about 1659, sold the manor of

Clifton to Frances Chamber, widow, who, marrying John Good, his two sons inherited and sold it, in 1668, to Gabriel Deane, of Bristol, merchant, and Abel Kelly; and their descendants sold the manor and manorial rights, retaining the lands, to the Society of Merchant Adventurers."<sup>1</sup>

3. The first mayor of Bristol under the Restoration was Henry Creswick, merchant, son of Francis Creswick, who lived in Small street, and who had entertained Charles I. during his mayoralty in 1645. He had been apprenticed to Alderman Richard Long, took up his freedom on 14th of August, 1639, was

<sup>1</sup> Knapp's Handbook of Clifton, 14.



*Baldwin Street in the 17th century.*

made free of the Merchant Venturers' Society on the same day, was chosen into the corporation in August, 1643, and became sheriff the following September. Dismissed from the corporation in 1645, we lose sight of him for fifteen years, until, on the 19th of June, 1660, by a writ of mandamus, he was replaced in the municipal body, and at the ensuing election was chosen as master of the Merchant Venturers and also mayor. In 1663 he was made alderman of the ward of St. Mary-le-port; and in 1664, for four days, he entertained James, Duke of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland, and his duchess, *en route* to their vice-royalty. The city was at that date greatly disturbed by the ejection of the Nonconforming clergy, and the duke did his best to pacify the citizens, but he had no olive-branch of authority, and consequently did little good.

It has been stated by Tovey that Creswick was knighted when he, with others, went in state to London to present a petition to the king concerning the *quo warranto* that was brought against the city. "April 9th, 1660-1, the *quo warranto* was read to the common council, and it was resolved that an humble address should be presented to the king for delaying proceedings and for renewing the charter. That the mayor do proceed to London to petition the king, taking the advice of the recorder and town clerk of this city."

The treasury was empty, and money had to be found to ensure success; to go on such an errand empty-handed to Charles would be futile. The mayor and two aldermen, John Gunning and Joseph Jackson, furnished the cash, and the latter was paid £2 for transmitting £300 to London for the mayor, who was attended by his officers in new liveries. "Item paid for cloth, £4 16s.; lace and trimming: two cloaks when the mayor went to London on city business, £5 18s. 6d., and making the same, 12s. On presenting the petition to the king the mayor was knighted."

There is some discrepancy here. The *quo warranto* was not issued until 1682-3, in February, and Creswick's name does not appear amongst those who went to London on that occasion to make their peace with the king. Creswick was mayor in 1660-1. There was at that date evidently fear felt by the corporation of ulterior proceedings, they having gone beyond their charters in choosing fifty instead of forty-three persons for the common council, and the threat of a *quo warranto* was held over them. Charles was pleased, however, to accept their submission at that time, and on the 22nd of April, 1664, he granted to the citizens an *inspeximus*, confirming all the charters given to them by his father, and enacting that all the members should take the oaths of obedience and supremacy. On in-

spection of the records of the Merchant Venturers we find Mr. Henry Creswick, in April, 1663, registered as being present, but in October of the same year his name is recorded with the prefix Sir. In 1677 he entertained Queen Catherine at his house. Lady Creswick, who died soon after the visit of her majesty, had been a widow, named Hook. Sir Henry, who married her in 1639, survived her only a few months, and was buried in the same tomb in St. Werburgh's church. Six knights bore his pall, viz., Sir Hugh Smyth, Sir John Newton, Sir Robert Cann, Sir Humphrey Hook, Sir Thomas Langton, and Sir George Norton. During Creswick's year of office the Convention Parliament was dissolved, Gilbert Ironside, a native of Hawkesbury Upton, was made Bishop of Bristol, and a frigate of fifty-two guns, the *St. Patrick*, was launched at this port. "Cophee" houses, where "tee" was sold, were opened in Bristol in 1660; the leaf was not taxed, but a duty of eightpence per gallon was imposed upon the drink. Parliament ordered that Mrs. Lane and Francis Windham be each presented with £1,000, for services rendered to the king after the battle of Worcester.

Creswick was succeeded in the mayoralty by Nathaniel Cale, soap maker, of whom we first read, in 1643, as being a party to the conspiracy to admit Prince Rupert. In 1644 he was chosen as one of the sheriffs, and he contributed for the defence of the city "one horse completely furnished."

On May 8th, 1661, a new parliament assembled; the members were mostly young men. Pepys describes them as being "the most profane, swearing fellows that ever I heard in my life." It was ultra loyal, not above fifty opposition members finding in it a place. To this parliament Humphrey Hook and John Knight were elected for Bristol, "but Mr. Hook did desire that the Lord Ossory should be in his stead, who was returned, and sat in the House of Commons until he was taken into his majesty's privy council, and then Sir Humphrey Hook was in his former place of being parliament man."<sup>1</sup> The worthy alderman had, during the interim, been rewarded with a title. The House of Lords consisted of 113 peers. This parliament confirmed the Acts of its predecessor, but it could with difficulty be brought to assent to the Act of Indemnity. The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw (or remains supposed to be theirs) were torn from their graves and hung on gibbets at Tyburn; those of two of the noblest of Englishmen, Pym and Blake, were cast out of Westminster abbey into St. Margaret's churchyard. The members on entering the House were compelled to receive the communion. The Solemn League and

<sup>1</sup> Old Cal.

Covenant was burnt in Westminster hall, at their order, by the common hangman; the bishops were restored to their seats, and the Test and Corporation Act was passed in order to purge the corporations, which were the strongholds of the Constitutionalists, of all persons disaffected to the monarchy. Before entering upon any municipal office members were required to receive the communion after the Anglican manner, to renounce the League and Covenant, and to make a declaration that "It was unlawful upon any grounds whatever to take up arms against the king."

On the 10th of October, 1661, the mayor summoned the town council, and read to them the following proclamation:—

Charles R. — Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas several of our good subjects were removed from the magistracy and other places of trust in that our city, during the late distractions, for their known affection to us and to the ancient and established laws of this nation, and persons of contrary principles settled in their room, our will and pleasure is, that having first displaced all such burgesses, common councilmen, and all other officers as have been so unruly brought in, and all others who are notoriously disaffected to our Government, you will cause to be restored such aldermen, burgesses, common councilmen, and other officers as were, during the late ill times, put out; and that they, with such persons of integrity as yet remain, may be empowered to fill up their numbers by a free and legal election, that so the good people of that our corporation may with all *freedom* enjoy the benefit of their charter and ancient customs.

Your compliance herein will be of no less advantage to that our city than of satisfaction to us, and will give us cause to be mindful of you on any occasion whereby we may assure you of our favour. And so we bid you farewell.

Given at our court at Whitehall, October 4th, 1661, in the 13th of our reign.

By his Majesty's commands,

EDWARD NICHOLAS.

To our trusty and well-beloved, the Mayor of our City of Bristol.

Cale found a grim satisfaction in turning the tables upon the men who for years had held office in the Bristol common council; he did his best to win the king's promised favour, but Charles does not appear to have been mindful of the obsequious chandler. On October 30th, the mayor summoned sixteen members to be sworn into the re-modelled corporation; of these five were conscientious men who could not take the new oath or conform to the church. During the year the king's commissioners, employed in purging the corporations, visited Bristol, and, in conjunction with the mayor, turned out of office all who were suspected of being tainted with anti-monarchical principles. The fines levied on those who were summoned to serve, but who declined to take the oath, served to replenish somewhat the empty treasury. In 1663, Cale lent £25 to the city towards the cost of entertaining Charles and his court. In his old

age Cale fell into poverty and became dependent upon the support of the municipal body of which he had once been the chief.

1692. Whereas the mayor, aldermen and common council, the 5th day of January, 1688, upon the consideration of the low condition of Mr. Alderman Cale did by act of common council agree and ordain that during the pleasure of this house, he the said Alderman Cale should receive forty pounds a yeare payable by the keeper or master of the Back hall unto this city, which the said Alderman Cale having received from time to time during his life and being lately deceased, leaving a widow in a poor sad and distressed condition, upon consideration thereof it is this day ordered and ordained that Mrs. Cale widow of the said Alderman Cale shall during the pleasure of this house receive from time to time the sum of thirty pounds a yeare, part of the said forty pounds a yeare payable by the master or keeper of the Back hall, for the time being unto the chamberlain of the said city, the same to be paid her quarterly by due and equal portions of which said order the master of the Back hall and the chamberlain of the said city for the time being are to take notice, and to pay the same accordingly.

This year a new barge was built for the use of the council on the river. The treasurer's mace, which is silver gilt, was made, in 1662, out of the materials of a far more ancient one. The corporation are also the possessors of eight silver maces, a number exceeding those possessed by any other city in England. These were made in the mayoralty of John Beecher, 1721–2, and bear the names of himself and his contemporary sheriffs. They were added to the regalia on the occasion of the newly-fitted church of St. Mark being adopted as the mayor's chapel, in 1721, previously to which date (with the exception of the period elsewhere alluded to when the dispute with Bishop Thornborough was rife) the corporation had attended service at the cathedral. They were intended to dignify the mayor's and sheriff's sergeants, who bore them as the insignia of office.

4. Contrary to the king's promise, an Act of Uniformity was pressed through both the Houses, by which all orders, save those conferred by the bishops, were disallowed, the sole use of the prayer-book in religious worship was enforced, and an unfeigned assent and consent to all that it contained was demanded from every minister. These stringent measures were followed by the natural and anticipated result. Nearly two thousand rectors and vicars, forming about one-fifth of the English clergy, were driven from their parishes as Nonconformists; the great bulk of these were Presbyterians, who had themselves endeavoured to establish a uniform system of church government. Flogged with their own whip, these men were now driven to join the Voluntaries whom they had persecuted as Sectaries, and to cry out loudly for that liberty of conscience which they, when in power, had themselves refused to tolerate.

Persecution soon blended these differing denominations into one, and the Church of England was con-

fronted for the first time since the Reformation by a powerful, wealthy, and organised body termed generally Dissenters. Charles, after a lengthened struggle, found these schismatics too strong to crush, and they wrung from him reluctantly a legal recognition, under the Declaration of Indulgence, in the shape of a license granted to individual churches to have freedom for worship within certain named buildings. One such license is preserved in the vestry of Clifton Down Congregational church, the legitimate successor of the Presbyterian church, which, under the ministry of Mr.



*Leonard's Lane in the 17th Century.*

Weeks, used to meet for worship in an upper room on St. James' back; and another is preserved in the Baptist college.

Charles, in his anxiety to tolerate the Catholics, issued a proclamation in which he exempted from the penalties of the Act of Uniformity "all those who living peaceably, do not conform themselves thereunto, through scruple and tenderness of conscience, but modestly, and without scandal, perform their devotions in their own way." He endeavoured in the next session of Parliament to effect this by a bill which gave to the king the power of dispensing with all statutes enforcing conformity in worship or imposing religious tests. The

unconstitutional character of this bill compelled even the Nonconformists to withhold their support. The wise among them truly wished for religious liberty for all, but not at the caprice of any one man, and the strong opposition of the Commons forced the king to withdraw it. The church was roused, the Roman Catholic priests were banished by royal proclamation, and the Conventicle Act was passed, in 1664, by which more than five persons meeting for religious worship, other than that of the Church of England, were punished by fine, imprisonment, and, for a third offence, banishment from the realm. This was followed, October 30th, 1665, by the Five-mile Act, by which every deprived clergyman was forced either to swear "that he held it unlawful to take up arms against the king, and that he would not endeavour any alteration of government in church or state, or to take up his residence at a distance of not less than five miles from the place wherein he had been wont to minister." The House even attempted to enforce this oath upon every person in the nation, but this further measure was lost by a narrow majority of six.

Charles had married, on the 21st of May, 1662, Catherine of Braganza, a sensible, amiable, but somewhat weak princess. His first act of conjugal affection was to present the Countess of Castlemaine to her in open court, when it was known to all the courtiers, as well as to his wife, that she was his avowed mistress; the "religious and gracious" king, moreover, insisted upon the queen's acceptance of her as one of her ladies of the bedchamber, and notwithstanding her natural repugnance, he finally, by harsh measures, attained his end. Charles, who was a thorough libertine in morals, soon made his court the most abandoned and dissolute in the annals of English history. Its profligacy reached to such a pitch that some of its scenes recorded by Pepys in cipher were found by his editor "too gross to print." The queen brought him as her dowry about £500,000, and a considerable portion of this sum the king spent upon his rapacious mistresses. Hallam, writing ironically, says, "We are much indebted to the memory of Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland, Louisa, Duchess of Portsmouth, and Mrs. Eleanor Gwynn. We owe a tribute of gratitude to the Mays, the Killigrews, the Chiffinches, and the Grammonts. They played a serviceable part in ridding the kingdom of its besotted loyalty. They saved our forefathers from the Star chamber and the High Commission court; they laboured in their vocation against standing armies and corruption; they pressed forward the great ultimate security of English freedom, the expulsion of the House of Stuart." Catherine was soon little better than a puppet in the hands of the reigning favourite for the time being amongst her many

rivals, and was never free from the companionship of her husband's mistresses.

That ducking-stools were still employed as a mode of punishment, the following incident will show:—

1661.—Cost of a new ducking-stool ... .. £2 12s. 6d.

Oct. 14th.—It being proved before us that goodwife Orchard, of the parish of St. Michaels, is a common scold amongst her neighbours and a very disorderly person, it is therefore ordered that according to custom she be ducked three times in the ducking-stool on the Weir, and be forthwith sent to the house of correction.

NAT. CALE, Mayor; JOSEPH JACKSON.

5. The first mention we find of Robert Cann, who became mayor in 1662–3, is the following, taken from the *Journals* of the House of Commons:—

18th April, 1648.—Humble petition of Mr. R. Canne and Company.—Ordered, that the said committee do make, stop and forbear to pay any more money or pay unto Colonel Anthony Buller, governor of the Isle of Silley and the garrison there, until the said Colonel Buller shall declare for whom he stands.

Mr. Rowse reports from the Committee of the Revenue the state of the business of Robert Canne and Company of Merchants, of Bristoll; that corn and other merchandizes were taken from them by Colonel Anthony Buller, governor of the Isle of Sylley, to supply the extreme wants of that garison, for the service of the Parliament; which, with the damage the said Robert Canne and Company of Merchants sustained thereby, amounted to the sum of two thousand eight hundred fifteen pounds eighteen shillings tenpence.

Ordered, that the sum of two thousand eight hundred fifteen pounds eighteen shillings and tenpence, due to Robert Canne and Company of Merchants, of Bristoll, for corn and other merchandizes taken from them by Colonel Anthony Buller, governor of the Isle of Sylley, to supply the wants of that garison for the service of the Parliament, be paid and satisfied unto the said Robert Canne and Company of Merchants, or their assigns.

Robert Cann was of Compton Greenfield, and was in office when the king, queen, Dukes of York and Monmouth, the Duchess of York, Prince Rupert, and a great train of nobility came from Bath to Bristol, on Saturday, September 5th, 1662. The mayor and aldermen in their scarlet robes, together with all the common councilmen, and the trades' companies in their regalia, met his majesty at Lawford's gate, where the mayor, kneeling, delivered up his sword and ensigns of authority to the king, which were graciously returned to him. Sir Robert Atkyns, the recorder, made an oration; then the mayor, preceding the king, bareheaded, with the sword, &c., borne before him, led the way through Old Market street, Lower Castle street, Newgate, Wine street and High street to the great house at the Bridge end, where his majesty dined, and afterwards knighted "Mr. John Knight, of Temple street, then a burgess of Parliament for Bristoll, and shortly after sworne maior; Mr. Henry Creswick; Mr. William Cann, son of Sir Robert Cann, the maior; and Mr. Robert Attkins, the recorder's son ('but other MSS. mention Robert Cann, the mayor, as

the fourth, instead of Mr. Atkins'). And the next week following Mr. Robert Yeamans, then sherriffe, attending his majesty at Bath, did likewise receive the honour of knighthood. When his majestie came to Bristoll all the streets from Lawford's gate to the Bridge, as the Old markett, through the Castle into Wine streete, and the Bridge, were all sanded; and about 150 pieces of ordnance in the Marsh gave three vollies, one when his majestie came to the Bridge end, another when he had dined, and the third at his departure. After dinner the king rode in his coach with his queen to Bath again. His majesty and the queene (to use the bath) lay at Bath about a moneth, and then by the way of Oxford returned to London."<sup>1</sup> "Sir Robert Atkyns, jun., was knighted when he was only seventeen years old."<sup>2</sup>

In the charge for disbursements are items for "bacon and artichokes, sturgeon, a gross of pipes, &c.; and the inns and hostelries swarmed with servants and retainers, who rolled about like nobles in a state of beastly intoxication."<sup>3</sup>

Sir Robert Cann was again chosen as mayor in 1675. One of the privileges of the mayor was the right during his year of office to nominate some worthy man as a freeman of the city. Sir Robert (why is not shown) nominated a Mr. Bagnell without his consent. Bagnell declined the unsolicited freedom; he evidently did not consider it added to his dignity.

September 12th.—Sir Robert acquainted the House that Bagnell refused the honour in saucy, impertinent language, whereupon the House expunged the previous order and declared Mr. Bagnell incapable for ever of receiving such a favour. "Mr. Mayor, for his great services done to the city last year, is to have the right to nominate another man."<sup>4</sup>

A Churchman himself, fond of his bottle and not nice in his speech, Sir Robert seems to have had a kindly feeling towards the Separatists. We read of his inviting all their chief men to dinner on the 22nd of October, which greatly troubled the informer Hellier, who, two days afterwards, by letter demanded the mayor's help to break up the meetings of the Dissenters. The mayor sent his son, Sir William Cann, to warn the congregation that his father would be forced to come, and desired them to disperse, which they did.

This good feeling, so far as the Presbyterians were concerned, seems to have disappeared by 1679. When the bluff old merchant saw that they, together with the bulk of the nation, had run mad on the "No Popery" cry, and having himself no faith in the revelations of Bedloe, Oates, Dangerfield, &c., he incurred the displeasure of Parliament by giving public expression to

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 511.

<sup>2</sup> H. Smith.

<sup>3</sup> Gloucestershire Notes and Queries, 237. <sup>4</sup> Bristol Archives.

his sentiments. For this, being one of the members for Bristol, he was called upon to give an account in the House, and for his bluff, graceless speech was expelled therefrom.

October 28th, 1680.—An information being given against Sir Robert Yeamans, of Bristol, and against Sir Robert Canne, a member of this House; that they did in October, 1679, publicly declare that there was no Popish plot, but a Presbyterian plot, and Mr. Rowe, sword-bearer of Bristoll, being called in to the bar, and attesting the same, and the same being likewise attested by Sir Jno. Knight, a member of this House; and Sir Robt. *Cann* being called upon by the House to make his defence therein, who standing up in his place did, in making such defence, utter several reflecting expressions against Sir Jno. Knight. And exceptions being taken by the House thereunto, and the words being taken by the clerk, in writing, which are as followeth:—That as for the credit of Sir John Knight in Bristoll, it is such that a jury of twelve men, his neighbours, will not believe his testimony. And the House being informed by several members that he immediately added these words, “God damn me, ’tis true;” which words being read to Sir Robert *Canne*, and he having in his place explained himself, was ordered to withdraw. Ordered, that Sir Robert Canne be brought to the bar of this House, and do receive a reprehension from the speaker upon his knees, which was accordingly done.

And Sir Robert Canne being again withdrawne the House, after long debate, resolved, that it doth appear by the evidence this day given to this House, that Sir Robert Canne is guilty of publicly declaring in the city of Bristol, in October, 1679, that there was no Popish plot but a Presbyterian plot. Ordered, that Sir Robert Canne, a member of this House, be committed to the prison of the Tower. Ordered, that Sir Robert Canne be expelled this House. And then was brought to the bar of the House, and upon his knees received the judgment of the House for his expulsion from the House and his commitment to the Tower.<sup>1</sup> Ordered, that Mr. Speaker do issue his warrant to the constable of the Tower, or his deputy, to take the body of Sir Robert Canne into custody, and detain him during the pleasure of this House. Ordered, that Sir Robert Yeamans be sent for in custody of the serjeant-at-arms attending this House to answer for publicly declaring in the city of Bristol, in October, 1679, that there was no Popish plot but a Presbyterian plot.

Nov. 8th.—A petition of Sir Robert Cann, knight and baronet, now prisoner in the Tower, was read, whereby he acknowledged his offence, and begs the pardon of the House, and to be released from his imprisonment. Ordered, that Sir Robert Cann be discharged from his imprisonment. And that Mr. Speaker do issue out his warrant for the doing thereof.<sup>2</sup>

In reference to the above, Sir Dudley North says:—“Rowe, the sword-bearer, was suspected to be one of the conspirators in the Rye House plot, and some of the Whigs sought to implicate his masters in the Corporation. Sir Robert Cann, ever passionate and hasty, was so provoked at Rowe being brought up for this purpose to the House of Commons, that he swore by God he was a damned rogue; for this swearing he was sent to

the Tower, where (being a little too stiff to kneel) he lay till Parliament rose.”

This cannot be, we think, correct. Sir Robert did apologise on the 8th of November, 1680, whereas the Rye House plot was not planned until March, 1683. But the irate baronet evidently did not care to accept the decision of the House, for he contested the next election, and there seems to have been a double return: “20th December, 1680. The committee decided that Sir Robert Cann was not duly elected, but that Mr. Robert Henley was duly elected.” The House did not, however, confirm the report, but voted that neither of them was elected, inasmuch as the late mayor and sheriffs had imposed the following oath:—“You shall swear you are a freeman and that you have not voted already.” And so the late mayor and the sheriffs were ordered to be sent for by the serjeant-at-arms to answer at the bar of the House.<sup>1</sup> This Parliament was dissolved January 10th, 1681, and so the matter dropped.

Sir Dudley North married Sir R. Cann's daughter, a widow, Lady Gunning. Her father objected to the match until North was possessed of landed estates of the value of £3,000 or £4,000 per annum. North wrote offering to settle on the lady £20,000 to purchase an estate, to which Sir Robert replied—

Sir,—My answer to your first letter is my answer to your second.

Your humble servant,

R. C.

North, equally laconic, replied—

Sir,—I perceive you neither like me nor my business.

Your humble servant,

D. N.

However, the old man, unable to prevent the match, settled his daughter's fortune on herself, and they were married; but before going to church the lady, it is said, committed to the flames the valuable deeds, choosing rather to rely upon the honour and affection of her husband. When Sir Dudley made his first visit to Bristol after the marriage he, to humour the vanity of that city and people, put himself in a splendid equipage; and the old man, Sir R. Cann, in his own house often said to him, “Come, son, let us go out and shine,”<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* walk the streets with six footmen in liveries attending. In his old days Sir Robert was one of the aldermen of the city who was ordered from the bench to the bar by the Lord Chief Justice Jefferys to answer the charge of kidnapping. His arms were, “az. fretty arg. on a fess gules, three leopard's faces or. crest in a mural crown, gules, a plume of six feathers arg and az.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Journal of the House of Commons, IX., 684, 706.

<sup>2</sup> Life of Sir Dudley North, 157. <sup>3</sup> Barrett, 485.

<sup>1</sup> One of the narrators adds that when the sturdy old baronet rose from his knees, taking out his handkerchief he dusted the knees of his small clothes saying, “’tis a damned dirty house this, I shall be glad to be out of it.”

<sup>2</sup> Journal of the House of Commons, IX., 642.

"On November 1st, 1663, the new Speedwell was cast away in launching at Gib Taylor, and four men and boys were drowned in her. Also in the month of December last year, the old Speedwell broke her moorings at the Limekilns and turned over on one side by a great gust of wind, and two men were drowned.

"Several houses in the city took fire this year (1664), viz., the Tolzey, the Pelican stables in St. Thomas street, a barber's shop in Tucker street, and a wash-house in the Castle, but they did but little damage. And Cutler's mill was burned down to the ground on a Saturday night."<sup>1</sup>

Bedminster old church was re-built, the figures on one of the stones, 1663, have been altered by foolish hands into 1003.

6. Owing to the fact that five men bearing the name of John Knight were more or less identified with the history of Bristol within twenty-five eventful years of the city's history, there has arisen great confusion as to their several characters and actions. The John Knight who now claims our attention was a merchant, son of George Knight, mayor in 1659; he served as one of the sheriffs in 1660, and was mayor in 1663-4. This man had a son named John, who does not appear to have held office; he died 29th May, 1684, six months after his father. Another John Knight, a sugar merchant, was sheriff in 1664-5 and mayor in 1670-1; he never was knighted. The fourth was sheriff in 1681-2, in which year he was knighted, and mayor in 1690-1, and the fifth is only incidentally mentioned as a hooper petitioning for help to redeem his brother from slavery. Having thus cleared the way we proceed to notice the career of the first Sir John Knight, who became mayor in 1663-4. He had been returned to Parliament when only a simple burgess, in conjunction with Mr. Humphrey Hook, in 1660-1. There was a double return, the then candidates being Thomas Earl and John Knight. The latter was knighted on the king's visit to Bristol in September, 1662-3. Whilst member of parliament he was chosen as chief magistrate also of the city in lieu of Mr. John Pope, who, having been sheriff under the commonwealth in 1654, refused the mayoralty the above year, preferring to pay the fine. The first record we have of Knight in the House of Commons is where he complains, on the 10th April, 1663, "that he has been abused by one Manton, a commissioner of excise, because that he had in committee given information as to the bad management of the excise in Bristol. In 1663-4 he, being then mayor of the city of Bristol, had leave given him by the House to go to Bristol to see to his majesty's business in that city. It seems to have been

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 512.

his fate to have been often in hot water with his fellow citizens and others. During his mayoralty there arose great dissensions in the city with regard to precedence. About this time Bristol had a plethora of titled men of recent creation. There were at least fourteen entitled to the prefix Sir, two being baronets, Sir Robert Cann and Sir Robert Yeamans, the other twelve knights being Sirs Henry Creswick, Richard Crumpe, Richard Hart, Thomas Earl, John Knight, William Clutterbuck, William Hayman, William Merrick, Thomas Langton, John Lloyd and Humphrey Hook. We are not sure that these were all ennobled in 1663. There seems to have been a fresh crop every year, but Sir Humphrey Hook (as Mr. Hook) had passed the chair in 1643; Sir Henry Creswick, who had been mayor in 1660, was the senior alderman. Sir Robert Cann had been mayor in 1662, and being of higher rank than Creswick and Knight (the mayor) he claimed to take precedence of them; the ordinary practice had been for the mayor, during his year of office, by virtue of his rank as king's escheator, to take precedence of every one in the city except his sovereign, then followed the sheriffs and the aldermen, those who had passed the chair taking precedence according to seniority. "But," said Sir Robert Atkyns, the recorder, "ever since they grew rich and full of trade and knighthood—carried too much sail and too little ballast—they have been miserably divided."

The two baronets in the council, Cann and Yeamans, insisted, by virtue of their rank, to have precedence of Sir Henry Creswick, the senior alderman, and most unseemly disputes arose. The matter was referred to Sir Robert Atkyns and Sir John Frederick, of London. Sir Robert Atkyns, in his reply, states that he has formerly delivered his opinion.

He considers it most clear that the precedency is due to Sir Henry Creswick in all places where they are together about the business of the city; but when they meet in their private capacity then Sir Robert Cann, having the superior dignity, has as clear a right to the precedency. He considers Sir Robert Cann very ill advised if he come up to London to have the controversy settled by the Herald or Council Table, *for it will but expose us to the merriment and contempt of them that heard it.*

Sir Robert Atkyns concludes:—

In the first place I must therefore again advise you to *do the duty of your place with courage, and to let the world know that the name of a mayor is not an empty title, but carries power and authority with it, and either invites or commands reverence.*

Much to the same effect Sir John Frederick writes:—

And now to satisfy your desire concerning our customs here in London as to the court of aldermen and common councilmen: first, as touching the aldermen in London, of knighthood or knight baronet, or any other dignity given, no junior alderman takes precedence of his senior alderman in any court place or occasion of the city, but the senior alderman keeps his place as

before, notwithstanding any such addition of honour. And likewise a sheriff that is no knight hath the precedence of any commoner, dignified with that or any other honour.

Sharp retaliatory language was used in the chamber, which was followed by still harsher measures. The report states that, February 9th, 1663,

Sir Robert Yeamans, for his contempt and uncivil language to Mr. Mayor (Sir John Knight), and refusing to find securities for his good behaviour, is committed to his majesty's gaol of Newgate within the said city.

Whereupon the dissatisfied baronets carried their supposed grievance to the throne, by an *ex parte* petition :

The humble and loyal representation of Sir Robert Cann, Knight and Bart., who was lately mayor, when your majesty was graciously pleased to honour the city of Bristol with your royal presence, and Sir Robert Yeamans, Knt., who was then sheriff,

Humbly sheweth—That your excellent majesty having out of your princely favour conferred several honours and dignities upon us, but so it is that by a late act of the mayor, aldermen, and common council of your majesty's city of Bristol, it being decreed and ordained to this effect, that the aldermen and their wives shall have precedence and place of all knights and baronets and their wives in Bristol, contrary to the usage and custom that is and hath been in that city.

Your majesty's most humble petitioners thought them obliged in bounden duty and loyalty to your majesty to give your most excellent majesty notice thereof, so that nothing on their part may be concealed whereby your majesty's honour may seem to be eclipsed, and your royal prerogative intrenched upon by any of your majesty's subjects, upon any pretext, in these your majesty's dominions; lest in so doing your majesty's petitioners should become guilty of concealing anything that might turn to the prejudice of your majesty's most royal person, the crown and dignity, and because the matters aforesaid may also occasion some controversy in that your majesty's city, where your petitioners have residence. Your majesty's petitioners do most humbly pray that this most humble representation and petition being in your majesty's royal heart, such consideration may be had therein that your petitioners and others, upon whom your majesty hath been pleased to confer honours, may peaceably and quietly enjoy their places and precedence, and that such order may be taken thereupon as your majesty shall think fit, and your majesty's petitioners shall ever pray.

ROBERT CANN,  
ROBERT YEAMANS.

Not receiving an immediate reply to this petition, which they considered the importance of the subject demanded, they further addressed in quick succession two letters to the secretary. The mayor and aldermen also laid their case before his majesty, which elicited the following :—

Sir,—I have forborne to answer yours of the 13th and 17th current till his majesty had given some hearing to the complaint therein against Sir Robert Cann and Sir Robert Yeamans, who have on their part pressed us much to be heard, and accordingly were so by his majesty yesterday, many of the council (of state) being present; and as to their point of precedence which they pretended to, by virtue of their knighthood, received this determination—that in all places where the body or juniors of the city is under any form their knighthood is not to avail them anything,

but they are to take their place according to their seniority, the same to be observed also by their wives, if there be any ceremonies or meetings of them, as it is when my lady mayoress goes to the spittle (Queen Elizabeth's hospital). The wives then do take place according to the seniority of their husbands, but in all indifferent places where there is no solemn representation of the body or juniors of the city, then the knights and their wives are to take place of all them that are not so.

As to the other point of their withdrawing themselves from the publick duties of the city and countenancing factions and disaffected persons, *there they had both of them very severe reprehension given them*, with a command presently to return home and submit themselves there to yourself the mayor for any disrespect done to you or the dignity of your office, which, being passed, *his majesty thought fit to have them admonished*, that they doing what they are enjoined you should receive them with all courtesy and reconcile them to yourself and your brethren.

As for Mr. Knight,<sup>1</sup> the matter passed not so fairly with him; *he had very severe reproof for his misbehaviour to the sheriff*, and order given him speedily to return to Bristol, and there submit himself to the process of the law, *which had yet passed worst for him*, if my lord-general had not interposed some good words, remembering his activity at the time of his majesty's restoration. Mr. Streamer, the sheriff, *had not the good fortune to be present at the mortification of Mr. Knight*, which certainly would have contributed to his satisfaction, neither had I seen him to acquaint him with it.

In conclusion, his majesty bade me tell you how much satisfied he is in your case of the good government and quiet of that his city, and to thank you in his name for it, with assurance that no other encouragement shall be wanting to you as the occasion offers, towards which I shall readily concur with much affection as your very humble servant,

HENRY BENNETT.

Whitehall, February 25th, 1663.

The admonishment and "severe reprehension" do not appear to have had much influence in conciliating Sir Robert Yeamans, who, doubtless, was indignant at having been imprisoned. He evidently stood upon his dignity, as having been not only a knight, but also sheriff during the previous year, when Sir Robert Cann was mayor.

1663-4, March 10th.—At a meeting this day, the mayor, Sir John Knight, desired Sir Robert Yeamans, knight, to submit in respect to the affront he had done to his majesty's grant within this city, according to his majesty's said order signified by the said secretary, the said Sir Robert Yeamans *refused to do the same* (i.e., apologise), but submitted, and took his place in the house according to his seniority.

Secretary Bennett's letter would be supposed explicit and decisive enough for all reasonable persons, but the grandees were pertinacious and wearied the secretary with their reiterated complaints. Tired with such petty squabbles, he wrote sharply :—

Sir,—I cannot forbear telling you that *I am almost ashamed*, as well in my own behalf as yours, to molest his majesty in the punctilioes that are disputed betwixt the knights and senior alder-

<sup>1</sup> The opposition in Bristol must have been very powerful, as we find that this Mr. Knight became sheriff the ensuing year, and was elected mayor in 1670.

men of your city, and because I am told that some one of the former hath, since his majesty's determination, *contested the precedence with one of the sheriffs executing his office*,<sup>1</sup> I do again declare to you that his majesty's pleasure is that the aldermen, sheriffs and common council of that city shall take their respective places according to their seniorities when the body and jurisdiction of that city is under any form or attending on the mayor, and also when they are doing their duties in the exercise of their respective offices, and this preferable to any knight whose rank and precedence his majesty declares to be only due to them in indifferent places, as is expressed in my former letters. Having said this I hope you are sufficiently directed for all decisions of the kind, and that his majesty shall hear no more of them.

I am, your humble servant,

HENRY BENNETT.

Whitehall, April 6th, 1664.

To Sir John Knight, mayor of the city of Bristol.

This quarrel continued for years, but it culminated in 1669-70, when, Sir Robert Yeamans being mayor, Sir John Knight, one of the members for the city, accused him and the mayor-elect, Mr. John Knight, and a majority of the council chamber, of being fanatics—*i.e.*, disaffected to the Government. Upon this Sir Robert was sent for to London, and was committed to the Tower; but the falsity of the accusation appearing upon examination, the informer, Sir John, had to beg pardon on his knees of Sir Robert before the king. There was just then a conflict of jurisdiction in Bristol, and the mayor was upholding the civic authority. The Commons had passed the Habeas Corpus Act, and Charles was busy attempting to repeal the penal laws, which made him tolerant towards those who winked at fanatics. Sir Robert was honourably acquitted, and on the 21st of February he returned to Bristol, being met by a procession of 220 horsemen, and escorted in triumph into the city.

Sir John had not yet done; he was a most useful man in the House, and belonging to the High Tory party, was certain of a large following. So on the 24th of February, 1670-1, he accused the then mayor of Bristol, his namesake, Mr. John Knight, of breach of privilege, and assaulting him as a member of the House, and throwing him down in the street in Bristol when he, as a justice of the peace, was in the execution of his office, and by the said mayor's arresting his (Sir John's) servant and assistant, Richard Hyot. The mayor was sent for, and was committed to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms for breach of privilege. He was then discharged on his own security to appear that day sevensnight, a committee being appointed to consider the case.

After examination, the committee reported the mayor not guilty. Question arose "to agree with the committee's report." Answer, "No." The mayor was there-

<sup>1</sup> "The sheriff's are the eyes of the mayor."—Liber. Albus, 37.

upon found guilty by the House, and on March 28th, 1670-1, was committed to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms. On April 1st he was discharged on his petition, and on the 20th Mr. Knight returned in triumph to Bristol, being met outside the city by a procession of 235 gentlemen on horseback, who escorted him to his home amidst the plaudits of the citizens.

The informer, Sir John Knight, returned privately to Bristol, and not daring to ride through the city, he crossed the water at Lawford's gate, and so got quietly to his residence in Temple street. He appears, however, to have somewhat recovered his position amongst his fellow-citizens in 1677, as we find him in attendance upon the queen on her visit to the city that year.

He continued to represent Bristol in parliament until the dissolution, and served on a great number of committees; within three months, in 1678, he was nominated on twenty-eight, some of which were highly important. Bitterly opposed to the Papists he took an active part in searching out the plots, real or assumed, that kept the kingdom for two years in a turmoil. A good French scholar, he was deputed by the House to translate the letters of Coleman (executed for conspiracy); also to examine and correct a mistranslation of the *Gazette* into French. He was on each of the committees for searching the lodgings and papers of Mr. Wright, Mr. Richard Langhorne, and Mr. Ireland; amongst the papers of the latter he found and presented to the House a faculty, under the seal of Cardinal Barberini, for dispensing with oaths. His name was on the back of a bill, brought in November 22nd, to secure the Protestant religion against the dangers from Popery. In short his zeal for Protestantism overcame his royalist proclivities, and he stands forward as one of the Petitioners who were the antagonists of the Abhorrrers, by which name the court party was designated. (The party denominations of Whig and Tory had not then come into vogue.) This ecclesiasticism brought him into collision with old friends, whom we may designate as the High Court party, and caused the rupture between Sir Robert Cann and himself, which, as we have seen, ended in the expulsion of the choleric baronet from the House. Moreover Knight had been originally a Presbyterian, and in conjunction with Ralph Farmer had sought to establish that form of religion in Bristol. His son-in-law, Joseph Creswick, mayor in 1679, "being *ex officio* one of the deputy lieutenants, and by commission one of the captains of the train-band of the city, had his commission taken away, and his deputation revoked, for following the advice of his father-in-law, Sir John Knight, the old ratt," *i.e.* in electing Thomas Day as an alderman.

Our readers will remember Sir John's sensible letter of remonstrance with regard to the advance of the £2,000 gift money, in order to establish a linen manufactory for the employment of the poor in Bristol. Although his warning did not reach the chamber in time to prevent the advance and to save the money, it proves him to have been a man of shrewd business capacity.

7. The following items are not without interest. In 1661 there is a charge for the High Cross:—

	£	s.	d.
1661. Paid William Thorne, by order of the mayor, for setting up the king's statue, and mending the other statues ... ..	13	0	0
Paid for painting the king's arms on statue ...	5	10	0
1663. October 8th. Paid John Harvey, stonecutter, for putting up the king's effigy at the Tolzey ...	1	0	0
Paid ditto for work about ditto ... ..	2	5	0
November 26th. Paid Robt. Wilkinson, plumber, for work about said effigy ... ..	0	4	0

The sculptor was Caius Gabriel Cibber, father to Colley Cibber. On the rebuilding of the Tolzey, in 1703, the statue was placed in the Old Guildhall; it now stands in a passage outside the School Board room.

1667. November. Paid William Starre, armes painter, by order of the mayor and alderman, for his majesty's picture put up in the council house £4 10s.

The parliament proving intractable, and having brought in a bill to exclude James, Duke of York, from the throne (he being a Catholic), was prorogued on January 18th, and was dissolved on May 28th, 1681. Before the dissolution, however, "Sir John was presented at the quarter sessions by the grand jury for affronting and assaulting the mayor in the execution of his duty; also for stigmatizing and branding with the odious and ignominious names of Papists, &c., his majesty's subjects. Several persons were also presented for preaching at unlawful conventicles, and the constables of several of the wards were presented for not disturbing unlawful conventicles."<sup>1</sup>

The grand juries about this period mixed up the work of sanitary and moral reformation:—

Wee present the chamberlain for not mending the sink before the Henn and Chickens. For not cleansing the Law ditch, which causeth the water to stop upp the waie to Glastonbury court, and stinketh to the greate annoyance of the inhabitants, and for not repairing the conduit.

Wee doe present John Keemis, cooper, not fitt to sell ale, having noe child; he kept a tapster, which are noe freeman, that have a wife and child.

Wee doe present Richard Hook, shipwrite, not fitt to sell ale, having noe child and brews themselves.

Wee doe present Henry Wilkes, a barber surgeon, not fitt to sell ale, having noe child, and alsoe for entertaining a strange maide in his house which are sick.

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 228.

At the session of St. Thomas's ward, held at the Wool hall, October, 1666, it is "ordered that Robert Bottemy doe remove his nasty dogg within this two dayes, or else be bound to the good behaviour."

An indictment found against Robert Burkett, baker, "for baking a dogg in a pie, and giving it to several persons to eat, upon certaine information to ye court that ye persons who eat of the same are not att all hurte by itt, and upon Burkett's confession and submission this court doth order his discharge, paying the fine of forty shillings."

At a session held in the Merchants' hall for St. Stephen's ward, 3rd March, 1677, it was ordered:—"That Elizabeth Pope go to service in three weekes, or to bee sent to the House of Correction, for living at her own hands."

In this renewed persecution of the Dissenters we find another Mr. John Knight, the sheriff, actively engaged; he was knighted at Newmarket, 1681, became M.P. in 1688-9, and was mayor in 1690-1.

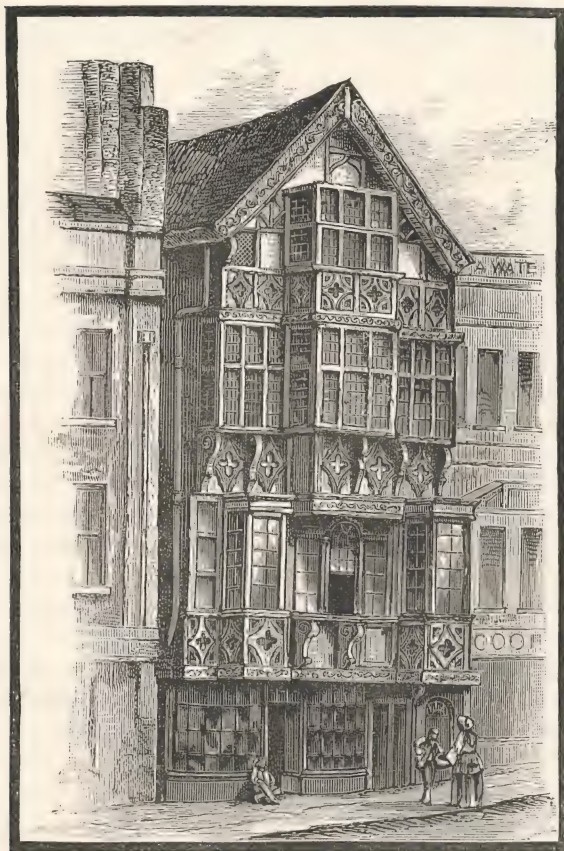
The king summoned a new parliament to meet at Oxford on March 20th, 1680-1. Sir John Knight, sen., was one of the candidates. Particulars of this contest will be given on a future page; with it we consider ends the public career of a somewhat remarkable man, who, with strong passions, and bitter prejudices, was yet, we think, a consistent and, in his parliamentary career of twenty years (setting aside his "no popery" mania), a most useful man. He died on the 16th December, 1683, aged 71 years, and was buried in Temple Church. He left £20, the profit thereof to be given weekly in bread to the poor of the parish for ever. His son John died in 1684. Barrett gives his arms as "paly of 6 arg. and G. quartered with parted per bend ermine and sable counterchanged, a lion rampant or."<sup>2</sup> These are misplaced in the mayor's *Calendar*, and are charged to Mr. John Knight, sugar boiler, mayor 1670. The arms blazoned to the mayors, 1639 and 1663, do not belong to them.

8. "In 1665 two closes of ground, called the Upper and Lower Montagues, containing sixteen acres, and a close called Kingsdown, of seven acres, were the property of Henry Dighton and Catherine, his wife, which had their four daughters—Mary, wife of Henry Foot, gent., Catherine, wife of Robert Bound, grocer and shipwright, mayor 1709-10, Martha, wife of — Hicks, Sarah, wife of David Jones. In 1737 this land was purchased by Giles Greville, apothecary (father of the rector of St. Stephens in 1829). He laid out the same for building, commencing with the 'Montague' tavern, and four summer-houses in so many gardens on the brow of the hill, to preserve the prospect from obstruction. The house subsequently occupied by Mr. Alderman Fripp was next built on one of these gardens, and then a house in Sarah Jones' portion on Marl-

<sup>2</sup> Barrett, 547.

borough Hill.”<sup>1</sup> The wealthy tradesmen and merchants in those days did not go off to the seaside for a holiday, but migrated for the summer to such summer-houses as the above, either on Kingsdown or in the country.

In 1664-5 the mayor was John Lawford, grocer, who, dying in 1686, bequeathed £2 12s. per annum, issuing out of tenements, to the poor of St. Peter's, and a like sum to the poor of Temple parish, to be given in weekly doles of bread. He also left £50 to each of the following parishes: St. Philip, St. James, and St.



Langton's House, Welsh Back. 17th Century.

Mary Redcliff; also to Christ church the like sum, the interest to be given in weekly bread doles to the poor for ever. His name occurs prominently in connection with an attempt to establish a linen manufactory in Bristol, in competition with the fine cambric manufacture of France, when considerable opposition arose to the use by the corporation of the gift moneys for such a purpose; we shall have to refer to this subject on a future page.

The postage of a letter from London to Bristol was threepence, as appears by one from Edward Saunders, a

<sup>1</sup> H. Smith.

solicitor, with this superscription: "To Mr. John Hellier, at his house in Corn street, in Bristol city. These, &c."<sup>1</sup>

Lawford was succeeded by John Willoughby, merchant; William Crabb, carpet weaver, and Richard Crump, being sheriffs. Willoughby, who was sheriff in 1657, married Anne, daughter of Hugh Elliott; he was removed from the corporation at the national crisis, but re-elected in 1661. In 1663 he lent the city £40 towards the entertainment of Charles II. and his court. He was chosen mayor and alderman in 1665. During his mayoralty Cutler's mills were burnt to the ground on a Saturday night; they were large woollen mills.

It was ordered and ordayned for the preventing of fyre that noe faggot piles be made in the citty by any of the bakers, but what faggots or wood they use shall be kept in their houses, and not elsewhere in the city, on a penalty of twenty pounds.

This was a salutary precaution. Several alarming fires had occurred during the previous year, and when we remember the narrowness of the streets, and the combustible materials of the houses and their merchandise, it is a matter of surprise that the city escaped so well. The Tolzey at the Council-house was burnt down; fires also occurred at the "Pelican" inn, in Thomas street, in Tucker street, and in the Castle. At the same time it was enacted:—

Whereas the coming of the shippes to the key proves very prejudicial to the harbour, and may be dangerous in respect of fyre. It is ordered and agreed that the like engagement as hath beene formerly upon the coming upp of shippes shall be hereafter given for their falling downe within twenty days after [*i.e.*, we suppose, to Hungroad].

The use of the cucking or ducking stool was now not unfrequent:—

September 1st, 1666.—Whereas Lettice Evans, wife of John Evans, of the parish of Temple, have been formerly ducked as a common scold; and it being this day proved that she still continues as a common disturber of her neighbours, it is this day ordered that the said Lettice Evans bee ducked this afternoon three times, at the usual place according to custom. [The usual place was the millpond at the corner of Lower Castle and Ellbroad streets.]

This year (1665) six marshals were appointed "to attend the mayor as constables, with the citty armes on their staves; the sheriff's yeomen to wear their coates, basket-hilted swords, and daggers, without their cloakes, on paine to be dismissed." The following order will be found interesting:—

The eighth day of January, 1665.—It is enacted and ordained that the surveyors of the citie's lands be fully empowered to make, consent, and agree to any exchange or exchanges of any grounds, or parcels of lands, most convenient with the titles, tenants within the manor of Portishead, alias Possett, shall desire to be made between them or any of them and tenants and lords of other

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 222.

manors which have parcels of land intermixed with the citie's lands there. Likewise, that the said surveyors do take special and speedy care that all the manor houses, lands and tenements, both in the city and county, yet unsurveyed, and belonging to the city, or any hospital or almshouse, be forthwith surveyed, the charges whereof to be paid and disbursed by the chamberlain, treasurers, and bailiffs of the several hospitals and almshouse respectively; and also to choose and appoint four persons who are to be sworn before the mayor and aldermen, as usually for the viewing and surveying of all encroachments upon the citie's waste lands, who are to make their return unto the said surveyors, who are hereby empowered to order the chamberlain to pay and satisfy them for their pains; and upon the said returns the said surveyors are to take speedy course for the abating and throwing down such new encroachments, or otherwise to make such agreement with the parties concerned to pay a yearly sum into the city for the same.

John Willoughby attended the chamber for the last time, January 25th, 1672-3. He left two sons, John and Henry, both merchants. His descendant, Christopher Willoughby, was chamberlain of Bristol, whose lineal representative was Sir — Willoughby, of Balldon, Oxfordshire. This year the city of London was most grievously visited with the pestilence, the contagion whereof spread as far as Bristol. "It began at Bedminster, where it raged much, and soe likewise at Barton Regis. Yea, it came within Lawford's gate. Some houses in Haulier's lane and Redcliff street were infected, and some other places, as at the Mermaide on the Back; and when it was believed it would overspread the whole city, as it had done London, it pleased God, of His wonderful mercy, to restraine it soe that it went noe further."<sup>1</sup>

In the accounts for 1666 are several sums paid to parties for their exertions in extinguishing the fire at the Council-house. The city evidences and writings were removed to St. George's chapel, in the Guildhall, where they were left uncared for, for we find in 1688 a complaint made that "they were in great disorder and confusion." The scorched condition of some that remain attest their narrow escape from destruction. The fire was confined to the muniment room, and is held answerable for many a missing document.

9. Willoughby was succeeded in the mayoralty by Thomas Langton, son of John Langton, who was sheriff in 1634. Langton was apprenticed to William Cann, merchant, mayor in 1648. He married his master's daughter, Hester, and was chosen as master of the Merchant Venturers in 1664, and mayor, 1666; soon after his election he was knighted by Charles. He resided in the fine ancestral mansion on the Welsh back, which was built by his grandfather, John Langton, mayor in 1628. Sir Thomas died in 1673, and was

<sup>1</sup> Evans, from Ald. Haythorne's MS.

buried in St. Nicholas church. By his will, dated May 16th, 1672, he bequeathed to the poor of that parish £50, the interest thereof in weekly doles of bread. He also left 20s. per annum for a sermon to be preached on Good Friday for ever. The Custom-house, which stood on the Welsh back, was built, and the *St. Patrick*, a frigate of fifty-two guns, was launched at Gib Taylor, the mayor and corporation and 20,000 people being present. Five or six hundred men were impressed in Bristol for service in the fleet, and one hundred foot soldiers were enlisted under the Earl of Worcester.<sup>1</sup>

John Walter, a freeman, was disfranchised for a colourable sale of strangers' goods; he was re-admitted upon petition on payment of £15.<sup>2</sup>

June 14th.—It appeareth to us this day that Margaret Adams is a common scold and disturber of her neighbours. It is ordered yt the said Margaret Adams be sent to Bridewell, and from thence be caryed to ye ducking-stool on ye weare, and according to custom be ducked three times.

JOHN WILLOUGHBY, Mayor.

Edward Morgan, upholsterer, succeeded to the civic chair. Our annals relate that during his mayoralty, in 1667, "the Duchess of Monmouth came privately to Bristol and dined at the house of Edward Hurne, vintner (sheriff in 1669), on St. Michael's hill, where she was visited by the mayor (Edward Morgan, upholder) and some of the councill. They went thence to the house of Richard Streamer (sheriff in 1663), where she was visited by Mrs. Mayoress, and where a banquet was prepared for her grace and retinue. She was conducted on her departure as far as the Castle."

Morgan died 13th September, 1669. He gave twelve pence per week to the poor of St. Thomas' parish in bread for ever, out of his land at Pitnell Tockington, Gloucestershire. He was buried in the church of St. Thomas, Bristol. At this period the city had only two public lights—one on the Quay, and one at Blind Gate. The chamberlain is ordered to "issue two shillings each for their maintainence." The city, from six to nine o'clock, during the winter months, had its darkness made visible by "lighted candles and lanterns," which were hung at the doors of the respectable inhabitants. St. Thomas' parish had fifty-two lights; St. Ewen's and St. Leonard's, twelve each.

Morgan's successor in office was a man whose memory should be held in reverence by Bristolians. A vile effigy in the courtyard of his almshouse in the Old Market street is supposed to represent Thomas Stephens, who was the son of William Stephens, of Bishop's Canning, in the county of Wilts, husbandman. He was appren-

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 223.

<sup>2</sup> H. Smith.

ticed, in 1622, to James Gough, grocer, and was admitted to his freedom in 1630. His residence was near Old Market street. In 1656 he was chosen into the corporation, and on his being elected sheriff, 15th September, 1660, he refused to serve, and was fined £200, which he declined to pay; whereupon he was committed to Newgate, "there to remain till he shall be delivered from thence by due course of law." He petitioned the House to be discharged from fine and imprisonment, promising to accept the office whenever the corporation should think fit to re-elect him. They agreed to release him, and in 1668 he was elected mayor, and also a member of the Society of Merchant Venturers. His will bears date, 6th April, 1679; therein he directs to be buried in St. Nicholas churchyard, near to the spot where his wives and children lay, according to his degree and quality, the manner to be left to his surviving wife, Cecil, and his executors and overseers. To Cecil, his wife, he bequeathed his household furniture and plate, and £300 in money, and £100 premium, with the scabbard that was given him when he was mayor. To his old friend, Dean Towgood, forty shillings to buy him a ring. To the Rev. Thomas Cary, minister of St. Philip's, who was to preach his funeral sermon, twenty shillings, for which sermon £5 and a mourning gown was ordered to be given. To Humphrey Little and Richard Hart, who were sheriffs during his mayoralty, twenty shillings each to buy a ring. To the poor of Bishop's Canning, in the county of Wilts, £10, the interest to be distributed annually by the overseers. To his brother-in-law, Mr. Jacob Self, his velvet tippet and £5. He appointed Robert Stephens, his kinsman, executor, and William Jackson, Jacob Self, Robert Perry, and Richard Ivyleaf, overseers. He founded two almshouses; one in the Old Market, a stone building, containing sixteen rooms; the other establishment is in Temple street, and contains twelve apartments. The annual income of these charities is about £731.

In May "a child was drowned in a tanpit, five people were drowned on the Back Quay, a cobbler broke his neck down a pair of stairs, over against the back pipe, and a woman was executed on St. Michael's hill, in September, for the murder of her child, which she bore to her own father."

In 1668 the *Edgar* frigate, of seventy-two guns, was built by Mr. Bailey, of Bristol, and was successfully launched; her burthen was 1046 tons; her complement of men, 432. The following extract most probably relates to the above ship; it is taken from a work in the king's library in Paris, in three small volumes, now very scarce, describing the travels of Mons. Jorevin de Roch-

fort. He came, in the reign of Charles II., to Bristol, and remained here for a considerable time. In a minute graphic sketch of the city he says: "Near the place where the peninsula formed by the conflux of the rivers Avon and Frome terminates, is a fine meadow, the favourite promenade of the citizens of Bristol, because planted with noble avenues of trees (the Grove and Queen square), besides being the chief place for ship-building. The biggest vessel that ever swam upon the ocean was almost completed there. She mounted eighty pieces of cannon; the keel was measured sixty-five paces in length. One day, when strolling beneath these fine trees, I observed a ship under repair which was terribly mangled by cannon-shot. It was of Portugal, and during her voyage had been attacked by two Spanish vessels of superior force, as a Portuguese informed me. Having outsailed them she arrived at Bristol, richly laden with oil, wine, silk, preserved fruits, oranges, lemons, tobacco, sugar, and other merchandize. One of her owners and a seaman were killed, and five or six others desperately wounded, during the fight by the splinters of a plank; had she encountered tempestuous weather, she must have sunk."

10. Jonathan Blackwell was a vintner. He entered the corporation September 3rd, 1650; was elected sheriff 1652. On 16th January, 1659, he was again one of the sheriffs, and was made captain in a militia regiment raised to protect the city, he having been previously a captain in the trained band. On the 2nd of May, 1654, he was one of the signatories to the address of recognition to Cromwell, as lord protector, and the same year he served on the committee for dismantling the Castle. He turned with the tide, for on the 30th March, 1660, he was one of the committee that waited on Charles II. with a present of £500 in gold, and an address. In September, 1661, he ceased to be a member of the corporation, having removed to London, where he also became an alderman. He is chiefly remarkable for having built Queen street, now known as Christmas steps. The sedillia, or recessed seats, in the upper portion of these steps, are traditionally said to have been erected by the inmates of St. Bartholomew's hospital, and were occupied by them as places for levying alms, and the sale of relics, scriptural MSS., &c., on the wayfarers passing to and fro. After the abolition of the monasteries, the almsmen of the Three Kings of Cologne often sat there to receive contributions. There is no doubt but that this was a public way before it was properly stepped by Blackwell. In 1855 the upper portion was widened and otherwise improved, and again in 1881. The following is a copy of the original inscription on the tablet:—

THIS STREETE WAS STEPPERED DONE  
& FINISHED, SEPTEMBER, 1669.

THE RIGHT Worp<sup>d</sup>. THOMAS STEVENS,  
ESQR. THEN MAYOR, HYMPHRY LITTLE,  
AND RICHARD HART, SHERRIFFES. THE  
RIGHT Worp<sup>d</sup>. ROBERT YEAMANS,  
KNT. & BARRONET, MAYOR ELECT, CHARLES  
POWELL AND EDWARD HORNE, SHERRIFFES  
ELECT OF THIS CITY.

BY AND AT THE COST OF IONATHAN  
BLACKWELL, ESQR. FORMERLY SHERRIFFE  
OF THIS CITY, AND AFTERWARDS  
ALDERMAN OF THE CITY OF LONDON  
& BY YE SAID SIR ROBERT YEAMANS, WHEN  
MAYOR AND ALDERMAN OF THIS CITY,  
NAMED, QVEENE STREETE.

At the end of September, 1670, Admiral Sir William Penn's corpse was brought to Bristol from London; it lay in state in the guildhall until October 3rd, when, escorted by the trained bands, it was carried to Redcliff church, and there buried.

The following account, although not without errors, is most interesting; it appears to be from the pen of Mons. Rochfort.

Most of the towns in England situated in the internal parts of the country, are almost without walls, or defences, which are only to be met with about those on the sea coasts. Bristol does not derive much strength from its walls except the side towards Bedminster, which the river Avon separates from the town. On this side there are three great streets, wherein are some rich merchants, and a very handsome church of our Lady of Redcliffe, built with a red-stone, and ornamented round about with figures of saints and bas-relievs. Its bell and tower is high and very well finished. One may walk on the top of the church, there being a platform surrounded by a balustrade. These three streets begin at the bridge over this river; it is covered with houses and shops, and here dwell the richest merchants of the town. Near this place is a pleasant walk in a beautiful meadow by the river side (Redcliff mead or the great gardens). Having passed the bridge you come to a great arcade supporting a church with a clock and tower on it (St. Nicholas church and gateway), which makes the entry into several handsome streets leading to all parts of the town; that in the middle (Corn street) is the principal, and forms an open area or market place, wherein stands the town hall and exchange. The street called Monis (High street) is of equal magnitude; it passes by an area where some markets are held, and wherein are some covered market houses; this crosses another street, which runs behind the Grand port and Quay. I lodged in the house of a Fleming, where I was pretty well entertained, both man and horse, for two shillings. Indeed all over England living is very reasonable, provided you drink but little wine, which in this country is very dear. The little river, which makes the great port, separates a small part of the town, to which the way lies over a stone bridge (Frome bridge, Christmas street); it is situated on the declivity of a mountain, where formerly stood a strong castle commanding the whole town.<sup>1</sup> At present its place is occupied by the cathedral church of St. Augustine, ornamented with a high tower.

I walked from thence to the port of Conquerol (Crockerne pill, Hungroad), in the village of De pill (Pill), where those large vessels

stop, that for want of water cannot come up to the town, from which it is distant three miles. By the way on the banks of the river I found a medical spring, near a small house, in which dwelt a man who explained to us its wonders and qualities, which made me recollect those at Bath, a town only six miles from Bristol, and situated on the same river where are baths whose waters are hot in some places and cold in others. The king has a place there appropriated for his bathing, round about which are several admirable pieces of sculpture. The metropolitan church in the same city is among the finest in England; it is represented in the forty wonders of the kingdom. The ordinary walk of the people of Bristol is in a meadow at the end of the peninsula of the town where the two ports join, on account of many fine rows of trees, and its being a place proper for shipbuilding (the Grove, Gib Taylor, and the Marsh).

The Fleming, at whose house I lodged, long kept a priest who secretly said mass in his house; but it having been discovered he was forbidden to do it, so that at present one cannot hear mass at Bristol, although it is a port frequented by many Catholics—Flemish, French, Spanish and Portuguese. At Bristol one may procure a passage to Ireland; vessels loaded with coal or iron frequently sailing from that place to Cork or Kinsale, which are good seaports in Ireland.

I was desirous of seeing, before I went thither, all that part of England watered by that beautiful river Severn, which passes through some of the most considerable towns in the kingdom. I left Bristol to go to Glochester; the way lay through meadows by the side of a small river, whence I entered into the mountains, where I found Stebleton, Embrok, Ierenton, Stoon, Nieuport, Kemlrig and Estminster, and from thence I arrived through meadows at Glochester.<sup>1</sup>

1669.—Captain Sturme, the man who descended into Penpark hole, gave two dials at the Pill, and two more at St. George's church door. In St. George's parish he wrote his mathematical treatise, entitled *The Mariner's or Artist's Magazine*.<sup>2</sup> A fine fireplace in a house on the Broad quay bears the date 1669.

In 1670 an alarming fire broke out in Redcliff street. There was a high wind, the candles could not be lighted in the hanging lanterns, and great complaints were made of the lack of links and torches.

11. Incidentally we have already referred to some of the principal events in the life of Sir Robert Yeamans, bart., who occupied the civic chair in 1669. He was son of John Yeamans, brewer, of Redcliff, was baptised at the church of that parish on April 19th, 1617, and took up his freedom at the age of twenty-six. He was twice married, his first wife, who died in 1680, being a daughter of Sir Edward Stafford, of Bradfield, Bucks; his second, Abigail Turner, he married when an octogenarian. In 1647 he was admitted on a fine of £10 to the Merchant Venturers' Society, and was chosen warden in 1652 and master in 1662, being sheriff of the city the same year. He entered the corporation in 1661, and subscribed £50 towards the expenses (£1,550) of

<sup>1</sup> The writer is here probably confounding the Royal fort and Brandon hill with College green.—Ed.

<sup>1</sup> The errors are only such as might be expected in the narrative of a passing stranger.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Collinson, III., 151.

the king's visit to Bristol. The week after the king had left Bristol, Yeamans waited on his majesty at Bath, and was knighted. He was created a baronet (Sir Robert Yeamans, of Redland) in 1666. The unseemly brawls between himself, Sir Robert Cann and Sir John Knight, which occurred in 1662, and again in 1670, have been described. Over the south entrance of the church of St. Mary Redcliff there is a carved gilded sword, with this inscription below it:—"1686. Sir Robert Yeamans, knight and baronet, mayor of this city in 1669, gave £50, the profit thereof, to the poor of this parish in bread every Lord's day for ever." He was buried in the church.

Sir Robert was succeeded in office by Mr. John Knight, sugar refiner, sheriff 1664. His arms, misplaced in the mayor's *Calendar*, are "paly of seven gules and sable, on a Canton gu, a spur, or." The chief incident of his mayoralty was the fact of his being compelled to appear before the king on a charge brought against him as a favourer of schismatics, and before the House of Commons for breach of privilege and assaulting in Bristol his namesake, Sir John Knight, member of Parliament for the city. His reward consisted in the approbation of his fellow-citizens and a good conscience towards God. He must not be identified with his titled namesakes, either the man who preceded, or he who succeeded him, in 1690, as mayor and was elected M.P. for the city in 1688. The estimation in which he was held may be gathered from the following certificate of character, which was numerously signed and sent to London on his behalf:—

I certify and declare that John Knight, esq., now mayor of the city of Bristol, hath from time to time given cleare evidence of his serious and sober life, without any manner . . . of his peaceable disposition and judgement in promoting the reconciliation of others, and by his earnest desire for composing differences wherein himselfe hath bene concerned hath likewise given signall testimonys of his greate loyalty to his majesty and government to the hazard of life and estate in the worst of tymes, and for the restoration of his majesty as orthodox in his judgement as to the doctrine conformable in his practice to the Liturgy and government of the Church of England, and no frequenter or approver of seditious conventicles; and further, since his elevation to the mayor of this city, hath alsoe manifested his unquestionable ability, faithfullness and wisdom in the service of his majesty in his place . . . by his prudent management of publick affaires, and by a lawful execution of his majesty's laws relating to matters either ecclesiasticall or civill.

He settled in the metropolis, and there died. We read that in 1706 "John Knight, of London, presented to the corporation of the poor in Bristol the reversionary interest of a house in High street, the sign of 'The George,' then in the occupation of William Burt, linen draper. It was occupied by Mr. Barry, bookseller, in 1826."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H. Smith.

In 1670 the first Corn Law was passed. It imposed a prohibitory duty practically on all foreign grain. Wheat might be exported on payment of one shilling per quarter customs duty, but no foreign wheat could be imported until the price in the home markets averaged 80s. per quarter. Mr. William Hasell was deputy-chamberlain of the city this year; he succeeded to the office in 1675, on the death of John Thurston.

12. John Hicks, mercer, was mayor in 1671-2. During his mayoralty the corporation purchased from the crown the ground-rents of certain lands, which had belonged to some of the religious houses that were abolished by Henry VIII.; the sum paid was £3,024 15s. 1d.

In 1672, on the 5th of January, we find the following record in the *Journal*:—

The House being this day informed that a bark called by the name of *William and Thomas*, belonging to foreigners, has for several years lay sunk behind Sir Humphrey Hook's house [on or near the Assembly-rooms, Prince street], over against Canon's marsh, full of holes and almost decayed, to the prejudice of the river and the hindrance of ships passing up and down, a committee was formed to consider the best method of removing the obstruction.

Finding, after six months' consideration, that they, as conservators of the river, had no power to act, without the assent of the grand jury, they transferred the whole affair to them; and on the sessions held June 6th, 1672, no owners being found, or any persons who could be made liable for the expenses, the grand jury ordered "the said ship so sunk to be ripped up or otherwise for the preservation of the river, and the mud and dirt to be removed, and the water-bailiff, the sword-bearer and the quay-keeper were ordered to take speedy and effectual care for putting the same in execution according to the law of this court, and they shall be held sacred, harmless and indemnified."

The rude license which had broken through all the religious restraints of Puritanism had produced its natural result—vice, licentiousness, profanity of language, and an utter disregard of the sanctity of the Sabbath. Bishop Ironsides was dead, and Guy Carleton had been elected in his stead; Archbishop Sheldon could urge upon the clergy the execution of the Conventicle Act, "that blessed work . . . for our great advantages;"<sup>1</sup> but the moral and spiritual education of the people was a matter which neither he nor his clergy ventured to attempt.

The civic authorities in Bristol, finding the ecclesiastical power impotent, took the matter into their own hands, and endeavoured to make the Sabbath day decent, if not holy, by legal means. They therefore ordered, in January, 1672, that the constables of the wards of St.

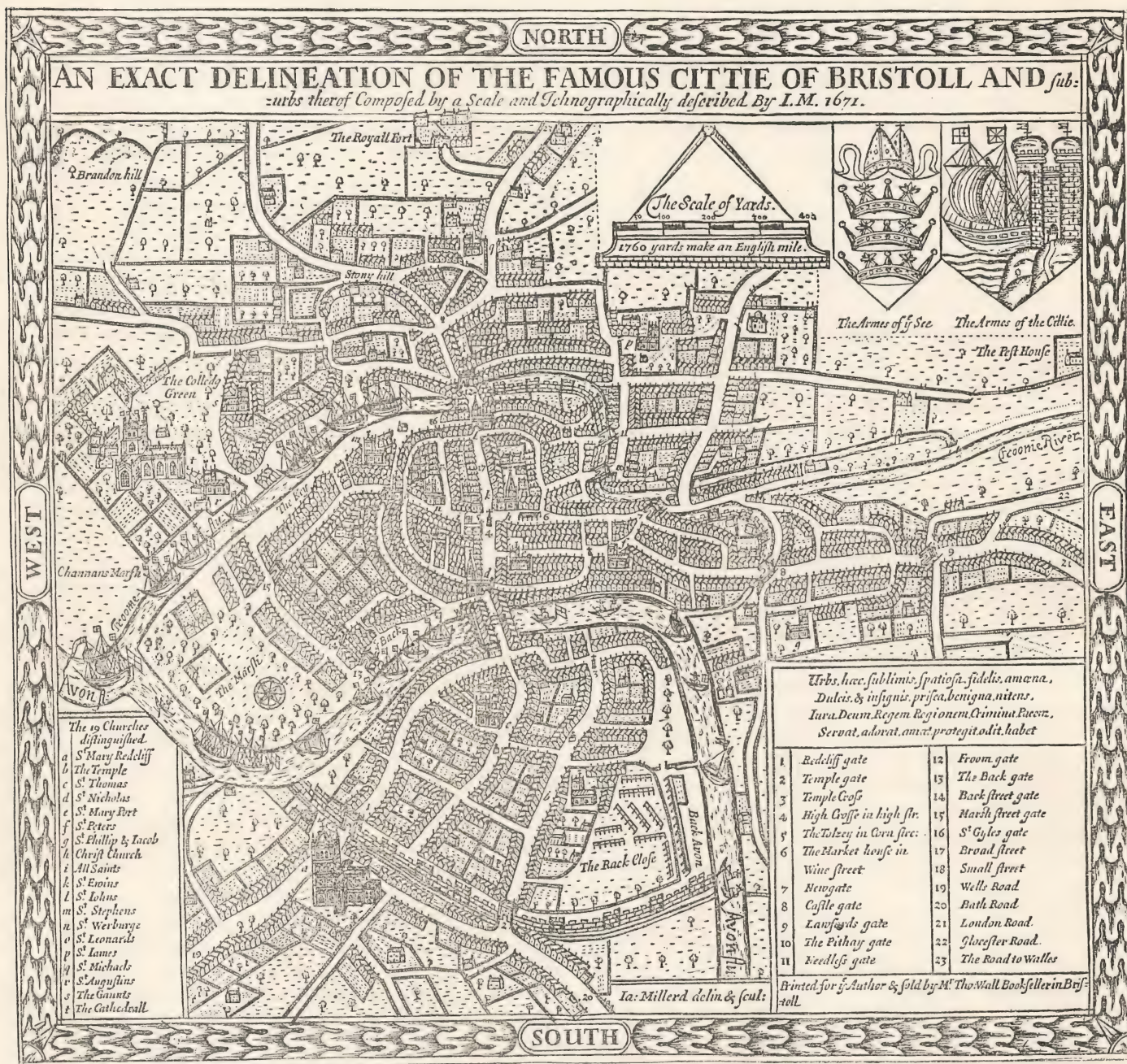
<sup>1</sup> Doc. Annals, II., 276.

James, St. Nicholas, St. Stephen and St. Mary Redcliff, together with Temple, should patrol their respective wards every Lord's day, staff in hand, not only during the time of divine service, but also before and afterwards; they were to "disperse all unlawful assemblies, whether of children or otherwise, who shall be profaning the day by using unlawful recreations, making of uproars, breaking the peace, or other disturbances of his majesty's subjects;" they are particularly ordered "to learn the names of the parents, or masters of such children or servants, likewise of the schoolmasters and schoolmistresses where they are taught," to give an account of them on the Monday to the mayor and aldermen, in order that due punishment may be administered. It is further ordered that the chief constables of the wards of All Saints, St. Ewen's and Trinity do each send one constable, with his staff, to the Tolzey, to disperse all persons found walking there during the time of divine service, and "such as they shall there find and who will not depart" they are to report their names and residences, as above mentioned.

Alderman Hicks was no favourer of dissent, for on the 28th of February, 1675, we find him paying in the sum of five shillings, obtained by distraint of the constable of St. Stephen on the goods and chattels of Sarah Edwards, for being present in a conventicle held in the parish of St. James (the occasion was on the 14th of the month, the king's licenses having been withdrawn on the 12th, the very day that Mr. Weeks, their teacher, was seized and thrown into Newgate, Hicks being forward in his apprehension); he also paid in five shillings obtained from John Morley in a similar manner, and five shillings which the constables and churchwardens of St. Ewen's had distrained on the goods of Philip Neade. Hicks died in 1701. He left to the mayor and aldermen the sum of £12 10s. for such of "the poor of All Saints parish as do not receive alms;" also "the profit of a house in Temple street to six of the poorest men or women of St. Peter's parish, not receiving alms, yearly on the 13th of February for ever."

In the year 1671, Millerd published his "Exact delineation of the famous cittie of Bristoll and suburbs thereof composed by a scale and ichnographically described," in a plate of 9in. by 10in.; and in 1673 he published his four-sheet map, which has a border of engravings of many of the old buildings then extant, which greatly adds to its interest and value (many of these are reproduced in this work). The tower of the White lodge, which stood on the brow of the hill overlooking Lewin's mead, at the junction of Colston street and Perry road, was only destroyed when the last-named road was formed. The Old park was then

known as Little park. At the foot of Christmas steps, opposite to the entrance to St. Bartholomew's hospital, there was a slip called Prior's slip, and several ship-building yards, between which and Frome gate there was only one house. The Pest house was in the field at the end of Newfoundland lane. The bridge over the moat in Queen street, Castle precincts, was called Castle bridge; and Limekiln lane, Castle mead, now Bread street, led up to two limekilns; Cheese lane, bounding St. Philip's churchyard, passed a glass house on the left, and was named Cold harbour. There were brick-kilns in an enclosed field upon the right-hand side of the lane, and the portion of land which ran parallel with Temple mead upon the opposite side of the Avon, was called King's marsh. Upon the Temple side of the river Tower Harratz was the first, and considerably the largest, of four towers on the wall between the Avon and Temple gate; within these was the Rack close, where woollen cloths were hung out to dry, and Temple back was planted with trees from a slip behind Temple church nearly to Countess slip. Pipe lane was Back Avon walk; Three Queens' lane was Ivie lane; opposite to it was Mitchell lane. In the quadrangular space formed by Portwall lane, Redcliff street, Three Queens' lane, and Thomas street, there was a glass house. Redcliff hospital was at the distance of six houses from the "Saracen's Head" inn. Guinea street was Treen Mill lane; it made a curve round a windmill on the right (both mill and lane being outside the city wall) to Treen or the Wooden mill, having on the left hand, at its junction with the river bank, the Passing slip, which is now the inner lock of Bathurst basin. There was a glass house on Redcliff back, within the city wall, and the spaces lying between the river and the houses in Redcliff street, between that and Thomas street, between the latter and Temple street, and between that and the Rack close, were laid out in fertile gardens and orchards. The Weavers' old chapel stood in one of these open spots, between the two streets, Temple and Thomas, near to the north end. The Welsh back, as far west as King street, was built upon; so were both sides of King street, but all the rest of the Old Bristol marsh (the Grove and Queen square) was open ground, well planted with trees; it was used as a recreation ground and a public promenade by the citizens. One portion of it, between the Grove and Prince street, was enclosed, and used as a bowling green. Sir Humphrey Hook's house stood near the site of the Assembly rooms, on the north side of Prince street, with its garden extending nearly to the quay, together with four small houses adjoining, between it and Thunderbolt street; this latter, together with Alderskey lane, was lined on both



*Fac simile of Millerd's Map of the City of Bristol.*

sides with dwellings. The space between King street, Marsh street, Maiden tavern lane, Baldwin street, and Back street, had a fringe of houses all round it, but within were pleasant gardens and orchards. It was one of these garden houses, situated on the wall in King street, that Robert Redwood gave for a library. Upon the opposite side of the cut for the river Frome, known as the Narrow quay, Canon's marsh was without any

houses; there was only a single dwelling on the bank, south-west of St. Augustine's church; pleasant gardens, and cherry and apple orchards, stretched away in a long parallelogram, past the cathedral on its western side, until, passing the Lower College green, they ended in the flowery meadow which has become College street. The old Monastic, now the Deanery, buildings in a quadrangle surrounded Lower College green. Behind

the houses which bordered the south and west sides of the tongue-shaped piece of land that projected from Pipe lane to College green, there were orchards and pleasure grounds; between Cow lane (now Park street viaduct) and Leopard lane were gardens, &c., on both sides, a few houses on the north side, but not one adjoining it on the south. This was also the case with Limekiln lane. Bullock's park extended from Brandon hill to Park row, and thrust a spur down to Stoney hill; a few scattered houses, set in market gardens, dappled the hill in the triangle formed by the Blind Asylum, the Royal fort, and Church lane, St. Michael's. St. Michael's hill had a steep narrow lane leading up to the gallows. Stinkard's close nestled in under the Royal fort; Horfield road was through fields on either hand. From Maudlin street (the eastern end of which became the site of the Infirmary) and St. James' priory, gardens ran right up the hill to Kingsdown. Stoke's croft, from North street corner, consisted of pleasant fields. East of the Barrs, King street, and Merchant street, the fields came up to the back of the houses, save on the Weir, where the dwellings were thrust out into the country as far as the Baptist burying-ground in Redcross street; still further east did they line the Gloucester and the London roads; on the latter they extended nearly to Lawrence hill and the forest of Kingswood. On the Broad quay there was the Lower slip, not far from the end of Thunderbolt street, and another, set obliquely to the river, near the Great tower. Marsh street curved up to St Leonard's gate. Stephen's and Baldwin streets (Clare street was not then made), and two narrow passages, Rose lane and Swan lane, led from Marsh street in parallel lines to the river. The one bridge over the Avon was Bristol bridge; that nearest the sea on the other river was the Frome bridge. Shipping came right up to the Quay head, there being no drawbridge to hinder; at low water they lay supine in the muddy bottoms of both Avon and Frome, and as the tide flowed they were warped in to the quay wall, and the work of loading and unloading went on. Men worked, and were paid generally when employed about shipping, by tides, not by days; night work was double pay, and Sunday work double the week days' remuneration. In 1673 "the thanks of the House, with a piece of plate to the value of £10, was voted to Mr. James Millerd for his present of a map of the city, being the largest, exactest, and handsomest that was ever yet drawn of this city." This map is valuable on account of its rarity, the copper plate having been destroyed; it is at best a poorly-executed work in point of engraving. This was followed by an oblong view of "The city of Bristol," but there being no gratuity forth-

coming from the corporation, Millerd engraved a curtain over the dedication. The copper plate of this is, we believe, still preserved.

Millerd's first example was followed by the dedication to the Merchant Venturers of "Two bookes of maps and armes," by Richard Bloome, for which the corporation voted him £5, and the society of Merchant Venturers "voted him £10 for his civility for his present of two bookes, with our coat of armes in the front of each volume." In 1678 Richard Wallis was also presented with £5 for a map of the arms of trades, but a significant note follows this entry:—"In future no present of like nature to be accepted where a gratuity is expected."

13. In 1666, in order to give encouragement to the woollen manufacture of the country, which was then its staple trade, it was enacted that no person should be buried in any other than grave clothes composed entirely of woollen, under a penalty of £5, to be paid to the poor of the parish; this penalty being found to be inadequate it was afterwards increased. We have but two notices of Christopher Griffiths, merchant, who was mayor in 1672-3; one is that on Trinity Sunday he and the members of the common council met at the Tolzey and went thence to hear a sermon by Dean Towgood, and received the sacrament at his hands, under the Act known as the Test and Corporation Act. This they were compelled to do, or forfeit their position; for no man could hold office under the Government, or occupy a seat in the council, without partaking of the eucharist, which was thus degraded into a political test. The other notice is in the shape of a certificate that "Christopher Griffiths was buried in St. Nicholas church, in December, 1687, and that he was not put in, wrapt, or wound up, or buried in any shirt, shyft, sheet or shroud made or mingled with flax, hemp, silk, haire, gold or silver, or any other material, but sheep's wool only; or in any coffin lined or furred with any cloth or stuff, or any other thing whatsoever," &c. This is attested by two witnesses sworn before Sir Richard Crump, knt. Around this certificate there is an emblematic border, rudely sketched in ink of skulls, crossbones, mattocks, spades, hour glasses, &c.

In January there fell so much rain that on the 17th all the meadows around the city were flooded to a depth of four feet six inches; many cattle were drowned, a great deal of hay was swept away by the flood, and much damage was done to the corn. The following year wheat was very scarce and dear, and large quantities had to be imported.

The experiment of using the tide as a motive power, which will some day we cannot but think, when fuel has

become scarce and dear, be successfully accomplished, was tried this year in Bristol. A water mill was built upon a lighter, at Gib Taylor, by Thomas Jayne, a house carpenter; it worked upon the ebb tide only, and ground corn at the rate of two bushels an hour. It was pulled to pieces at St. James' fair in September. "This year the conduit in the middle of Thomas street was removed to the end of Church lane, and the sheep market, with a wool market-room over it, was built, having been removed from the north side of the church. This year also was the Cathedral church, Christ church and spire, and St. Stephen's pinnacles, tower and church, new mended and flourished."<sup>1</sup>

Guineas were first coined in the year 1673, but we have no record of any having been minted in Bristol. Richard Streamer, merchant, was then mayor. "Queen Katharine came to Bristol July 11th, 1674, and was honourably entertained at Sir Henry Creswick's. The effigy of King Charles II. was removed on the leads nearer the Council-house by the persuasion of the Duchess of Cleveland, who came with the queen; it standing and being before, as she said, like a porter or a watchman."<sup>2</sup>

Streamer's name occupies an unenviable position in the annals of the persecutions in Bristol, but he appears to have had a sense of what was due to decorum and public morality; he would not prostitute the civic dignity, or bow shamelessly before the king's lemans. Although a bigot, he was an honest man, hence no gilded spurs fell to his lot. "On the 11th of September, 1673, the Countesse of Castelmaine (one of the king's mistresses) rode into this cittie in her coach, in pompe, attended by Sir John Churchill of Churchill, together with Sir Thomas Bridgis, of Cainsham, and their ladies, with their retinue of servants; and rode by the Tolzey, and downe Broade street, and soe along the Key, where the great guns fired as she passed along. She alighted at Alderman Olive's, at the Three Tuns<sup>3</sup> in Wine street, and was there entertained at the cost and chardges of the said Sir John Churchill."<sup>4</sup> To the credit of the corporation they ignored her visit; but as a contrast, and to show that it was from no sordid motive that they had been so reticent, we note that the Marquis of Worcester, lord lieutenant, was entertained right royally by the citizens. On the 7th of August it was moved in the

chamber, "that the marquis be invited to visit Bristol, and that he be entertained at the charge of the city. That Sir Robert Cann and Sir John Knight ride over to Badminton, and present the invitation in the name of the mayor, aldermen, and common council." (Coach hire to Badminton, 30s.) It was further ordered that the mayor and aldermen "do consider and resolve as to the manner of his reception and entertainment; and that an humble address be presented to him for the appointing such lord deputy lieutenants as are citizens and not country gentlemen." "The country party," Macaulay says, "included all the public men who leaned towards Puritanism and Republicanism." The charge on the city fund for the entertainment of the marquis amounted to £237 4s. 11d.; of this sum £122 1s. 4d. was disbursed by the mayor, 18s. 9d. by Captain Joseph Creswick; and Nicholas Dupont, the French cook, received £114 4s. 10d.

14. The next year Ralph Oliff, innkeeper, landlord of the "Three Tuns," in Wine street, who said he took office solely to persecute the Nonconformists, was chosen as mayor. He had been sheriff in 1664; he was a great wine-bibber and hater of dissent; his name has become as notorious as that of Hellier for his rancorous cruelties in carrying out the Conventicle Act against his inoffensive fellow-townsmen. It was in his back parlour over their potations that the chief persecutors used to meet on the morning of the Lord's day, whence, as soon as the bells had ceased, they issued forth on the foray, in organised bands, to pounce upon their humble victims who were engaged in divine worship.

Out of the whole number of the corporation only about eight or ten of its members have their names associated with these acts of religious intolerance, and of these several were compelled by their official duties rather than by an act of willingness to take the steps which they did. The law was thrust upon them by the Government, but the majority of the chamber declined to act, and Oliff, the vintner, the tenant of Hellier, the chief persecutor, was elected to do the dirty work. The royal proclamation against Catholics and Dissenters, now that the Declaration of Indulgence was withdrawn, had led to the adoption of more rigorous measures, for the execution of which unscrupulous, ignorant, and vulgar men were especially fitted. Nine years later, in 1682-3, Charles, in order to break up the growing democracy of the cities and boroughs, had seized, by *quo warranto*, the charters, first of the city of London, and then proceeded to secure his aim (absolute power) by seizing, amongst other places, the charters of Bristol. A servile ignorant tool was necessary; such a one existed in Bristol; true he had previously served as mayor, and

<sup>1</sup> Old MS.

<sup>2</sup> Seyer, II., 514-15. [We very much doubt whether the queen visited Bristol before 1677.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> The Three Tuns was the house which, in 1825, was occupied by Mr. Morgan, silversmith. The sign was part of the arms of the Brewers' Company, as may be seen on two houses in Mary-le-port street, and one in the Pithay, adjoining Tower lane, also on a shield on a chimney piece in a third house in Mary-le-port street.

<sup>4</sup> Seyer, II., 515.

so was, by the ordinances of the city, incapacitated for office; but the king's will could override the city's by-laws, and by especial command from his most gracious majesty, the corporation were ordered to elect Ralph Oliff as their chief magistrate for a second term. But a greater king than the tall, swart man, who wore the English crown, was waiting for his subject. Oliff was carried in his chair to the guildhall, where he took the oaths amidst the ringing of bells, firing of cannon, and the tumultuous shoutings of the rabble, and then was taken home to die, which event occurred within twenty-four hours; he was sixty-four years of age, and was buried in the chancel of All Saints church. His son, Ralph, shared in his father's antipathies; he predeceased him by two years, dying, in 1681-2, at the age of thirty-five.

The *Oxford*, a 54-gun ship, 683 tons, and for 274 men, was launched at Bristol; on St. John's day the weathercock of St. John's church was blown down, another was put up in 1676.

Sir Robert Cann succeeded Oliff as mayor, and "in his year Robert Aldworth, the town clerk, died, and John Romsey, was chosen as his successor, who did his utmost to set the king against the city."<sup>1</sup> Party feeling ran high, and this is the record of a political opponent, and must be taken *cum grano salis*.

15. At 281, Vol. I., we have given an engraving of the Great house at the Bridge end, the residence of Robert Rogers, who was mayor in 1622.

This maior, as his estate was greate, soe he possessed the same not without trouble; leaving it to his sonne, a knight, he enjoyed not the same above three yeares, and then dyed; and his stately house, fit for a king's palace, was turned into a tavern.

The old house had a ghost, a "headless shade," highly sensational, and there are traditionally preserved some silly doggerel lines containing a prediction, in which the plague, the fire on the bridge, the trial of Yeomans and Boucher, the destruction of the Castle,

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 227.

are jumbled in bewildering confusion. The Great house was an obstruction. Its removal was ordered, which did not then remove the obstruction. A record, 1675, informs us that:—

Whereas ye Great house att ye Bridge end, wherein Nehemia Webb dwelt, was lately taken down and is now in new building, and in ye erecting of ye same, some part of ye new building is much beyond its due bounds and limits, done without leave or licence, to the straightening and narrowing of the common street, and esteemed to be a great nuisance. Report thereof being this day made to the mayor, aldermen, and common council, in common council assembled, and of the view that hath been made thereof by Mr. Mayor, and the surveyor of the citty lands, according to custome. Itt is ordered that the surveyor of ye citty lands doe according to an "Act of common councill in yt behalf forthwith order the citty carpenter and masons in their presence to take and beat downe the same new building, soe beyond its due bounds and limits as aforesaid. And for soe doing this order and ordinance of ye house shall bee their warrant; and itt was done accordingly."

On a very grotesquely carved bracket within the shop window of the curious old timber-framed house which stands at the corner of High and Wine streets, is the date 1676. Tradition avers, we think correctly, that the house was constructed in Holland, and then brought to Bristol and re-set up in its present position. There is also a good specimen of a leaden snow box attached



Timber-framed House at Corner of High and Wine Streets.

to the front of the house, No. 34 in High street, that bears the date 1686.

*Copy of a bill for a year's board, clothes, and education, of a young lady at Bristol, in the year 1677.*

Laid out for HANNAH as followeth :		lb. s. d.
"Impris. For a payer of shooes ... ..	00 01 08	
It. For making her new coat longer ... ..	00 01 00	
It. For a necklace and mending a pr. of shooes ...	00 00 08	
It. Paid for a payer of shoes ... ..	00 01 06	
It. Mending her old coat and for ribbon to border itt, and for a lace and sampler and thread ... ..	00 02 00	
It. For paper and for a payer of sizers and rebon for her dressing box ... ..	00 03 06	
It. For a payer of shooes and shooe points... ..	00 01 10	
It. For mending her shooes ... ..	00 00 04	
More laid out than I had of her mother for a payer of boddises, a hood and a skarffe ... ..		00 03 06
It. For a payer of shoes and mending a payer of shooes	00 02 00	
It. For a lace and mending her two coats and for rebbon ... ..	00 04 01	
It. For a fan and making her lacest petticoat and bordering ... ..	00 04 06	
It. Paid for 2 purses for her ... ..	00 02 00	
It. For a yeare's Schooleing ... ..	00 17 00	
And for her yeare's Tableing ... ..	10 00 00	
Sum totall ... ..	12 05 07	
More for a payer of shooes ... ..	00 01 07	
In all ... ..	12 07 02	

"On the 15th April, 1676, Nathaniel Haggard, William Powlett, John Romsey, Edmund Jones, and James Gregory, petitioned to be town clerk. The first three were proposed; John Romsey was elected (and made a free burgess of the city). Voted that town clerk, steward, and other officers, shall always give place to all the council." This is the first mention of Romsey, but his house in King street bears date on its door, 1664, and has the initials <sup>R.</sup><sub>J.S.</sub> It was here that he entertained Judge Jeffreys in 1685. The "Llandoger" tavern, in the same street, is about the same date.

August 29th.—Sir W. Waller claimed the right to prisage of all wine imported into Bristol in Whitsun week.

16th September.—Ordered no great guns, or murdering piece, shall henceforth be discharged or fired at the key.

16. Alderman William Crabb, during whose mayoralty, in 1676, the attempt was made by Guy Carleton, the bishop, and the dean and chapter, to obtain certain privileges, and to impose an inquisition upon the citizens, the mayor writes to Sir John Knight that "they are surreptitiously seeking, without the privity of the corporation, to procure a clause to be inserted in the bill for the endowment of poor vicarages, or in some other act now passing, that will be adverse to the city's

interests," and he advises the members to be on their guard, to watch, and carefully inspect all new local acts, lest the city be surprised in an affair of such magnitude.

The rupture between the Cathedral authorities and the civic dignitaries, in 1609, had never been thoroughly healed. A committee of the council was now appointed, who, on May 12th, 1676, wrote :—

To the Honourable Sir Robert Atkyns, one of the Justices of his Majesty's Court of Common Pleas.

My Lord,—We have desired Sir John Knight to deliver you a copy of a paper given in to us by the dean and prebendaries of the church of Bristol, the purport whereof is to exempt themselves, not only from the jurisdiction of the city, but in truth from all temporal jurisdiction whatsoever, which, in our opinion, will not only be a great infringement of the liberties and privileges of the city, but also of very ill consequence, and pernicious to the Government; the particular transaction whereof we refer to the relation of Sir John Knight. In a case of this moment and difficulty, we make it our request to you that you will be pleased to afford us your advice and assistance with Sir John Knight, to support our rights and undoubted immunities; and the frequent experience we have of your readiness to promote all good acts for the weal and preservation of this city assures us of your granting the request of,

My lord, your lordship's most humble servants,

WILLIAM CRABB, Mayor.  
THOMAS STEVENS.  
ROBERT CANN.  
JOHN LAWFORD.  
RICHARD STREAMER.

Meanwhile it would appear from the following letter that the ecclesiarchs had been carrying affairs with a high hand, even going so far as to arrest the mayor, probably for contempt of the Ecclesiastical court, but we have not been able to find any record of the transaction except the following :—

Bristol, 18th June, 1676.

To the Honble. Sir Robert Atkyns, &c.

My Lord,—We make bold to acquaint your lordship that the dean and chapter persevere in the contest with the city with unseemingly rigour and severity, *as by arresting of the mayor*, by endeavouring to obtain a commission of charitable uses, in which they nominate none but creatures of their own to be commissioners. We humbly beg your lordship's opinion whether we are not exempt by the statute from the inquisition of such commission; and if your lordship happen to see the lord chancellor, that you would please acquaint his lordship with these proceedings of theirs, and we are sure they will receive very slender encouragement from his lordship to proceed in this severe manner, and to make so great a breach between the church and the city and the government of it.

WM. CRABB, Mayor.  
ROBERT CANN.  
JOHN KNIGHT.  
JOHN LAWFORD.  
RICHARD CRUMPE.

Sir Robert did not "happen to see the lord chancellor," we suppose, but he forwarded the following letter for them :—

To the Right Honourable Heneage, Lord Finch, Baron of Daventry,  
Lord High Chancellor of England.

My Lord,—There has of late begun unhappy differences between the dean and chapter of the church of Bristol and the city. The ground of this contest is immunities lately set up and claimed by the church, much in derogation of the privileges and undoubted rights of the city; and not only so, but they have endeavoured to shorten the jurisdiction and extent of the city by depriving us of almost an whole parish, claimed by them as a distinct and separate jurisdiction. How far they have been aggressors in this contest, and with what unbecoming heat and ardour they have prosecuted this affair, by the instigation of the bishop, will be too tedious to give your lordship the trouble of knowing. Nor, my lord, as we are informed, are they contented with that only, but are labouring to obtain a commission of charitable uses, in which they do not stick to declare that they principally aim at an inquisition into the *Arcana* of the city, and have not nominated any members thereof, nor any person but such who are creatures of their own to be commissioners. We hope, my lord, that the city is exempt by the statute from any such inquisition; however, our humble address to your lordship is that if any such inquisition be to be issued forth, that the names herewith to be delivered to your lordship might be inserted. It is not without a great sense we have of the misfortune of this place to be thus engaged (where the church has so many enemies), that they will so industriously endeavour to make so loyal a magistracy at a necessary variance with them; and of what ill consequences it may be that they should intermeddle with the government of the city, and interrupt the current of justice in a great part of it, your lordship, we are sure, is very apprehensible, and we are confident will not find countenance from so great an example of wisdom and justice as your lordship.

Thus begging your lordship's pardon,

We remain, my lord,

Your most humble servants,

WILLIAM CRABB, Mayor.

ROBERT CANN.

JOHN KNIGHT.

JOHN LAWFOED.

RICHARD CRUMPE.

The next record shows that the lord chancellor did move in the affair:—

Sir Thomas Jones, judge of assize, made it his request that Sir John Churchill would endeavour to accommodate the controversy between the city and the bishop and dean and chapter, if permitted, which was agreed to, a report to be made to the House for its final determination. This order to be kept secret, it being by vote of the House agreed to be secretly communed of, and that no person presume to discourse of it under severe penalties.

The dispute lingered on; the mayor and corporation did not, as was their wont, go to the Cathedral, but to St. Mary Redeliff church, where a sermon was preached by the Rev. Nicholas Penwarne, who also preached before them in the church of St. Mark.

On the 22nd of June, 1677–8, Richard Crump, soap-boiler, being mayor, we have further correspondence on the subject, the following letters being addressed to Sir Robert Cann and Sir John Knight, members of Parliament for the city:—

Sir,—This day our town clerk (Romsey) went with Mr. Pen-

warn to the Bpps. court. And by the attorney hee gives me the great thing expected from him in conformity to the canon in that project of prayers wherein he is to preferre the dignified clergy before the civill magistrates, and his compliance in this poynt is expected to-morrow seaven-night. And if you thinke itt worth our while to contest itt I hope you will give us some countenance before the tyme is fixed, otherwise it will bee unreasonable in us to expose the ministers to the fury of the bpp. for a cause wee cannot justifie, and desire your answere, and am, sir, your affectionate friend and humble servant,

RICHARD CRUMPE.

To Sir Robert Cann, Knt. and Barrt., a Member of Parliament at the Parliament House, the 22nd June, 1678. Another of the same to Sir John Knight.

Knight, who, it will be perceived, was the active man of business, replied in the following able and characteristic letter:—

London, 29th June, 1678.

Mr. Mayor,—I have not received any lately from you, and since my last I find the bishopp and his clerkes have been solliciting for another commission of charitable uses, the better still to affront the magistrates and trample upon them, which the lord chancellor refuseth till he hath spoken to our recorder in itt, who tells me that Ridly had benee once there to speak with him, and left word with his servants in itt, and that hee would againe attend him. I shall take care to prevent itt if I can. Alsoe those of St. James's have putt in a foolish bill of seventy sheetes against the city, which on perusall I finde they claim the church and . . . of the churchyard, as a body politique time out of mynde, and insist upon the commissioner's decree, which, with the inquisition and all other proceedings, they fully recite; but I shall take care in that allsoe and prevent their designs, if by the . . . of many you bee not persuaded to bee betrayed out of your right. All they pretend to Mr. Hornes right to be chaplain there is by a license from the bishopp, so that I cannot finde by their bill that they have any right att all. Butt John (? Hellier) has done this, whose trade is to live by divisions.

I moved the court to have the costs in Sir Wm. Waller's suit taken off, but could not; and this day I was summoned to attend the taxing it, the particulars demanded was £94 odd money. All I could do was to get the £44 odd money abated, so that the city is taxed to pay £50 for itt, which the nexte terme by a motion happily may be mitigated to £40. If not itt must bee payd. They threaten to bring another suite about prisage wines that Mr. Speed had. But I bid them to take their course, and I suppose they will not, for wee have a better plea, and the city's right by itt may be retrieved. You see how many troubles the city's divines bring upon you, butt pray bee not hectorred out of itt's right. And if itt were my single interest I would an able minister to serve in St. James', Hornes place, who have no right to bee there, yett have wee raised his estate by itt, by which hee hath so insolently abused the city; and if the bishop, under colour of license, may putt ministers in our chappells without our consent, as he hath done at St. James', but especially at St. James' which is our lay fee and no parish church, and wee thus tolerate itt you may . . . to the rest of our rights in a short time. I am your most

Affectionate friend and servant,

JOHN KNIGHT.

I purpose to stopp the parishioners' proceedings by a motion as to the profits of the next St. James' fayre that is to bee collected and deposited till the law have ended it.



*Windows in Colston's House, Small Street.*

To this the following reply was sent:—

Sessions, July 1st, 1678.

Sir,—By yours to Mr. Mayor of the 29th of June, wee doe with our thankfulness for itt observe your care of the citty, and the concernes thereof. And that you very early mett with a new attempt of reviving the commission of charitable uses which is apparent . . . by the management . . . of the last . . . only to . . . att and prejudice the citty and government thereof, and doe therefore desire you to prevent that designe if possible you can.

And wee don't question butt our recorder, Sir Robert Atkins, will in this as in everything else bee assistant to you in a matter of soe much importance to you all. Wee thank you very kindly for the account you give of the business of St. James's, and as wee have already reserved the management of it to you, soe wee doubt not butt that you are very well informed of the citty's right. And therefore we shall on all occasions give you the greatest furtherance and countenance that lyes in our power to accomplish that business. And if the presenting of another personne in the roome of Mr. Horne bee our interest, pray give directions therein, and it shall be punctually observed by us. If the costs of Sir William Waller cannot be reduced to anny lesse summe wee must bee contented. However, wee take notice of your greate care of us, and return you our hearty thanks, and bee sure, sir, that wee are, sir,

Your affectionate friends,

RICHARD CRUMPE, Mayor.  
JOHN LAWFORD.  
JOHN CRABB.

On the 28th of January, 1677, a new writ was issued for Bristol, and Sir Robert Cann was elected in the room of Sir Humphrey Hook, deceased.

“In 1677, the Rev. Richard Penwarne, minister of St. Stephen's, was, on his petition, admitted to the freedom of the city without payment, having resided in the city for many years, and having many children, with the probability of having many more, to whom the freedom may be beneficial. On February 19th, the Rev. Thomas Palmer, minister of St. Werburgh's, and the Rev. Emanuel Heath, minister of St. Augustine's were admitted to the freedom for the same reasons

as stated by Mr. Penwarne.”<sup>1</sup>

It was not until 1682, in the mayoralty of Sir Thomas Earl, that the dispute between the civil authorities and the ecclesiastics was healed. A place in the choir of the Cathedral was allotted for the mayor, aldermen and common council, to sit together in a body when they attended divine service, and a joint committee was appointed to make the seats convenient. A unicorn, gilded, was put up to hold the sword, for which the cushion and cloth of state, both fringed, the corporation paid £21 9s. But Alderman Crabb was not then forgiven or forgotten; in 1682 he was presented by the grand jury as the “champion of the Dissenters.” He died in 1702, aged eighty-seven, and was buried in Temple church; his wife, Margaret, predeceased him in 1693, and their daughter, Mary, married Ezekiel Longman, a soap-boiler.

17. “July 20th, 1677, Queen Katharine came from Bath to Bristol, guarded by the Earl of Ossory and his troop, and was received by the mayor and aldermen in their scarlet, who did ride two by two in their foote cloathes on horsebacke, accompanied with the rest of the councell and chiefe of the cittie unto Lawford's gate, where the town clarke very gravely uttered a learned oration unto her majestie. And then after the mayor with all the majistrates tooke horse againe; the last of

<sup>1</sup> Tovey's Local Jottings.

the councell did ride foremost, and soe in order till they came to the mayor, who did ride bareheaded before the coach where the queene was. And all the way as they came from Lawford's gate to Smale street all the trained soldiers of the cittie made her majestie a guard. And after the major and councell had conducted her majestie to her lodging, which was at Sir H' Creswicke's house in Smale street, all the trayned soldiers gave a volley of shott, and presently after the great guns fired. And after a most noble and honourable treat given by the mayor and councell to her grace, and all the nobles and guard that attended her, she rode in her coach to the Hott-well, being attended by the said Earl of Ossory and other nobles, together with Sir John Knight of this cittie, being then Parliament-man and burgiss for this cittie of Bristoll, and her guard, and there did stay a little time, and dranke some of the Hott-well water (but one MS. says she went to the Hot-well before dinner). Presently after she returned to her court in Smale street, where after a little repose she took her leave, and returned the same day to Bath.' Some MSS. date this visit July 11th, 1677, which appears to be an error arising from the queen's [supposed] former visit in 1674.

"July 11th, 1677, the same evening on which the queen was here, a ship called *The Friendship* was by accident burned at the graving-place near the Marsh." <sup>1</sup>

At the visit of the queen the churchwardens of the several parishes were ordered to have the church bells rung. The streets from Lawford's gate were sanded up to Sir Henry Creswick's door. All the House was ordered to appear in black clothes, and as her majesty had to pass Newgate the sheriff was to order the gaoler to keep the poor prisoners away from the gratings. The cost of the entertainment, £446 2s. 8d., was defrayed by the city, and the mayor, Alderman Crump, was consoled for the preference shown to Sir Henry Creswick's hospitality by being knighted. "The commercial-rooms now occupy the site of Creswick's house, which was entered from Small street;" <sup>2</sup> this house was nearly opposite to the family mansion of the Colstons. Crump died on January 11th, 1699, and was buried in St. Thomas' church.

The next mayor, Sir John Lloyd, brewer, was the son of the John Lloyd, also a brewer, who was sheriff in 1633. In 1666 Sir John was chosen to be sheriff, but refused to serve, for which, and for his contumacious behaviour in the presence of the chamber, he was com-

mitted to Newgate, "there to remain till discharged by due course of law." During his official year he did not attend once as sheriff, but subsequently was regular in his attendance at the council chamber. The year 1678 was that in which the "no Popery" craze culminated; the atmosphere was redolent of plots, real or pretended. One of the men who set themselves to discover, or to plan these romances, was the infamous Bedloe, who, having imposed on the credulity of the mayor, was by him sent up to London to give his evidence. Sir John Knight, sen., was busy there, searching people's lodgings, overhauling their papers, and committing suspects to prison. The Commons had gone mad on the subject of Popery, whilst Charles was coquetting with the French court, and the Duke of York had openly avowed himself a Roman Catholic, he, with all his faults, being a more honest man than the king, who, outwardly and avowedly Protestant, was, we now know, a professed Catholic in secret. Bearing in mind the temper of the times we shall better understand the following correspondence. Spies were out on every hand, and tale-bearers ready to amplify all rumours:—

My Lord,—The last weeke in a vessell from Ireland came hither one Turwell, and there being a report by Lady Rerth and other passengers in the shipp that he had spoken dangerous words, I thought fitt to send for him and seize his papers, upon the carefull perusall of which I find only that he has formerly been related to Mr. Daniel Arthur, a person now in custody (as is reported) for being engaged in this plot against his Matie. and a letter from one Mr. Lumsdale, a copy of which I have enclosed sent yr lordshipp and another paper, whereof I have likewise enclosed sent a copy of which I am inclined to thinke a character, it not looking like any language that eyther myselfe or those concerned with mee in taking the examination had been conversant with. This is all I can find or picke out of his papers. But upon examination of witnesses two have sworne that there beinge a discourse betwixt them and this Turwell about the plott and conspiracy, he sayd he believed there was noe such thing, and that it was only a talke and report of some idle and fantastick people. He owns himself a Roman Catholick. His disposition seems rough and resolute, his stature tall, and his demeanour gentill, my lord, this is the summe of what as yett I can alledge against him, and doe therefore, most humbly begg yr lodps. opinion how, and in what manner I am to house the prisoner. Untill you think fitt to communicate itt to councill that I may have their directions I don't think fitt to determine this; I . . . of the words sworne agst. him, or to decipher the characters according to my owne judgement, or to take security for his good behaviour according to the late proclamation without further order. My lord, I will make noe apology for giving you this account, my duty obligeing me to give it to some one of the councell, and my owne experience giving mee sufficient assurance that you doe not thinke anything a trouble which may bee of publicke good or use to his maty., and therefore humbly take leave to subscribe myself, as in all duty bound, my lord, yr lodp.'s most devoted, most humble servant,

JNO. LLOYD, Maior.

Bristol, 16th Sep., 1678.

To the Lord Marquis of Worcester.

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 515-16.

<sup>2</sup> MS. of H. Smith, whose father, Richard Smith, surgeon, married Miss Creswick, the descendant and heiress-at-law of the alderman.

Nov. 6th, 1678.

Right Honourable,—The last night by your direction and order I sent Bedloe up to you and in the surest way I could then think of. I wish he may prove soe usefull to his ma<sup>ty</sup> by his information as you apprehended he would. There came here the last week fourteen persons, their habit spoke them gentlemen, their armes (as swords, pistols, and some guns) soldiers, and their speech to be Irish. They pretended to have come lately out of the French service, and that they were going upon his majesties into Ireland. Being in these circumstances I did not think meet to restraime them, nor to use much severity in their examination. Especially, seeing that their behaviour was sevil and did not render themselves obnoxious to any law. Some of them have already gott their passage, and those that remain (as I am told) talk as if the number of about 300 are expected here this week upon the like account. I shall take all care imaginable to secure the peace of this place by the civill power, soe that I hope we need not be apprehensive of much danger from their personnes. Butt whether any of them by this course fly examination above or are engaged in this devillish design against his majesty. And in what method to deal with them or others in cases of this nature I begg yr speedy advice and order which shall bee exactly followed, and doe begg the favour of yr correspondence in these difficult times, for the advancement of his majesty's service,

Yor honle. most humble servant,

JOHN LLOYD, Maior.

To the Honble. Mr. Secretary Coventry.

Three days later Lloyd writes again, to Secretary Williamson this time:—

Bristol, November 9th, 1678.

Right Honourable,—I have sent these to acknowledge yours of the fifth instant, but before yours came to my hand I had one from Mr. Secretary Coventry of the same import, and had, by the safest method I could think of, sent Mr. Bedloe to him, and doubt not he has appeared accordingly. I have also sent back to you the letter directed to Mr. Bedloe, as believing it improper for mee to intrude into what (for ought I know) ought not to come under my perusall. You may bee very confident that all yr commands upon any occasion shall bee most punctually performed by me, and would for the promotion of his majesty's service in this citty be glad to receive any intimation from you, whether wee ought to putt ourselves in any other posture of defence or watch that whatt has been usuall, and allsoe whether we ought at this time to make any narrower inspections into strangers who come for transportation to this citty than wee have ordinarily done.

I am, with all dutiful respect, Right Honourable,

Your most humble servant,

JOHN LLOYD, Maior.

To the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Williamson.

The letters crossed on their route.

Whitehall, November 9th, 1678.

Sir,—This is in answer to two of yours which I lately received; the first, of November 5th, accompanying Mr. Bedloe, who arrived here the 7th inst., in the evening, very safely, by your prudent directions and conduct, for which I am to return you his majestie's thanks. The latter was of November 6th, giving account of fourteen persons come to your citty the last week with intention to passe from thence into Ireland, in whose behalfe you have acted so discreetly that I might very well forbear to give you any advice in the like cases. But if such numbers come as you mention to be expected, viz., 300, or the like, it will concerne you to be soe much the more vigilant in observing their persons and behaviour, and if

you find noe reason to judge otherwise of them than that they come to get a passage to their owne country, I see none but you may permit them in such manner as will best consist with the peace of your citty. But if any person or persons amongst them give you evident or probable cause to suspect them, you will doe well to detain them there till you have rendered an account hither of such your suspicion of their detention and received his majesty's further orders thereupon. I shall gladly embrace and entertaine a correspondence with you in this time of publick danger, and at all tymes shew myselfe very cordially,

Sir, your affectionate, humble servant,

HENRY COVENTRY.

In Oldmixon's *History of the House of Stuart* the author says Bedloe was an accessory after the murder of Sir Edmond Godfrey, and advised them how best to dispose of the body:—

Bedloe advised sinking it in the river with weights, and while they were talking of it France comes in. . . . In the meanwhile Bedloe goes to Bristol, in order to ship himself for Ireland; but whether he was really troubled in conscience for concealing the murder, or was set upon it in hopes of a reward for the discovery, he surrendered himself as an evidence to the mayor of Bristol, John Lloyd, Esq., who sent him to London, where he was carried before a committee of the House of Lords to be examined. . . . France made a full discovery of the murder. . . . Bedloe's evidence is the strongest confirmation of France's. . . . Bedloe died at Bristol the 20th of August, and the Lord Chief Justice North being then there in his circuit visited him before his death, and with his last words Bedloe attested "that the Duke of York was engaged in the plot."

"At the entrance of the church of St. Mark on the 22nd of August, 1680, was buried Captain William Bedlow, without any memorial or inscription, though he deserved to be chronicled for the particulars of his life. He is said to be concerned in the Rye house plot in Charles II's time, and with Titus Oates pretended to discover the authors of the death of Sir Edmund Godfrey, 1678; and on the oaths of these two many were executed, all who denied the charge with their latest breath. Bedlow was buried near the great door next the green, and his funeral expences are said to be discharged by the chamber of the city, his goods having been seized and carried out of the house for the large debts he had contracted."<sup>1</sup>

Another letter, short but characteristic:—

Sir,—I tooke notice of the advertisment in the *Gazette* of the 23rd instant, and least any such person should shelter themselves in this place I gave encouragement to some persons to enquire after the offenders; and one of them, by all description and the confession of himselfe, as you will perceive by the copy of his examination, I have here detained in our gaole, and desire that you will take care for the removal of him hence, in order to his tryal by *habeas corpus*. The persons who made the discovery to me doe take notice that a good reward is promised to them, and they have desired me to advertise you thereof that they expect it; and by description Davenport left this port butt the last weeke and went

<sup>1</sup> Barrett, 347.

up with the carrier for London, where it is possible upon enquiring you may find him. This, I thought, behoved me to inform you to give me an account of the receipt of this by the nexte post.

Your lo' friend,

JOHN LLOYD, Mayor.

Bristol, May 31st, 1679.

To Mr. Thomas Doyley, of his maty.'s mint, within the Tower of London.

Of Lloyd, Roger North, from personal observation, writes:—"I never saw nor heard any human thing speak so lofty as he did, and all in humour and tags of Latin. He declared for *sub* and *supra*, and much more at that rate."

Sir John Lloyd was knighted during his mayoralty for his "eminent services." The following year he was chosen alderman, but petitioned to be dismissed, which was agreed to on payment of a fine of £200; meanwhile he died, and the fine was not paid. During his mayoralty four persons were cited into the spiritual court for purloining the Lord's day, in travelling to Bath on foot, for which they paid twenty shillings each for the use of the parish of St. James. One wonders how the king and his courtiers were engaged that day.

On the 29th August, 1675, was born in Bristol John Lewis, who became a celebrated antiquary and a voluminous author. His father was a wine cooper in this city. The son was educated at the Free Grammar school, Wimborne, Dorset, and took his degree at Exeter college, Oxford. Ordained, in 1698, by Bishop Compton, his first curacy was at St. John's, Wapping, London. The Lord Chancellor Somers, in 1700, gave him the rectory of Acris, Kent, and, in 1705, he was appointed minister of Margate. He, in 1706, resigned Acris, on being collocated to the rectory of Smallwood, with the chapelry of Hythe; the same year Archbishop Usher gave him the rectory of Eastbridge, Kent, and in 1708 presented him to the vicarage of Minster, Isle of Thanet, upon which he resigned Smallwood and Hythe. In 1719 Archbishop Wake made him master of Eastbridge hospital, Canterbury. He resided at Margate from 1705 until his death, on the 16th of January, 1746-7. He was buried in the chancel of Minster church with his wife, who was the youngest daughter of Mr. Robert Knowler, of Herne, Kent. His chief works are:—

1720. The Life of Dr. John Wycliffe. 8vo.

1730. Sequel to ditto, containing also an abridgement of Bishop Peacock's work.

1731. The Translation of the New Testament, by Wycliffe. Fol.  
"A New Edition of the Life of Sir Thomas Moore, with Notes. 8vo.

1723 and 1736. The History and Antiquities of the Isle of Thanet. 4to.

1727. The History of the Abbey and Church of Feversham. 4to.

1737. The Life of Master William Caxton, of the Weald of Kent. 8vo.

[VOL. III.]

1738. The History of the Rise and Progress of Anabaptism in England. 8vo.

1740. A Dissertation on the Use and Antiquity of Seals in England. 8vo.

1744. The Life of Dr. Reginald Peacock, Bishop of St. Asaph and Chichester, in the reign of Henry VI. 8vo.

1745. The Life and Writings of Dr. Hicks, dean of Worcester (a nonjuror), with a list of the deprived Bishops and Clergy of 1689. 8vo.

Lewis also assisted Dr. Edmund Calamy in the compilation of his account of *The Ejected Ministers*.

18. Richard Thompson, vicar of St. Mary Redcliff and rector of St. Thomas, was, in 1679, an active partisan of the High Church party. A scholar on the old foundation of University college, Oxford, he, on being slighted for a fellowship, entered at Cambridge, and on receiving orders was presented by the master of Magdalen to Brington curacy; and when afterwards his patron became dean of Sarum, Thompson was made a prebendary, and obtained the living of St. Maries in Marlborough. Here he made the acquaintance of John Norborne, of Calne, with whom he travelled on the Continent, taking every opportunity of hearing the famous preachers Bourdaloue, Menestrier, Clode, Daillé, &c. He was recalled in 1678, "upon the vacancy of Bedminster by Bristol, which is the name of that living whereof he is now the priest." He speedily became popular, and always had a full auditory; but "no man was more persecuted by the Church of England's enemies within that city, and particularly by Day, Young, Young the preacher, Whitehead, Hort, Roe, Read, Tyley, Crossley, their factors." On the other hand, Guy Carleton, late bishop of Bristol, but then of Chichester, and the dean and chapter of Sarum, gave him a high certificate of character; so also did John Lloyd, mayor 1679, and the following gentlemen, several of whom held or had held office:—

John Hicks, Alderman	John Hellier	Jas. Twyford
Richard Crump, do.	John Oliff	Daniel Pym
John Knight (not Sir John)	John Yeomans	Thos. Hartwell
George Morgan	John Combes	Edmund Arundel
Thos. Davidge	George Bouchier	Richard Benson
Edmond Brand	Thos. Turner	Francis Yeomans
John Broadway	Geo. Hart	Thos. Durbin
William Gunter	Jas. Millerd	Chas. Allen.
	Ralph Oliff	

On January 30th, 1679, Thompson preached a sermon in the parish church of St. Thomas, in the very height of the craze about the "Popish plots," in the course of which he said, or was accused of saying, "that there was no Popish plot, but a Presbyterian plot;" he continued, "that the devil blusht at the Presbyterians, and the villain Hampden grudged and made it more scruple of conscience to give 20s. to the king for supplying his

necessities by ship-money and loan (which was his right by law) than he did to raise rebellion against him; that for a man to receive the Sacrament from any other minister than the priest of the parish in which he lived was damnation to his soul; that Calvin was the first to preach the king-killing doctrine; that a Presbyterian brother *qua talis* is as great a traitor as any priest or Jesuit; that the makers of the law for burying in woollen were a company of old fools and fanatics, that he would bring a schoolboy who should make a better Act than that and construe it when he had done. Further, it was also matter of accusation that at a funeral sermon for one Mr. Wharton, preached by the said Thompson, he had scoffed at the petition for the sitting of Parliament, saying the deceased was no schismatical petitioning rebel, but one at whose instigation the grand jury of Bristol had made a presentment of their detestation against petitioning for the sitting of a Parliament; that in his sermons he said he had been above one hundred times to the mass beyond sea; that he frequently aspersed several divines of Bristol—viz., Mr. Chetwind, Mr. Standfast, Mr. Crossman, Mr. Palmer, and others, saying that such as went to their lectures were brats of the devil; that this Parliament was like to that of 1641, the devil had set them on work and the devil would pay them their wages; that he railed at Henry VIII., saying he did more hurt in robbing the Abbey lands than he did good by the Reformation; that he scoffed at Queen Elizabeth, calling her a lewd, infamous woman, the worst of women—no better than a church robber, her father began the work and she finished it; that he would, if he could, haul out the meetings and fill the jails with them, and he hoped to see their houses afire about their ears in a short time; that if he were as satisfied of other things as he was of justification, auricular confession, penance, extreme unction and chrism in baptism, he would not be long separated from the true Catholic church of Rome; that the king was a person of soft, mean temper, and could be easily led to anything, but was a Solomon in vices, but the Duke of York was a prince of brave spirit, who would be faithful to his friends; that at one Sandford's shopdoor in Bristol he said Bedloe was a bad man in many plots and not to be believed; that he railed at the clergy for marrying; that Sir John Knight, the member of Parliament, was as bad as any fanatic, and not fit to be believed; and, lastly, that after excommunication by a bishop, without absolution from a superior court, such an one was surely damned, and he would pawn his soul for the truth of it." All this and more was given in evidence against the said Richard Thompson, before a committee appointed by the House of Commons in December, 1680.

When desired to make his defence, he "did for the greatest part confess words spoken to that effect, and in other things endeavoured to turn the words with more favour towards himself; but the witnesses being of great credit, and many more being ready to have made good the same things, the committee looked upon the business to be of a high nature, and therefore ordered the matter to be reported specially, leaving it to the wisdom of the House." The House resolved, *nemine contradicente*:—

That Richard Thompson, clerk, hath publicly defamed his sacred majesty, preached sedition, vilified the Reformation, promoted Popery by asserting Popish principles, decrying the Popish plot and turning the same upon the Protestants; and endeavoured to subvert the liberty and property of the subject, and the rights and privileges of Parliament, and that he is a scandal and a reproach to his function.

And that the said Richard Thompson be impeached upon the said report and resolution of the House.

And a committee is appointed to prepare the said impeachment and to receive further instructions against him, and to send for papers, persons, and records.

The above is epitomised from the House of Commons' Report, and other pamphlets of the time.

Sir John Knight sat, with eighteen others, on this committee.

On the 5th January, 1681, Thompson petitioned the House to be allowed to give security; this was allowed, and on the 10th of the same month the proceedings were quashed by the dissolution of the Parliament. Thompson's faith in princes went not unrewarded; in the last year of Charles II.'s reign, when James, Duke of York, swayed the sceptre of power, he was made dean of Bristol and chaplain in ordinary to the king. On June 21st, 1685, he preached in the cathedral before the Duke of Beaufort, lord lieutenant, and his soldiers; the sermon, at the request of the duke, was published; it was from Titus iii. 1.—"Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers." We give a few gems from this discourse.

I. The duty of all Christians who live under governments to be subject.

II. The duty of all ministers of Christ's gospel is to put the people in mind to be so.

The duty is (1) to pay active obedience to all our prince's just commands; (2) to suffer patiently if he oppress or punish us for not observing even their unlawful commands.

Obedience is not to be hindered by a scrupulous conscience, nor by any oath such as a Solemn League and Covenant; that it must be paid to all principalities and powers; that the principle holds good for ever; that there is nothing so unchristian as to dispute the wills and pleasures of their princes, to raise tumults and levy

arms against them, yea, though they were HEATHENS and TYRANTS, and THE MOST PROFESSED ENEMIES THAT CAN BE IMAGINED TO GOD AND GOODNESS; that there is nothing so great a contradiction to the spirit of the gospel as the foulness of that spirit that ruleth in the hearts of the now rebels in arms (Monmouth and his army) against a prince so every way great and just and good as our present most gracious and liege lord and sovereign, King James II., a prince that came to the crown in the full RIPENESS and MATURITY, as well of VIRTUES as YEARS, a prince whose WISDOM, JUSTICE, MERCY, MUNIFICENCE, MAGNANIMITY, SOBRIETY, and TEMPERANCE, and whose COURAGE to dare BRAVELY in the GREATEST danger is equal to his CHRISTIAN FORTITUDE in bearing the worst of evils from a sort of MEN-DEVILS among us; a prince whose FIRM FIDELITY TO HIS FRIENDS, and whose ZEAL for the HONOUR of the ENGLISH NAME AND NATION are so notoriously known, both at home and abroad, that even base ENVY and DETRACTION have but rendered them more ACKNOWLEDGED and ILLUSTRIOUSLY CONSPICUOUS. There is one qualification which will GILD and ADORN his CROWN, and add a LUSTRE to his GREAT NAME in chronicle, and that is his VERACITY. King James II. shall be known in the ages to come by this APPELLATIVE, "KING JAMES, THE JUST, PRINCE OF HIS WORD."

Few flatteries more fulsome and false have ever fallen to the lot of any historian to place on record. Thompson was installed as dean of Bristol on 25th May, 1684-5; he enjoyed this dignity only until January 10th, 1685-6, according to Barrett. He died November 29th, 1685.

19. The year 1679 was one of struggles and mistakes. The Parliament passed the Habeas Corpus Act, and impeached the chancellor; the king dissolved the House, ruled by a council of thirty, and enforced the Conventicle Act.

We of the present generation have no tangible idea of the misery often caused in the 17th century in many families by the capture of ships by Turkish corsairs, and the carrying into slavery both officers and crew. In 1674 we find a petition from John Knight, a cooper (no relation, apparently, to either of the men who held such prominent positions in the city), which is as follows:—

1674. October 21st.—Upon reading of petition of John Knight, of this city, cooper, this day presented unto this court, setting that in the month of June, 1668, his brother, Henry Knight, of this city, cooper, sailing in the good ship called the *Matthew and Sarah*, of Bristol, Thomas Sparks then master, was by the Turks taken prisoner and carried captive into Sally, and from thence to Fez, where he remains a slave to the Emperor of Morocco; that there is a possibility of obtaining his freedom for £130 sterling, which the said petitioner is unable of himself to raise, and therefore humbly requesting this court to think of some expedient to

redeem a poor captive out of miserable bondage which for above six years past he hath undergone; this court upon consideration of the said petitioner, having a tender regard to so real an object of charity, do make it a request to the inhabitants of this city that they would show their readiness to assist the said petitioner by their charitable contribution towards the relief of his poor brother that hath been so long in that slavish captivity; and do order that the churchwardens of each parish, by and with the consent of the right revnd. father in God, the lord bishop of this diocese (now in this court), do, on the petitioners' behalfe, ask to take and receive the charity and benevolence of all well-disposed persons living within the respective parishes of this city for that end and purpose; and all such monies as shall be by them received towards the said captive's ransome bee paid into the hands of Robert Yate, of this city, merchant, who is hereby desired to take care for remitting the same towards the redemption of the petitioner's brother as aforesaid.

The subject comes prominently forward during Creswick's mayoralty in connection with a generous gift of £1,000 by Andrew Barker, of Fairford, the interest whereof was to be devoted in redeeming captives from slavery.

Bristol, 2nd June, 1699.

Sir,—Mr. Fitzherbert did this day acquaint us with a very kind inclination of yours towards this city, which was, that a relation of yours having left a £1,000, the profit thereof for ever to be employed for the redemption of captives from slavery, you were pleased to make this place the object of that charity, and so receive the benefit of itt. This kindness of yours does very well deserve our hearty thanks, and gives you a title to all the services wee can possibly doe you on all occasions, upon which you may certainly depend. And you may be very well assured that instead of capitulating any method for the settlement thereof, we shall readily assist in any that you may prescribe for us.

Sir, Mr. Fitzherbert also told us that you had ill resented it from us that you had not the counterparts of some conveyances, made by your father, of certaine lands to charitable uses delivered to you. Most of us can sincerely acquitt ourselves of that as not being acquainted with any such desire; and those not soe concerned wee dare affirm did itt by inadvertency than obstinacy or any disrespect to you. However, it shall bee our particular care to see you have right therein, and you may be confident to find us on all occasions,

Sir, yr affectionate friends and servts.,

JOSEPH CRESWICK, Mayor,  
ROBT. CANN,  
JNO. LAWFORD,  
RALPH OLIFFE,  
— CRABB,  
RICHD. CRUMP.

To Andrew Barker, Esqre., att Fairford.

20. It was during this mayoralty that the attempt was made to establish a linen manufactory in Bristol with the gift moneys held by the corporation, supplemented by private subscriptions. The following items in connection with this transaction are interesting:—

1670.—Whereas the summe of three hundred pounds of the guifte of Mr. Thomas Farmer now lyes in ready money in St. George's chappell to be laid out in land for the benefit of Queene Elizabeth's hospital in the Greene, and also the summe of fifty pounds, the gifte of Mr. Nethway, in the hands of Mr. Gonning, to bee laid out in land for the benefitt of the master and usher of

the Grammar Schoole, and the summe of seven or eight hundred pounds of an unknown person is offered to be laid out in purchasing of land for the pious poor within the citty.

1677.—That the £1,500 now in the custody of Alderman Lawford, being gifte money, be paid this afternoon or to-morrow morning unto the chamberlaine who is to put the same into a chest with foure keys, and that clavingers be appointed to ye chest, and that publication be made of the receipt thereof to the present, that all persons who have a right to borrow the same may report to Sir Robert Cann and the clavingers (clavinger keeper of the keys) for that purpose, soe that the will of the donor may be preserved, and that ye chest may bee att Sir Robert Canne's house. Mr. Mayor, for the tyme beinge, and the other three appointed clavingers—Sir Robert Canne, Mr. Earle and Mr. Hart—to have power to dispose of this money, and to be elected yearly att the tyme of the election of officers and to be accountable in other cases.

October, 1678.—Whether the gifte money shall from this day forward be in the disposall of the mayor and aldermen, or whether it shall bee disposed of by five persons, one of them to be by the house?

November, 1678.—Whether Mr. Mayor, the sheriffs for the tyme beinge, and the chamberlaine shall be clavingers of the gift money? Ans.—No.

Qu. 2.—Whether the power of disposall of that money from hence forward shall be in the mayor for the tyme beinge, two aldermen, the sheriffs for the tyme beinge, and two of the common council men, which aldermen and common council to be elected yearly by the house, and in case the question be in the affirmative it shall be disposed of by any four of them, whereof the mayor to be one, and this account to be audited yearly, or whether only in the mayor, aldermen and sheriffs, or major part of them, whereof the mayor and sheriffs to be three.

It is ordered by the casting vote of Mr. Mayor, that the disposall of the gift money hence forward shall be in the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, and the major part of them, whereof the mayor and sheriffs to be three, *and the account to be audited yearly as other accounts.*

1679. 25th May.—It was this day ordered that whereas the citty have undertaken to advance the summe of two thousand pounds to the undertakers of the linen manufactory of this citty, upon the terms agreed on, that the six hundred pounds of the gift money now remaining in the chest in the custody of the chamberlaine bee deposited as part of that two thousand pounds. It beinge the opinion of the house that *the lending itt to the uses aforesaid is very consistent and agreeable with the intentions of the pious benefactors.*

Against this abuse of the city money Sir John Knight, their representative, protested, and a letter from him discloses his watchful care of the city even to the detail of the gift money; it also reveals that the inhabitants were oppressed with local burthens, which their members sought to mitigate.

Westminster, 24th day of May, 1679.

Right Worshipfull,—Since my last I had an account from Sir Robert Cann that some act of common councell is made for the chamber of Bristol to grant seales for the taking upp of £2,000 to be lent gratis to some linen drapers for 10 years, on condition to keep 50 poore in Bristol at worke upon the manufacture of linen, and that some charetable persons had agreed to lend moste of itt, and for seven years must paye interest for the money, when as the chamber is already *in a very deplorable condition*, and the linen manufacture project must come to nothing, for that the Act against French linens will expire in March, come twelve month, and the

French trade will be open again as ever. And we shall never have that act again revived, and then they will have the trade again.

I thinke myself, being a clavinger, obliged to save the citty as much as I can, and that no such citty taxes ought to be passed. And I alsoe account mysele as one of the number that ought to bee heard, till I with my reasons before the execution of any such act of common councell, all of which I never had from you any notice att all. And therefore I request you, for the good of the citty, to delay the execution of this matter, and to forbear giving out any citty seals till it shall please God to send Sir Robert Cann and myself home to Bristol to be heard in it, not doubting butt before you fully proceed you will allow us the liberty as members of the common councell to be heard and not to be excluded from giving our votes in itt. With my best respects presented, I remain right wopl.,

Your affectionate friend and servt.,

JOHN KNIGHT.

21. "In the beginning of the year 1679 an artillery company was established here. The Marquis of Worcester, lord-lieutenant of the city and county of Bristol, as well as of the counties of Gloucester, Hereford and Monmouth, on March 6th, 1678–9, communicated to the mayor, Sir John Lloyd, his majesty's approbation; and on the 12th of December following certain articles and orders were agreed on, 'to be observed and performed by every person that shall be admitted into the friendly society of the Exercisers of Armes within the citty of Bristoll.' No person was to be admitted into the society until he had produced a certificate under the hands of two of his majesty's justices of the peace, purporting 'that such person had before them taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and the declaration in the statute.' The marquis, on the 1st of March, 1679–80, appointed his 'dear son Charles, Lord Herbert, to be captain and leader of the said artillery company.' Their other officers were a lieutenant and ensign, appointed probably by the same authority, with a drum-beater, marshal and armourer. The institution was probably intended as a royalist or high-party association. They met every Friday for exercise, and on the first Friday in every month they were 'to appear in the habits, and to be provided as followeth:—Every pikeman habitted in a gray cloth coat lined with scarlet, a scarlet pair of breeches and stockings, and a white hat, a shoulder buff belt, a silk crimson scarf, with a good pike, and a sword or rapier; every musketteer with a gray cloth coat lined with scarlet, a scarlet pair of breeches and stockings, and a white hat, buff collar of bandeliers, buff girdle and frog, with a good muskett and four-and-twenty charges of powder, and a good hanger or cutting sword.' These particulars were extracted from the original paper (signed by 101 members) by the late Rev. Samuel Seyer, of Bristol."<sup>1</sup>

The king, in 1679, had given himself up to the

<sup>1</sup> Notes and Queries, 2nd Series, iv. 5.

Roman Catholic party; the Duke of York was in power in Scotland, which he governed according to his own will; and the country party set on foot a petition "that Parliament, which had been prorogued till the 26th of January, might sit to try offenders and to redress important grievances." In it they said "his majesty's person, the Protestant religion, and the Government of the country were in the most imminent danger from a most damnable and hellish Popish plot, branching forth into horrid villanies against his majesty's most sacred person, &c." Copies of this petition were sent up from most of the counties, cities and large towns. The manner in which the king received them may be judged from a portion of his reply to Mr. Thynne, of Longleat, who presented that from Wiltshire:—"You say you come from the country? You come from a company of loose people—Protestant Dissenters and sober Churchmen! What do you take me to be? I know well enough, but I care not to tell it. What do you take yourselves to be? I admire gentlemen of your estates should animate people to mutiny and rebellion. You see to petition is to rebel," &c.

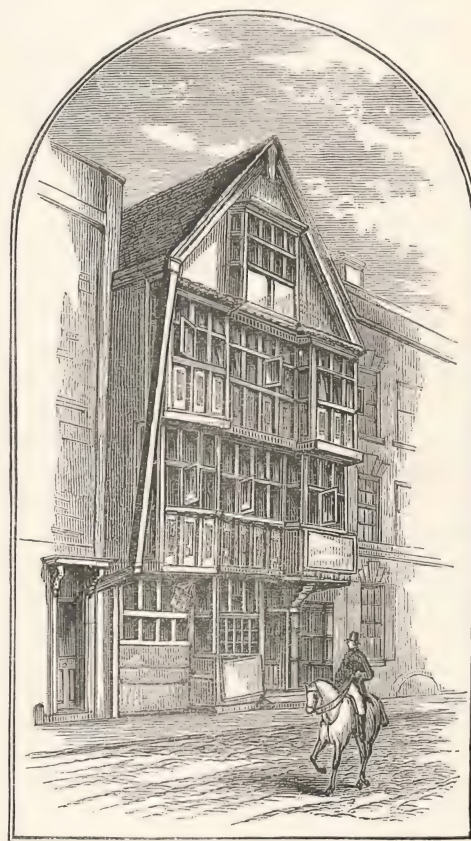
Two days after a petition from London had been presented the king issued a proclamation against petitioning, "as contrary to the common and known law of the land, and tending to raise rebellion." The Monarchical party immediately sent up addresses to the throne, declaring their abhorrence of the petitions; and the kingdom was divided into two great parties, the precursors of the Whigs and Tories, to whom were given the names of Petitioners and Abhorrrers. These addresses were graciously received by the king, who rewarded in many instances the bearers with knighthood, and at least a trio of these questionable honours fell to the lot of Bristol officials during this and the subsequent year.

22. Sir Richard Hart, alderman and merchant, was mayor in 1680-1; of him the following curious story, of which we leave our readers to form their own judgment, is related:—

Sir Richard Hart, an alderman of Bristol, sleeping at the new house of his brother-in-law, Sir William Jones, King Charles the Second's attorney-general, when in bed in the morning early, when the day was very cleare, and his curtaines open at the bed's feet, he there saw his daughter (whom he had left the day before wel at his house, seventeen miles distant from that place), leaning upon a cabbinnett that stood in that chamber, with her hand to her head, and looking earnestly upon him as he lay in his bed. He was very much surprised at it, yet continued his beholding, then a considerable space of time before she disappeared; and then in all haste hee arose, and called his man, and sent him with all speed to his house, with his commande to returne immediately with an account of his family, for that hee had an apprehension that all was not well. The servant went and returned the same day, and brought an account to his master that all were well, except the young ladye who had been taken ill about four o'clock

that morning, the tyme of the apparition, but shee had a doctor with her, and was pretty wel, and they hoped the worst was past; but hee replied that hee should see her noe more, and soe it fell out, for shee dyed that daye.

"On the 16th of August, 1680, Lord Chief Justice North was dining at the house of Town Clerk Romsey, in King street. His lordship's brother, the mayor (Sir Richard Hart), the two sheriffs, Prebendary Crossman, Dr. Dunbar and others were amongst the guests (the entertainment cost the city £54 17s.). Sir John Knight was introduced; he bore a communication from the notorious Captain William Bedloe, who was lying ill with



*Romsey's House in King Street, in which he entertained Judge Jeffreys.*

fever, and who wished his lordship to take his dying deposition. This his lordship deferred until after his nine o'clock supper. At the interview North says:—"I saluted him, said I was extremely sorry to find him so ill; I imagined he had something to impart to me as a privy councillor, and therefore if he thought fit the company should withdraw." He told me that needed not yet; he had much to say which was proper for the company to hear, and having saluted the sheriffs and Mr. Crossman, he began." . . . (Particulars are omitted, but it is well known that he charged the queen

and the Duke of York with complicity in a plot to murder the king. Bedloe received altogether £804 of the public money for his so-called revelations.)

"The next day Bedloe's brother came to me and told me his brother desired a copy of the deposition he had made before me; but I told him I had well considered it, and could not give him a copy without the king's leave, but I would move the king in it, and if he gave leave I would send him one. Would I recommend to his majesty his brother's condition, that his sickness was very chargeable, and move his majesty for some supply of money for his subsistence, which I promised to do.

"Sir John Knight, Sir Robert Atkyns and John Lawford, aldermen, were presented for publishing a writing under the title of a petition, in which were contained divers reproachful untruths and falsehoods. A new persecution also broke out against the Dissenters, who were some of them presented for preaching at unlawful conventicles, and unwilling constables of the Whig party were presented because they did not disturb unlawful conventicles."<sup>1</sup>

On April 18th, 1681, the grand jury moved an address of thanks to the right worshipful Sir Richard Hart, mayor, the aldermen, justices, &c., for their publishing in court, on the 12th of April, his majesty's reasons for dissolving a corrupt Parliament. They state the act to have been "abundantly satisfactory to this city," and in ultra loyal language express their just sense "of his majesty's great justice and prudence in the conduct of all his affairs, of his care to secure our present establishments, both in church and state, and of his resolution to govern by law himself, and to protect his subjects from arbitrary and illegal imprisonments by others." In return for these marks of grace and favour they pledge themselves "to continue immutable in loyalty, duty, and obedience to his majesty, his heirs and successors, humbly to acquiesce in his and their royal wills and pleasures, and with our lives and fortunes to maintain and defend his and their royal persons, crown, and dignity, with all their rights and prerogatives, &c."

The names attached, as grand jurymen, to the address to Sir Richard Hart are:—

William Lewis	Thomas Rogerson	Thos. Lugg
John Oliffe	Robt. Zefrycatt	Hen. Daniell
Richd. Gibbons	Wm. Scott	Robt. Brookhouse
Geo. Lackin	Thos. Durbin	Thos. Turmell
Edwd. Millard	Richd. Kirwood	Thos. Tiley
Walter Gunter	Thos. Rich	Ben Roston.
David Dorville		

Sir Richard was interested in the question of precedence.

<sup>1</sup> Tovey's Local Jottings.

January, 1681.—Sir Richard Hart having produced a letter from Sir Robert Sawyer, wherein he set down precedencies upon the *certioraries*, the House doe order the thanks of this House, in the name of the citty, be returned to him for his great service and kindness he has done this citty and Government, and that the town clerke doe give him notice thereof.

23. The following fulsome address was ordered by the House to be presented to the king:—

2nd May, 1681.

Our ordering, at the quarter sessions, the publication of his majesty's royal declaration, touching the causes moving him to dissolve the last two Parliaments (the second sat only from March 21st to March 28th; they had resolved to exclude the Duke of York from the succession to the throne), and at that time expressing to our unanimous consent to, and great satisfaction therein, as also our full concurrence with, the address of the grand jury, thereupon delivered in court the 18th of April last past, which wee look upon to bee but secret and undescribed acknowledgments for so signal a grace and favour vouchsafed by his sacred majesty to all his liege subjects in that unparalleled gracious declaration, do, as a further testimony of our most exalted sense of his majesty's grace and goodness imparted to his subjects therein, as also of the greates felicity and happiness wee and all his good subjects doe enjoy under his most admirably wise and gracious government, doe returne our severall unfeigned and hearty acknowledgments to his most sacred majesty, under whose excellent conduct all good men thinke themselves safe in the enjoyment of their religion, liberties, and properties, for the preservation whereof there can noe greater security bee had or hoped for than the laws of the kingdom and his majesty's royal word to govern by them, whilst the designs of ill men labour the subversion of all under the specious pretence of reformation, though by the same methods that brought to pass all the miseries of usurpation and tyranny that this kingdom groaned under. Nor ought wee to bee less thankfull to his sacred majesty for the assurance he hath given to his people to extirpate Popery, redress grievances, and so govern according to law, than that hee is graciously pleased to mention the calling of frequent Parliaments, which counsell added to the crown will in all likelihood produce the good effects of removing fears, detection of all plots and machinations whatsoever, preservation of his majesty's royal person, protection of his church, established from the malice of her Popish and schismatical enemies, the greatest felicities wee can bee blessed with; and that our zeal may not be wanting for the accomplishment of such good purposes, wee doe conceive ourselves bound in gratitude to his majesty, as well as by our duty and allegiance, and are steadfastly resolved to maintain and support his majesty and his lawfull successors in all his and their rights and prerogatives, and our religion established with the utmost expense of our lives and fortunes; and to the end that these our resolutions might not only remain a testimony against us, but redound to the shame and dishonour of our posterity, if any should err therefrom (which God forbid), we doe order that these our sentiments and resolutions be entered into the records of our sessions, with this petition to God Almighty, that He will set down length of days on his majesty's right hand, and on his left hand, riches and honour, preserving his royal person and our religion established against his and its enemies.

RICHARD HART, Mayor,  
ROBT. YEAMANS,  
JOHN HICKS,  
RALPH OLIFFE,  
RICHD. CRUMP.

ABRAHAM SANDERS, } *Sheriffs*.  
ARTHUR HART, }

On the 20th of June, 1681, a butt of good sack, or the value thereof in a piece of plate, was ordered by the Society of Merchants to be presented to Sir Richard Hart, the mayor, "as a token of the respect of the corporation for him and for his great care about the manor of Clifton, and other concerns of the hall."

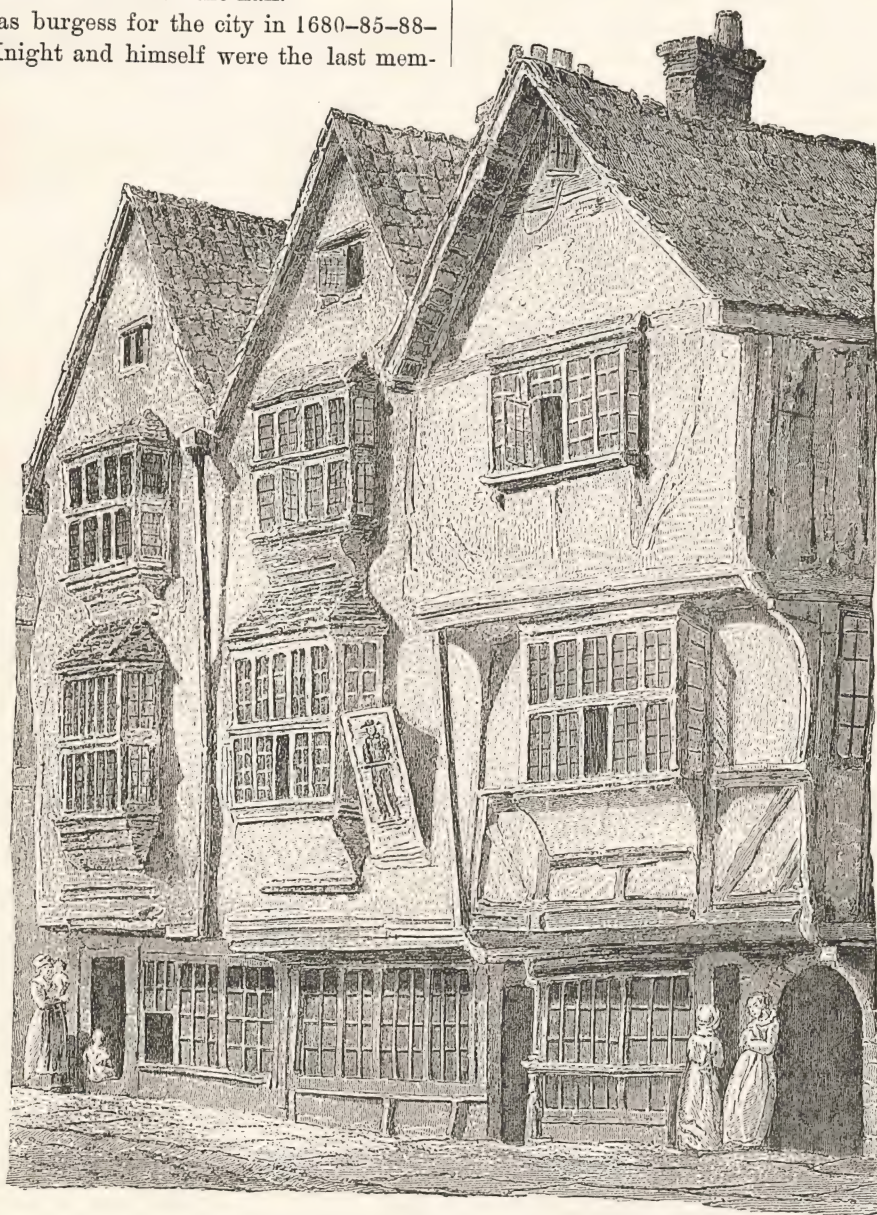
Sir Richard was burgess for the city in 1680-85-88-90. Sir John Knight and himself were the last members who received "wages" for their services in the National Assembly. Sir Richard was elected to be sent to the Convention, and voted against the Prince and Princess of Orange being made king and queen. His career came to a close the 16th January, 1701. He was buried in St. Nicholas church.

We get another peep at the manner of the times from that quaint old courtier, Pepys, in his amusing domestic revelations, wherein he informs us that in "Marsh street his wife's maid, Deborah Willett, was

born, which fact combined with her being a pretty person was a sufficient reason that he should visit the halls of her ancestors here when he came to Bristol. In his diary are several references to the fascinating Willett. Concerning her first arrival at his house, and the impressions she made, we are told that on his return one

morning from the Duke of York's council, 'he finds our pretty girl, Willett, come, brought by Mr. Batcher, and she is very pretty, and so grave as I never saw a little thing in my life. I wish my wife may use her well.' His amiable wish seems to have been fulfilled,

for we soon find Deborah and her mistress on very pleasant terms. On Tuesday of the following week they set out in a hired coach with four horses, himself, his wife, and Willett, the two latter in their morning gowns, he says, 'very handsome and pretty and to my great liking, my wife and girl talking and telling tales and singing, and before night came to Bishop Stafford.' By her own desire the girl slept 'on a trundle bed' in the same chamber with her mistress and master, they occupying 'the high bed.' Only a fortnight after, he begins to fear that maid and



The "Jolly Sailor" in Marsh Street. From an old Print.

mistress will soon part, for at the Duke of York's house, in the presence of the king, whither they went to see *The Coffee House*, 'the most ridiculous, insipid play (he complains) I ever saw in my life, here,' he proceeds, 'before the play began, my wife begun to complain to me of Willett's confidence in sitting

cheek by jowl by us, which was a poor thing; but I perceive she is already jealous of my kindness to her, so that I begin to fear this girl is not likely to stay long with us.' There was no summary parting, however, for six months after, when he returns home one day to dinner, in company with Sir William Penn, he finds 'by Willett's crying that her mistress had been angry with her,' but in his prudence, he adds, 'I would take no notice of it.' In the ensuing summer, master, mistress, and maid, set out on a western journey, inclusive of a visit to Bristol. At one point of the route they 'were fain to go into a room where a pedlar was in bed, and made him rise; and there wife and I lay, and in a trundle bed, Betty Turner and Willett.' Also, he says, 'his host was merry, and made us mighty merry at supper about manning the new ship at Bristol with none but men whose wives do master them.' When the travellers arrive at Bristol, while Pepys goes to view the quay, Deborah calls upon her uncle Butts, a sober merchant, very good company, who walks with her to the inn, and joining her master and mistress, showed them the custom house, and made them understand many things of the place, and 'led us,' says the unique diarist, 'through Marsh street, where our girl was born. But Lord! the joy that was among the old poor people of the place to see Mrs. Willett's daughter, it seems her mother being a brave woman and mightily beloved. And so brought us back by surprise to his house, where a substantial good house, and well furnished, and did give us good entertainment of strawberries, a whole venison pasty, cold, and plenty of brave wine, and above all, Bristol Milk; where comes in another poor woman, who, hearing that Deborah was here, did come running hither, and with her eyes so full of tears, and heart so full of joy, that she could not speak when she come in, that it made me weep too. I protest that I was not able to speak to her, which I would have done, to have diverted her tears. Butts' wife, a good woman, and so sober and substantial as I was never more pleased anywhere.' Deborah returned to London with her lady and her master, and we find mention of her frequently after."<sup>1</sup>

Without asserting our own absolute correctness, we think we can throw a little light upon an obscure and greatly entangled phase of the political history of the city at this period. After the king had dissolved Parliament, on January 18th, he summoned a new one to meet him at Oxford. Four candidates were proposed—Sir Richard Hart, knt., and Thomas Earl, merchant, on the one hand, being Abhorrrers, and Sir Robert Atkyns, the recorder, and the late member, Sir John Knight,

who were Petitioners, on the other. Hart was a Tory, Earl a Whig; both favoured the Duke of York, and were supporters of his claim to the throne. Knight was a strong Churchman and Tory; and Atkyns, although not a violent partisan, was considered to be a Whig. A strange combination: on one side a Tory and Whig, for the king and the Duke of York; on the other a Tory and Whig, against the king's measures and for the exclusion of the duke, as a Papist, from the succession to the throne. The poll lasted six days, and Hart and Earl were elected; this was in March. Sir Robert Atkyns was by no means anxious for the honour, and left town during the contest. Party feeling ran very high.

In the midst of the turmoil Alderman Sir John Lloyd died. The mayor, Sir Richard Hart, deferred from day to day the calling of a meeting of the council to choose a new alderman, the custom being to take the common councilman who stood next upon the list, who in this instance was Thomas Day, "a man of large estate and no tang of a fanatic." This man being, however, not of the mayor's party, his worship schemed by delays to defer the choice until Sir Robert Atkyns, who was a justice of the Common Pleas, and other of the aldermen had been forced to leave Bristol, whose absence would give his party a majority, and enable them to pass over the obnoxious Thomas Day. Three times did the recorder press the mayor to call a meeting, but in vain; whereupon he (Sir R. Atkyns), being senior alderman, together with five others, Sir John Knight, John Lawford, Joseph Creswick and two others, after giving the mayor due notice, proceeded to an election on March 8th, 1680-1, and chose Thomas Day. Alderman Sir Robert Cann had the gout, but he sent word that he approved of their choice; nevertheless, he voted most certainly for Earl. Day, said Sir Robert Atkyns, had but *one great fault*: "at the election he gave his vote for myself and Sir John Knight, against Mr. Mayor and Mr. Earl."

"The mayor, incensed at this proceeding, procured the recorder and the three aldermen first mentioned above to be indicted for a conspiracy and riot at the Quarter Sessions, October 4th, 33 Charles II. [1681]. Although there were six, and all unanimous in their choice, yet they polititely indicted only four of them, and left two out, because it would have been too gross and palpable if six justices of peace had been indicted before a lesser number of their brother justices. And this indictment was found before the mayor, their fellow-justice and four more at the most; so that five, who are the lesser number, exercise their authority over six, as much justices as themselves.

"The substance of this extraordinary indictment,

<sup>1</sup> Taylor's Book about Bristol, 326-7.

drawn up, as usual, in Latin, is as follows:—That by the charter of Henry VII., 1499, it is provided that if any person shall make debates or discord concerning the election of a mayor, or any other officer, he shall be punished in proportion to his offence. That by the charter of Queen Elizabeth, the recorder and the rest of the aldermen are of the privy council [*de privato concilio*] of the mayor, whenever the mayor shall call them together; and that they have no right to meet together or transact any business belonging to that council, unless by the summons and in the presence of the mayor. But that these four aldermen conspired together to elect a new alderman; and, in pursuance of their wicked conspiracy, they entered by force of arms into the Tolzey; and in the Council-chamber, with other aldermen, riotously did assemble, and without the knowledge of the other aldermen held a privy council of aldermen, and chose Thomas Day for an alderman in the place of Sir John Lloyd, without any summons to meet sent by the said Richard Hart, then mayor, in his absence and against his will.

“This strange indictment was tried at the assizes at Bristol by Nisi Prius, and the defendants were found guilty. ‘And thereupon Sir Robert Atkyns, one of the defendants, in Michaelmas term 34 Charles II., 1682,’ [having then lately before this case been one of the judges of the Common Pleas, but then discharged of his place after eight years sitting there secure], ‘came into the court of King’s Bench, and in arrest of judgement argued his own case, not as counsel, nor at the bar, but in the court in his cloak, having a chair set for him by the order of the lord chief justice.’

“He begins by making several legal objections to the indictment, such as this, that it does not alledge that there is any corporation at all at Bristol, without which the court could not judicially take any notice of it. But he rests his defence chiefly on this, that the mayor is not so great a personage as this indictment supposes; that he is among the aldermen only the *first among his equals*; and that if he will not do his duty by calling them together for an election, the majority are justifiable in assembling for that purpose without him. Several passages in this report show the extreme violence of the contending factions. In the case of the swearing of an alderman, by the express words of the charter, ‘it cannot be done, but before the mayor and alderman, both. This Sir Richard Hart was duly chosen an alderman long ago, but not sworn until the last gaol-delivery, when we were going to try the felons. I being present, they thought that sufficient to satisfy the charter, and in a tumultuous manner, with a hideous noise, they cried out to swear him, and this was not the usual

place neither for it. I opposed the swearing of him in, and I will justify it, that he was utterly unfit to be sworn, by something that happened since his being elected an alderman; they would not hear me, but resolved to proceed to swear him, because I was present with the mayor. Thereupon I withdrew, and in my absence they went on to swear him, and he now acts as an alderman and as a justice of the peace under this colour.’ His conclusion is remarkable:—‘I have been recorder of Bristol these one-and-twenty years, longer, I think, than any man can be remembered. I have sworn all the aldermen that are now upon the bench in my time, and many more who are now dead. I can say it without vanity. Till the time of this unhappy election of members to the Oxford Parliament, which I sought not, I had the goodwill of all sides, even of this Mr. Mayor, who was Sir Richard Hart; for I never would join with any party, but did all I could when I came amongst them to draw them together and unite them; for ever since they grew rich, and full of trade and knighthood, too much sail and too little ballast, they have been miserably divided. And unless this court, to whom I think it properly belongs upon complaint in such cases, will examine their disorders, and command peace and order to be observed in our proceedings, I cannot safely attend there any more, nor hold any gaol-delivery.’ Whereupon the court arrested the judgement.

“The original report I should suppose well worthy of a lawyer’s perusal. It is also reported in Sir Bartholomew Shower, Vol. II., 248, from whence I am informed by my learned friend W. B. Elwyn, Esq., that after Sir Robert Atkyns had first moved and argued in arrest of judgement there was an adjournment, and the ground on which the court ultimately agreed the indictment to be vicious was ‘the want of a recital of the letters patent.’ Shower ends with observing that Sir R. Atkyns resigned his recordership [before the year expired] on Lord C. J. Pemberton’s and his brother’s persuasion, *which was all that the city of Bristol aimed at by their indictment*. Modern reports state only that he *resigned by the persuasion of his friends*. Shower says that Pemberton, C. J., must by his advice have thought the conduct of the recorder *rather* irregular, and that he would probably have been left to his verdict but for the advantage which he had from the art of quibbling. From the foregoing facts it appears probable that Sir Richard Hart and the Tories had obtained a temporary superiority in the common council.”<sup>1</sup>

Ere this matter was settled the Abhorrrers had succeeded in getting a majority in the council, and Thomas Earl, the member, was chosen as mayor for 1681–2,

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 518–20.

with Richard Lane, grocer, and John Knight, merchant, as sheriffs. During his mayoralty Earl was knighted by the king, and John Knight, the sheriff, was also made a knight. Earl's parliamentary career was a brief one, the House being dissolved on March 28th, 1681-2. We shall have occasion again to refer to a portion of his career under the reign of William III.

25th January, 1681.—“All absent members [from the council] to be fined 6s. 8d.”

“28th September, 1681.—Richard Hart, mayor.—At which time they proceeded to the election of an alderman, in the room of Sir John Lloyd. And Thomas Earl, esq., mayor-elect, was in nomination to be alderman, and was elected by Sir R. Hart, Sir R. Cann, Sir R. Yeamans, Mr. Alderman Oliffe and Mr. Alderman Crumpe, being the major part of the aldermen present. *Absent*: Atkyns, Wm. Crabbe, Joseph Creswick. *No*: Sir Jno. Knight, John Lawford, John Hickes.”

24. “November, 1681.—Rowe, the sword-bearer, obtained a mandamus against Mayor Earl, to restore him to office of sword-bearer.”<sup>1</sup> [Rowe, who refused to carry sword before Sir R. Hart on 27th of October, gave evidence against him, and uttered opprobrious and reproachful words, for which he was suspended from his office and removed in January, and Daniel Pym put in his place.]

In 1681 the grand jury of Bristol recommend that no printed or written news or pamphlet be suffered to be read in any coffee-house or tippling-house in the city, except such as shall have been first shown to the mayor or the alderman of the ward for the time being in which such house is situate. Sundry coffee-houses were mentioned which were “said to be commonly frequented on Lord's days as other days by many schismatical and seditious sectaries, and other disloyal persons, where for their encouragement in tippling they were usually entertained with false news, lying and scandalous libels and pamphlets, tending to the reproach and dishonour of the established religion, and of his majesty's government, and divers of his great officers and ministers of state.”<sup>2</sup>

Good old Richard Standfast, the author of *A Caveat against Seducers* and *A Little Handbook of Cordial Comforts*, the rector of Christ church, died in 1681, aged seventy-eight years. His son, John Standfast, M.A., was, in April, 1682, presented to the rectory of Portishead, *nem. con.*

Sir Robert Atkyns resigned the recordership on the 19th December, 1681, and Sir John Churchill was chosen in his stead. Sir John's last signature in the records is under date December 15th, 1683. “In 1682 the corpo-

ration proposed that the fines thenceforth levied on the Dissenters should be appropriated to the use of the French Protestants settled in Bristol.”<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Blathwayte, in a letter to Sir R. Southwell, dated Whitehall, November 5th, 1681, acquaints him of a charge of disloyalty urged against him at court. There is a draft of Sir Robert's reply, dated November 7th, stating that he knew of these calumnies. “I have while here refrained to go to Bristol, as having nothing to do in the towne, *nor health to drinke between meales*, much less to partake among strangers in contentions among themselves.” Sir Robert gives also a list of “parties to be consulted in this malicious assault against me.” [This was after Sir R. Atkyns, Sir J. Knight and others were presented by the grand jury as Petitioners, and at the time when the above parties were about to be prosecuted for electing Mr. Thomas Day as an alderman.]

The calumny appears to have arisen from Thomas Earl, who maintained that he had some claim on the Kingsweston estate; he was at that time mayor of Bristol, and the causes are thus alluded to in Sir Robert's letter: “The two magistrates of Bristol preceding this I did not know (Sir R. Hart and Jos. Creswick), or ever saw to my knowledge; but this man I have both seen and felt, being £2,000 the worse for him, and he for aught I know his damnation the worse for me, but tis not my fault that he forswore himself in Chancery. He did it to get this estate, which I have dearly purchased with my money, and tis noe wonder he is incensed to goe without it, who has paid a dearer thing; but the man is now got into Sanctuary, where he never was before (in Parliament): tis a pretention to serve his majesty, and in your shelter. I shall say no more than what concerns my own quiet and defence.”<sup>2</sup>

Our readers will, with us, regret that the possessors of these interesting papers relative to our history are unknown. After the death of the Right Hon. Edward Southwell Clifford, Lord de Clifford, his state papers, &c., were sold, and it appears that from the charter of 1269 down to the tradesmen's bills the documents had been thrown into chests, and through want of care the damp, &c., had defaced them. The above quotations are from portions of these documents.

25. Few things are more remarkable in the history of our city than the care and judgment exercised by the aldermen in the choice of men who were possessed of means sufficient to maintain the dignity of the mayoralty, and to transmit the same unblemished to their successor. Out of 466 mayors who are known to have sat in the civic chair down to the year 1681, only two are recorded as having lapsed afterwards into poverty. Thomas

<sup>1</sup> Bristol Archives.

<sup>2</sup> Robert's Soc. Hist., 189.

<sup>1</sup> Smiles' Huguenots, 284.

<sup>2</sup> Southwell Papers.

Easton, merchant, was destined to be a third example of the instability of wealth. During his mayoralty, in 1682-3, the following stilted sycophantic address was, on the discovery of the Rye House plot, unanimously adopted by the House:—

To the King's most sacred and Excellent Majesty.—The Humble Address of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Councill of the City of Bristoll.

Dread King,—As the inexpressable blessing of your Majesty's most gracious condescension in ascending with Triumphant Meekness the vacant Throne of Your Illustrious Ancestors of Blessed Memory (?) filled us with the most exalted Gratitude redolent of the most Prolific Joy at the magnitude of the National Blessings it produced. Nevertheless we were surprised with horror and detestation that any should be found so wanting in gratitude to the Great Bestower as to compass the Life of the Sacred Person of Your Majesty and that of Your Royal and Pious Brother (?) evincing a dastard enmity to the Glorious Constitution of Church and state.

And now that the wonderful Providence of the Everlasting King of Kings, and Eternal Lord of Lords, has been made manifest in the defeat and exposure of the iniquitous and Hellish design against Your August Majesties Awful Will and Magnificent Person! Wee, the Corporation of this Ancient Cittie, are under a Special and stringent obligation to Omniscience for the discovery of this baneful and destructive Plott.

And furthermore, in Bold Humility, Wee assure Your Supreme Majesty Wee shall ever retaine Invariably our attachment to Your Royal dynasty and obedient to the laws of God and Man, worthy Members of the Established Church.

With fear and trembling, therefore, Wee retrospect this truly Wonderful and Providential escape, on a Just, Grave, and Great Monarch, a Sleepless Ministry and Wise Senate, combining to render the Nation Flourishing, Intelligent, Prosperous, Holy and Happy!

And now, with all timidity, Wee approach the Sublime Footstool of Infinity, Supplicating the Merciful Omnipotence to Crown Your Gracious Majesty and Royal Family with every Temporall and Spirituall Blessing, and when the cares of Government are over, and Your Majesty's Royal Hand can no longer grasp the Golden Sceptre of Dominion, may Your Most Sacred Majesty be translated to the Blessed Communion of Saints, there to Reign in Glory Everlasting! May it please Your Majesty us the Prayer of

THOMAS EASTON, Mayor,  
&c. &c. &c.

To what a depth of degradation must the city have fallen when its chief men could consent to pen so fulsome an address to such a king. It was presented to Charles at Winchester, and on September 25th "the mayor reported to the House his majesty's gracious reception of the same, and read the very words uttered by his majesty." Well might Charles give them honied words. Here was the second city in the kingdom "playing into his hand" at the very moment when he was determining to rule without a parliament, and he soon sent them a different answer in the shape of a *quo warranto*.

August, 1688.—It being generally known that Mr. Thomas Easton, mayor in 1682, and then chosen alderman, had long been imprisoned for debt, and was still insolvent and unable to attend

to the duties of his office, under such circumstances that he hath not ever since, nor can he attend the office of alderman of this city. It was agreed—That his election be declared void, and that he be accordingly discharged from all duties consequent thereon.

He remained in gaol till delivered by death, preferring, says a MS., "dishonesty and the evil abandonment of a prison society to the soft amenities of civilised life and the tranquil enjoyment of heart and home!" His estate wasted in "ryotous living" his widow petitioned the chamber for assistance, stating that she "was entirely destitute, and incapable by reason of her sickness to earn a maintenance;" but the chamber "did not consider it a case to which the publick money should be applied," and dismissed the petition, "there not being any special bequest for the like condition." The widow, however, was persevering. She petitioned again at the next meeting of the chamber, which, to get rid of her importunity, allowed her a pension of ten pounds per annum.

In the winter of 1683-4 was the great frost which lasted about three months, *i.e.* from the beginning of November to the 5th of February; it was so severe that ships could not pass out of the Quay by reason of the many and mighty heaps of ice and mud congealed together, "resembling a ruined street, part of the walls being left standing."<sup>1</sup> The Phoenix was the first fire insurance company; it was established 1682. The four physicians in Bristol were John Griffiths, William Turgis, I. Chauncey and T. Bourn. In 1683 John King, spectacle maker (Evans thinks the first of the trade in Bristol), was admitted to the freedom of the city, on a fine of £3, upon giving his promise that he would not carry on any other trade therein.

In 1683 a brazen eagle for a lectern was given to the Cathedral by one of the prebendaries. In 1801 it was advertised for sale, as follows:—

"The Eagle from the Bristol Cathedral.—To be sold by auction, at the Exchange coffee-rooms, in this city, on Thursday, 2nd September, 1801, between the hours of one and two o'clock in the afternoon (unless previously disposed of by private contract), a beautiful brazen spread eagle, with a ledge at the tail, standing on a brass pedestal, supported by four lions, one at each corner. This elegant piece of workmanship was sold last June for £27 odd by the dean and chapter of the Cathedral church of the holy and undivided trinity of Bristol, or their agents or servants, and weighed 6cwt. 20lb, or 692lb, and has since been purchased at an advanced price by a native of this city, in order to prevent its being broken up, and to give the inhabitants a chance of buying it. It was given to the Cathedral in the reign of Charles II. by one of the prebendaries who had been there forty years, and is supposed by the following description, which was engraven on the pillar or pedestal, to have stood in the choir 119 years:—*Ex Dono Georgij Williamson S T B Hujus Ecclessia Cathedralis Bristol Vice Decani*; that is, the gift of George Williams, Bachelor of Divinity,

<sup>1</sup> Old MS.

sub-dean of this Cathedral church of Bristol, 1683. The whole of the inscription, except the figures 1683, has been taken off the pedestal without the consent of the buyer, which he has since had re-engraved. This piece of antiquity, which is of the most exquisite shape, is made of the best and purest brass, and well worth the attention of ministers and churchwardens, or any gentleman or lady who would wish to make a present to their parish church; traders with foreign parts may find it worth their while to purchase, as a like opportunity may never occur again. Such a handsome bird would be, as it has hitherto been, a great ornament to the middle aisle of a church. It for many years stood in the choir of the Bristol Cathedral, and upheld with its wings the sacred truths of the blessed gospel. The minor canons formerly read the lessons on it, and in most cathedrals the custom is kept up to this day. This superb bird is now at King street hall, and may be inspected three days previous to the sale. N.B.—The purchaser offered previous to any advertisement to resell the eagle at the price he paid for it, provided it were replaced in the choir, which offer was refused.”



Lectern originally in the Cathedral, now in St. Mary-le-port Church.

There were no bidders, but a citizen generously bought and disposed of it in the manner shown by the following inscription:—

“This eagle and pedestal, weighing 692lb, were gratuitously presented, December 10th, 1801, by William Ady, a native of St. James’ parish, to this church of St. Mary-le-port, on conditions of their being placed in the chancel, there to remain for ever.”

26. The advent of James, Duke of York, an avowed Roman Catholic, to power, in 1682, and the arbitrary

measures of the king, who appeared determined to rule without a parliament, raised a feeling of disaffection throughout the land. The judges who were devoted to the crown, on a *quo warranto* being brought against the corporation of London, decided that the charters and liberties of that city were forfeited. Before the judgment was recorded, the frightened common councilmen had made peace with the king by a voluntary surrender of their charters, and by yielding up their ancient privilege of electing the city officers, notably the sheriffs. This successful attack upon the metropolis was speedily followed with regard to other cities. On Monday, February 12th, 1682–3, Sir Robert Sawyer brought a writ of *quo warranto* into the Court of King’s Bench against the mayor, burgesses, and commonalty of Bristol, calling upon them to show by what warrant they claimed to be a corporation. They had undoubtedly broken their charter by electing to their council fifty men and upwards, instead of the mayor and forty-two men, named by the charter of 15 Henry VII. It would seem that the corporation had misinterpreted the charter of 23 Elizabeth, 28th July, 1581, and had elected some or all of the twelve aldermen, allowed by that instrument, from citizens who were not in the common council, thus increasing their number. The corporation, on the 9th of November, 1683, pleaded guilty to this violation, “by a supernumerary common council,” and surrendered their charters to the king, praying for pardon and the restoration of their privileges. The signatees are:—

Sir William Clutterbuck, mayor	Sir Robert Cann, alderman
Sir John Churchill, recorder	Sir Richard Crump, alderman
Sir Richard Hart, alderman	Mr. Thomas Easton, alderman
Sir John Knight, the late sheriff	John Romsey, town clerk.
(old Sir John was alive)	

On June 2nd, 1684, Charles was pleased to hear their prayer, and to grant the citizens a new charter (the cost of which was £544 13s. 6d.), of which the following is a summary:—“The city to be incorporated by the name of the mayor, burgesses and commonalty of the city of Bristol, having the same legal privileges as heretofore; to have a common seal; Sir William Clutterbuck (then serving in lieu of Oliff, deceased) to be mayor until 15th of September next; the mayor to have the same authority as heretofore; he shall take proper oaths; there shall be two sheriffs with authority as heretofore; Nathaniel Driver and Edmund Arundel, esqs., are appointed by the king; they shall take proper oaths; there shall be a common council of forty-three persons. The king nominates them, viz.:—

John Churchill, knt.	Edmund Arundel
Robert Cann, knt. and bart.	William Merriek
John Lawford, esq.	George Morgan
Robt. Yeamans, knt. and bart.	Giles Merriek

John Hicks, esq.	John Sandford
Wm. Crabb, esq.	James Twyford
Richd. Crump, knt.	Walter Gunter
Joseph Creswick, esq.	Robert Dowding
Richard Hart, knt.	George Morris
Thomas Easton, esq.	Antony Swymmer
William Clutterbuck, knt.	John Yeomans
William Hayman, esq.	Edward Tocknell
John Romsey, late common clerk of the city aforesaid, and also the common clerk of the city for the time being	John Oliff
John Knight, knt. (Sir John Knight, sen., was now dead)	Robert Yate
Abraham Saunders	John Whiteing
John Coombes	James Pope
John Moore	Henry Combs
Wm. Swymmer	John Bradley
Richard Lane	Robert Smith
George Hart	John Hollister, mercer
Nathaniel Driver	Scarborough Chapman, and Richard Gibbons, gentlemen, who are to take all of them proper oaths.

Vacancies are to be filled, by election at the next meeting of the common council after any or every such vacancy, by the council men. They shall have power to make laws, to impose pains and penalties; shall have all fines, and as great power as heretofore; the laws to be approved of by the lord chancellor. The mayor to be elected annually on September 15th; also the two sheriffs, and other officers on that day. In case of death of the mayor or sheriff, the common council to elect another, who shall serve for the remainder of the deceased's year. The king nominates for recorder, Sir John Churchill, knt.; recorders to be justices of the peace, with the same powers as heretofore; to be also the first alderman of twelve nominated, viz. :—

John Churchill, knt.	Richard Crump, knt.
Robert Cann, knt. and bart.	Joseph Creswick
John Lawford	Richard Hart, knt.
Robert Yeamans, knt. and bart.	Thomas Easton
John Hicks	William Clutterbuck, knt.
William Crabb	William Hayman.

Aldermen in future to be elected from the common council by the mayor and other aldermen; they must be resident in the city or its suburbs. Anyone refusing to serve as common councilman, alderman, mayor, or sheriff, to be fined, not more than £500, and committed to prison until payment. Persons not possessing £2,000 shall be discharged. Mayor and aldermen to be justices for various purposes (specified); they may enquire into the conduct of sheriffs, &c., inspect and proceed on indictments, fine delinquents, &c., &c.; the mayor and commonalty to have fines. Mayor, &c., to hold four sessions of the peace for gaol delivery; fines of gaol delivery reserved to the crown. The justices to take proper oaths. John Romsey to be the common or town clerk; he is to take oaths, and to be paid by fees, as his

predecessors. The town clerk to be in future elected by the common council; he must be a barrister of three years' standing, approved by the king; he is not to be an alderman or sheriff. John Robins to be steward of the sheriff's court; he shall be paid by fees, &c.; common council to elect his successor, who must be approved by the king; on a vacancy the common council to elect another steward, who shall be a barrister of three years' standing, approved of by the king. Two coroners are nominated, viz., George Lunell and Rowland Searchfield, who are to take proper oaths; vacancies in the office to be filled by the common council; the elected to be approved of by the king. The mayor, aldermen, and other officers, to take the corporal oath of allegiance and the other oaths, approved by parliament, before commissioners, viz., Lord Guildford, keeper of the great seal, the Duke of Beaufort,<sup>1</sup> Marquis of Worcester, Leoline Jenkins, knt., Charles Kenwith, bart., John Smith, bart., James Herbert, knt., and John Fitzherbert, Esq., or any three of them; the keeper of the seal, Duke of Beaufort, Marquis of Worcester, or Sir Leoline Jenkins, to be one of the three. Power of removing the mayor, or any of the common council or officers, to remain with the king. Corn brought by land to be sold at the ancient marketplace in Wine street; corn brought by water to be sold at Aldworth's slip on the Frome, and from thence along the river bank towards the Gib for the space of thirty yards; also grain brought to the Back may be sold there; the mayor and aldermen to govern the market and to regulate the tolls. Three cloth fairs are granted, to be held in King street, viz., on 18th April, two days, 18th June, two days, and the first Thursday after the feast of St. Michael, one day, in the street between the river Avon and the Merchants' hall. Also five horse fairs in the year, viz., on the 25th January, in Temple street, and to continue during the feast of St. Paul; on the 25th and 26th of March, on Redcliff hill; on the 25th and 26th of May, in Broadmead; on the 25th, 26th, and 27th of September, in Temple street, and on the 25th, 26th, and 27th of November, on Redcliff hill. If the said days any of them fall on a Sunday, the fair to be kept on the Monday next following. The court of *pie poudre* to be granted, with all liberties, &c., but so as not to interfere with the above-named fairs. All former grants, &c., to be confirmed to the mayor and commonalty, and non-usage of privileges to be no impediment. The tenure to be as heretofore."

<sup>1</sup> The duke was the first of the title, grandson of the heroic and talented Henry, first Marquis of Worcester, who so bravely defended Ragland castle; he had won the strawberry leaves December 2nd, 1682-3.

The charter is signed Piggott; the fine in the Hanaper, £6 13s. 4d., Guildford.

Memorandum—That the 10th day of July, after the date of these letters patent, by virtue and in execution of the same, we, Charles Marquess of Worcester, Sir John Smyth, bart., Sir James Herbert, knt., and John Fitzherbert, Esq., in the Guildhall of the said city of Bristol, all and singular of the oaths to the several persons respectively in these letters patent directed to us to be administered according to the tenor and exigence of the said letters patent did administer; William Merrick and Richard Gibbons, gentlemen, being only absent.

WORCESTER.  
JAMES HERBERT.  
JOHN FITZHERBERT.

27. Considerable difficulty has arisen as to this charter. James, by proclamation some few weeks before he abdicated the throne, restored the "ancient government" and replaced it on its earlier charters, placing most of Charles's nominees in the chamber, and giving back the power of election to the burgesses, who treated the above charter of Charles as null and void, refused to serve offices, nor did the common council attempt to compel them by fine to serve as they might have done if the charter had been held to be valid. Queen Anne, however, in her charter (which is the legal instrument for civic government to this day) supposes Charles's charter (given above) to be in force, for she granted a pardon for all offences against it, and she confirms all former charters, unless they are contradicted by her own. Seyer says, "It is a question of some difficulty and of considerable moment, for the validity of many acts of the common council at this day depends upon it; but although I have seen and heard legal opinions relative to it, yet it does not seem hitherto determined."<sup>1</sup> Our readers will remember that Seyer was writing before the Municipal Corporation Act was passed.

It may well be conceived that this arbitrary manipulation of the charters of Bristol by the king did not give satisfaction to the country party, who were to a great extent excluded from office. The disaffected in Bristol entered into communication with those in London, and James Holloway, a linen manufacturer of this city, was the go-between. The conspirators used to meet in a garden in Baldwin street. An insurrection was planned in November, 1682, to begin simultaneously in London, Bristol, Exeter, Taunton, Chester, York, and Newcastle. Bristol, it was concluded, could be easily managed by a surprise with 350 men, 200 of whom were to be raised in Bristol, and 150 were to be supplied from Taunton; these were to be divided into fourteen parties, including those destined to attack the main guard at the Tolzey. The strangers were to be lodged at inns and alehouses as near their appointed posts as

might be; they were to send out one man to spy when the watch went off duty between three and four in the morning, then to seize on the posts and the main guard and their leading opponents, and to secure all the arms and ammunition, then to issue proclamations declaring why they had taken up arms, upon which they calculated many thousands in the west country would gladly join them. Before, however, this plan could be matured, in which Joseph Tyley, Rowe (the sword-bearer), and William Wade, of Bristol, took a prominent part, another was conceived (the Rye house plot, which was planned for March 22nd, and discovered June 12th, 1683), which cost the life of one of England's greatest patriots, Lord William Russell, and practically that of Algernon Sidney.

Holloway immediately absconded, he was a man of talent and patriotic spirit; for two sessions of Parliament he had been promoting an Act of Parliament for the encouragement of the home manufacture of linen and preventing frauds in the customs, which he alleged would have saved the kingdom £200,000, besides employing many thousands of poor people. He set up a linen manufactory in Warwickshire, where he made cambrics equal to those of France. He sought to do the same at Bristol by means of a grant from the corporation, the gift money, and private subscriptions, as we have related; he considered that 40,000 acres of land could be profitably cultivated with flax, and 80,000 people be found constant employment. This scheme brought him into frequent contact with Lords Shaftesbury, Essex, Clarendon, Rochester, and others, and the chagrin caused by the Government declining to aid his plan appears to have soured him, and driven him over to the country party.

When the news that the plot was discovered reached Bristol, Holloway says, "I got an ordinary habit and a little horse, about 40s. price, and travelled the country as a man dealing in wool till the middle of August. I then repaired to Bristol, and with my wife's assistance (all other friends thereabout fearing to act for me) prevailed with a poor man who had a small boat, about ten tons, for £20 reward, and the like per month for six months, to go with me to France, and from thence to the West Indies or where I would." On the 23rd of August they sailed from Kingroad to Rochelle, but met with bad weather, sprung their mast, and had to put into St. Ives; they sailed thence on the 4th September, and owing to the weather had to shelter in several French ports, not reaching Rochelle until the 17th. There he loaded with brandy and other goods, sailing on the 4th October for the West Indies, where, as a merchant, he had done business for years, had several factors, and was owed a round sum of money, which he considered

<sup>1</sup> Seyer's Charters, 294.

would more than suffice to pay his creditors in England. He reached Barbadoes on the 11th November, stayed there two days, but being too soon for the crop, after landing part of his cargo, visited Antigua, where he stayed ten days; he then visited the Caribbees, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Christopher, and other islands, returning to St. Christopher's, whence he wrote to his factor in Nevis to send him the moneys due to him. This scoundrel, to save his pocket, betrayed him. Holloway was arrested, sent home, and was hanged on an outlawry for high treason, at Tyburn, April 30th, 1684. Holloway, in his confession, says, "I heard of another design that was intended against the king and the Duke of York as they came from Newmarket; there were but few in it, and they were eleven months contriving it, but it failed."

Holloway was a member of the Church of England, not a Separatist. He stated that he belonged to the "Horseshoe" club in Bristol, but not to the "Mermaid," and that the other party had greater clubs than theirs. He repeatedly asserted in his defence that it was their fear of arbitrary government and Popery, and the stifling of the Popish plots, that alone induced himself and others to conspire against the king; they did not design anything against his majesty's life, but only to liberate him from the control of those whose bad advice kept him from calling a parliament, and who were the enemies of himself and of his people.

28. A contemporary MS. relates:—

1683. December 13th.—The king and Mistress Gwynn (Gwynn) came privily to Bristoll, and drove to the Colledge to see the colored window Mistress Gwynn had set up, and the king did chide Mistres Gwynn for being so wastefull. They dined with the mayor, William Clutterbucke, grocer in Corne streete, who had been mayor by speciall commande of his majestie, and after dinner the king did knight Mr. Mayor, and soe they departed.

At the eastern end of the north aisle of the cathedral, at the commencement of the present century, below the window was a board, with the following couplet:—

"For this window faire, azure, ruby, golden,  
To Mistress Gwynn this church are beholden."

Sir William Clutterbuck, the son of Josias Clutterbuck, grocer, Corn street, married Sarah, daughter of John Vernon. He was chosen into the corporation on September 24th, 1671, made sheriff in 1678, and in 1682 he received the thanks of the grand jury "for serveing his country against Dissenters and his impartiality in keeping the gaol at Newgate." In the same year he was chosen a trustee of Queen Elizabeth's hospital, and in 1684 was made a knight, alderman and mayor by the king. In 1702, on the 30th of June, he resigned all his public offices owing to his ill-health; and dying in 1707, was buried in All Saints church.

His widow was left as his executrix, and she afterwards married John Romsey, the town clerk. To the church of St. Augustine he bequeathed a gilt plate, weighing 28 ounces, to be used at the administration of the Holy Sacrament. He also gave £40 the interest thereof to be delivered in bread to the poor of the parish every Lord's-day; to Christ church parish £50 the interest thereof, 20s. for a sermon, 10s. to the clerk, and 20s. to the poor in bread; and £40, the interest, to the poor of St. Peter's. Sir William had a son, Stephen, who became mayor in 1739.

Sir William Hayman, mayor in 1684, is historically familiar from his having been called from the bench to the bar, with other magistrates in the civic scarlet, by Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys, to answer a charge of kidnapping; and he was fined £1,000 "for suffering a boy committed to Bridewell to go beyond the sea." Particulars of this proceeding we shall give on a subsequent page. Sir William was a wealthy West Indian merchant, residing in a substantial antique mansion in Small street. On November 1st, 1670, he married the sister of Edward Colston, the philanthropist. He was chosen sheriff in 1679. In 1681 he was elected a governor of Christ church hospital, London, and is styled "of London, merchant." In 1866 he entertained the king at his house, and in 1690 he was elected an alderman.

On 11th June, 1692, Sir William conveyed to the feoffees of St. Augustine's parish a rent-charge of £10 per annum for ever out of a house in Horse street in the said parish, £5 being the gift of his daughter, Sarah Langton, the residue £5 being his gift. To be distributed, viz.:—To eight poor widows not receiving weekly alms, on Christmas-day for ever, 10s. each. To the vicar of the parish, for a sermon to be preached every Christmas-day in the morning, being Sir William's birthday, £1; his widow to have the nomination of the widows during her life, and to her he gave for her life the house out of which he had made the rent-charge payable. His wife was the daughter of William Colston, who, by his will, gave to her £500, and to her two daughters £100 each, to be paid them at the age of twenty-one years, or on their marriage; to their father, William Hayman, he left £5. Sir William's private character is said to have been a most estimable one. He was morbidly solicitous to preserve inviolate the rigid silence of his place of rest, and that no carnal, discordant noises should hurtle on the sanctified solemnity of his sepulchre; for which purpose, several years before his death, he superintended the construction of a vault near the altar in St. Augustine's church, to which, his life's probation over, he was, in the year 1702, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, consigned. He directed his remains "to

be decently interred according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, as by law established." In the same vault are interred his daughter, Sarah Langton, and his widow, Dame Mary. The latter deceased 29th March, 1711, aged seventy. At his death he possessed considerable property; one portion, consisting of estates in the island of Jamaica, he bequeathed to his godson, William Hayman, son of his lately deceased brother, Stephen Hayman, baker. To his daughter, Mary, who, in 1698, married Thomas Edwards, he bequeathed property in Bristol and £1,000 in money for her sole use, and the sum of £20 to purchase mourning for herself and husband. His wife, Dame Mary, whom he describes as his "loving and well-beloved wife," he made his executrix, leaving her very wealthy, with the house, furniture and all the jewels possessed by her; also his chariot and horses, and all the plate with the Colston's arms engraved thereon. To his mother-in-law, Mrs. Colston, and to Mrs. Edward Colston, whom he appointed to be one of the overseers of his will, he left £10 each to purchase mourning.

29. Upon the death of Charles, numerous flattering addresses were placed at the feet of his successor. Even the capital was proudly eulogistic, and Bristol followed in the same obsequious strain. The corporation agreed that an "address be presented the king on the death of his brother, Charles II., of blessed memory!" After the usual stereotyped preliminary, it says:—

We cannot approach your sacred majesty without expressing our sorrow at the decease of our late most gracious sovereign, and your majestie's most entirely beloved brother, King Charles the 2nd, which would have been insupportable had not your majestie's eminent virtues and undoubted title to the crown alleviated our griefs, and secured us from all danger, by having one of the same blood, endued with admirable sagacity in government, with entire affection to the welfare of all your good subjects, and the happy state of your kingdom, succeeded to the throne, which is most plain by your majestie's adventuring your royall blood to defend those heretofore you are now by right to govern, and by those gracious expressions of your majestie's to your honourable privy councill at the first sitting amongst them, and many other circumstances that give us entire confidence of happiness under your majestie's government. Nor is this a new opinion taken up by us upon your majestie's ascending the throne, but was our former sentiment, declared by many addresses from us to his late sacred majestie, of blessed memory. We doe therefore, in confirmation of our loyalty, and as further demonstration of affection, duty, and allegiance, assure your majestie, that we will stand by and assist your majestie in the support of your crown and government, in all honour and safety, with our lives and fortunes; and shall duly pray for your majesties long and happy reign.

Given under the corporation seal of this city by the full and free consent, this 17th February, in the first year of your majesties reign.

One can scarcely imagine these sentiments came from the leading men of a city which had petitioned against James' succession. Had the corporation in-

tended to be satirical, they could not have been more successful.

There is an item in the audits for 1685:—

Paid the mayor, expenses to London to present an address to the king, £30.

In striking contrast to the corporation document is the characteristic address of the Society of Friends:—

We are told to testify our sorrow for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy for thou being made our governor. We are told that thou art not of the persuasion of the Church of England, no more than we; therefore we hope thou wilt grant us the same licence which thou allowed thyself. Which so doing we wish thee all manner of happiness.

Laconic, but to the purpose. No notice of their manumitted brethren, whom James had released from incarceration: there was nothing for which to be thankful; the king had merely done a just act, and the Quakers were not hypocrites to simulate a virtue they could not feel.

The old MS. *Calendar* states:—"King Charles II. dyed February 6th, 1684-5. Mr. Maier was afterwards knighted by King James." Charles died a professed Roman Catholic; extreme unction and the eucharist were administered to him by a Catholic priest. "His reign was a transition state from a practical despotism to a regulated system of freedom, but the violence of the popular party defeated, in a great measure, the good ends which they professed to have in view, and brought upon themselves the mortification of seeing the crown, not only invested with a greatly-increased influence, but even viewed with a growing veneration on the part of the multitude, who are most easily led astray. Had not Charles contrived to suspend the contest between the popular and arbitrary principles of the constitution, a civil war must have ensued in his time, or the Revolution been anticipated by a period of ten years. His reign is rendered memorable for the passing of the Habeas Corpus Act, which put an end to arbitrary imprisonment, and secured the personal freedom of the subject on the firm basis of law."<sup>1</sup>

Hepworth Dixon thus describes Charles:—

A gaunt dark man, with hairless scalp and bleary eyes, sensual mouth, false teeth, false curls, false colour, bald, bewigged and painted, with a sunken cheek, a hideous leer, with a pinched and saturnine face, a man passed the middle age and looking older than his years, fast hobbling to his grave, with gouty leg and broken frame, amid a rout of gamblers, courtizans and pimps, who cheat each other and play false to him; a prince who sells his country for a bribe; a churchman who betrays his faith; a man whom no one calls his friend; a lover whom his lemans dupe and cheat.

From a collection of letters, papers and other docu-

<sup>1</sup> Creasy, 1685.

ments, offered for sale in 1834, which related to the municipal and general history of Bristol, we select the following, being the vendor's description (the papers themselves having disappeared):—

Copy of the charter granted to the merchant venturers of Bristol by Charles II., 1665.—Certificates of Humphrey Colston, British consul at Malaga, 1672.—Petition of Samuel Day, son of Sir Thomas Day, of Bristol, for the place of governor of Bermuda, void by the displacing of Captain Goddard.—Upwards of ninety letters from Colonel John Romsey, collector of customs at Bristol, and of his cousin, John Romsey, town clerk of Bristol, to Sir Robert Southwell, from 1675 to 1682. These letters show that the town clerk was indebted for his situation to the entreaties of his cousin, the colonel, with Sir Robert, which the town clerk requited, by an unwearied assistance, in settling the purchase of Kingsweston, near Bristol, an estate, as appears by the caution observed in the letters, to have been disposed of to the Southwells (see page 82), considerably under its real value.—Draft of a warrant, March 1677–8, for the removal of Colonel Romsey from the office of collector of customs to aid his majesty in his military capacity.—In a letter, October 12th, 1678, the colonel shows how the lord treasurer would prevent his being of service to the king, his lordship (the treasurer) can have no cause for it, but that the colonel was my Lord Shaftesbury's servant.—A letter of 4th January, 1678–9, contains the assertion "that Bristol aire is souraine against madness."—One of February says: "We are all preparing to go to Ilchester to-morrow morning to the election, where undoubtedly Sir Hugh Smyth and Sir John Sydenham will be chosen, my Lord Fitzhardinge is the only antagonist, and he has the name of a courtier, which does not goe downe with these freeholders." The anticipation was correct.—Another letter, dated London, July 22nd, 1679, details some facts relative to the acquittal of Sir George Wakeman:—"You may

better guess at the joy at Windsor than I can."—One of May 20th, 1682, contains interesting notices of the early disgrace of the Duke of Monmouth, in whose subsequent rebellion the colonel appears to have borne a prominent part.

There is in the Council chamber a picture of James II. by Sir Godfrey Kneller, but in the books is the following entry:—

1686. April 7th.—Paid John Hoskins for the king's picture, £10 5s.

Paid for gilding frame ... .. 13s.

John Hoskins, who was a painter of repute, died in 1664. He had a son, who was a miniature painter, but who does not appear to have had a very high reputation, and it is not probable that a painter in miniature would have been able to throw such artistic power into a picture of such a size; possibly, through him, the commission was given to Sir Godfrey, or, what is more probable, he might have obtained the picture from Sir Godfrey and then sold it to the corporation—the odd money given for it and the charge for gilding makes it look very much like a second-hand transaction.

There is an interesting story connected with this work of art. James II., towards the close of his reign, fell into great disrepute in Bristol, and his portrait disappeared from the walls of the Council chamber. Some years ago the late Mr. James Curnock was entrusted with the task of cleaning the corporation pictures. He found one which was intended to represent Charles II.; the head and wig were most indifferently painted, and formed a striking contrast to the artistic rendering of the dress and the hands. The colours were thinly laid on, and beneath the wig there was evidence of another wig existing. Having obtained leave, Mr. Curnock proceeded to remove the surface work, and so succeeded in discovering the lost portrait of James II. Mr. Garrard, who was treasurer at that time, is said to have discovered in the city archives the record of a payment "for painting over the king's head."

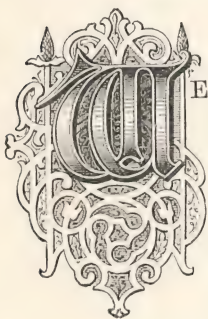




## CHAPTER XIII.

# THE RISE OF DISSENT IN BRISTOL—PERSECUTION OF ITS ADHERENTS.

1. *Puritanism in the 16th and 17th centuries. Declarations of the Independents and of the Baptists.*
2. *Results of Puritanism in Bristol. Mrs. Hazard and others become Separatists and form a church.*
3. *The Quakers: their sufferings. James Naylor whipped and branded.*
4. *Chronological sequence of the denominations. Ewins becomes a Baptist.*
5. *The Persecution begins: Ewins and Terrill thrown into prison. Country sites where the Dissenters worshipped.*
6. *Expedients taken to baffle their persecutors. Baptist Mills, why so called. Ewins dies: Hardcastle succeeds at Broadmead.*
7. *Charles grants licenses, which he afterwards withdraws. Hellier, a notorious persecutor. Hardcastle and Weeks are apprehended.*
8. *The Baptists found a close communion church. Andrew Gifford: his romantic work, his sufferings.*
9. *Thompson is imprisoned: dies in Newgate. Two scarce pamphlets. Where the church met in the Castle.*
10. *Hardcastle again imprisoned. Conspicuous persecutors.*
11. *Sacrilegious ruffianism. Hardcastle's death. Ford hunted into the Avon and drowned. Knight dies from the effects of his submersion. Fownes dies.*
12. *Weeks and the Presbyterian Dissenters. Two noble laymen, Edward Terrill and Ichabod Chauncey.*



WE shall now give a brief sketch of the rise and progress of Nonconformity in Bristol, noting more especially the effect of the measures adopted by Charles II. towards the Separatists. At the close of the 16th century many persons of tender conscience in divers parts of the kingdom were led to embrace the doctrine of justification by faith, in contradistinction to the general teaching and ceremonial worship of the Church of England, which held the theory that every one in the land was a Christian. The world thus brought bodily into the Church had naturally brought the Church down to its level; any man, however vile, might take the sacrament as a sign of fitness for office

in the State, but no one could hold office without thus asserting his church membership. The Puritans in their attempts to correct this extreme, created another by strongly emphasising the doctrine of conversion, and they went so far as to assert that no man should be a church member who was not clear as to the very date and manner of his second birth. The natural effect of this teaching was, that in their hands the church became a reservoir of the elect and sanctified, instead of becoming a healthy, life-giving stream to the world, an educating institution in which men should from childhood be trained in truth and goodness. Hence the Christ-life became rather an accident than a result, an error which two centuries have failed as yet to rectify. But few of these good men, however, became at that

time Separatists; still the name Puritan was generally given to them on account of their purity of life and the precision of their doctrinal views. Early in the 17th century, John Robinson, the pastor of the church from which sprang the Puritan fathers, separated from the Anglican communion, and founded the Independent denomination, but he admitted the right of the civil authority to interfere with the constitution of the church, and held it to be a duty for godly magistrates to force men by penalty to attend on divine service. The Baptists, who, in the year after this deliverance of Robinson's published their *Confession of Faith* (1611),

cry day and night to the Lord to pluck down the lordly prelates of the time, and the superstition thereof." They also met at Anthony Kelly's, grocer, in High street, at Robert Haynes', writing schoolmaster, in Corn street, at Richard Moon's, farrier, in Wine street, and at Goodman Coles', victualler or butcher, at Lawford's gate. Mr. Kelly died in 1631; Mr. Yeamans in 1633, after which from time to time Puritan clergymen, chiefly from South Wales, came occasionally to minister to the bereaved flock. Eventually, Mr. Hazard, "a young preacher who savoured of the Puritanic spirit," came to St. Nicholas on a temporary



Widow Kelly and other women stopping up Frome Gate at the Siege of Bristol in 1643.

show a greater advance in the principles of religious liberty; in it "they deny the rights of the civil magistrate to interfere with religion, or with matters of conscience, or to compel men to this or that form of religion, because Christ is the King and Lawgiver of the church and of conscience."

2. In Bristol from 1604 the Rev. William Yeamans, a Puritan vicar of the church of St. Philip and Jacob, was the central rallying point for the godly, "who sat under his light for nearly twenty years, keeping many fast days in private houses, namely, at one Wm. Listun's house, a glover, near Lawford's gate, and at one Richard Langford's house, a house carpenter in the Castle, and sometimes at other places, where they did

visit, and as a supply preached at Redcliff, but had to leave there because he used too much plainness of speech. This would appear to have been in 1639, at which period the widow Kelly kept on the grocer's shop between the Guilder's inn and the High Cross, "where she would keep open her shop on the time they called Christmas Day, and sit sewing in her shop, as a witness for God in the midst of the city, in the face of the sun, and in the sight of all men . . . when as it were all sorts of people had a reverence of that particular day above all others. . . . She was the first woman in this city of Bristol that practised that truth of the Lord which was then hated and odious, namely, Separation." (This is the same strong-minded lady

who, with Mistress Joan Batten and others, stopped up the Frome gate with woollsacks and earth to keep out Prince Rupert, in 1643, for particulars of which see Vol. I. 310.) Meetings were then resumed in private houses, and it was the practice of the godly people to meet at each other's houses for devotional exercises, "to compare notes of the sermons," and because there were many women of the company, the basest insinuations were circulated about these gatherings. Mrs. Kelly's house was attacked on at least one occasion, and all the windows broken by "a rude mob of the rabble and sailors," because "they heard there was a conventicle of Puritans, which was to them a very strange and unheard of thing, for people to meet in a church with a chimney in it." The injured party complained to the mayor, and sought for redress and punishment of the ringleaders, but the magistrate, instead of doing them justice, threw some of them into prison. This led to a petition to Parliament of complaint against the mayor, which William Listun went to London and presented. The Houses "graciously favoured the cause of the godly, and well resented their case in Bristol," which startled the mayor, and abated his persecuting spirit. When Listun returned from London, it was noised abroad that he too would be imprisoned, and more severely dealt with than others had been, and he was advised to keep quiet. But strong in the justice of his cause, he went the next day to the shop of his friend Haynes, opposite to the Tolzey; the mayor, on seeing him there, sent a sergeant to ask him to come over and speak to him, when, instead of sending him to prison, his worship asked him what he did in London, and being told, he civilly dismissed him.

Unable to conform to the ceremonies of the establishment, the sectaries also hired houses in other parishes if there was therein a Puritan preacher—the law being very strict as to their attendance on the church of the parish in which they resided—returning on the Monday to their shops and places of business. When Mr. Hazard was driven from Redcliff, the people persuaded the widow Kelly to marry him, which she did. Soon afterwards, on hearing the clergyman of her parish (All Saints) state in a sermon "that pictures and images might be used in churches," she rose and left the church in the midst of the sermon, nor ever would enter it again, for which conduct, and for having previously refused to kneel at the sacrament, she was about to be brought into the spiritual court, to avoid which she and her young husband had just stepped out of their door to go and hire a house in another parish, when at this juncture "a woman came to them in the street and told them the minister of St. Ewen's parish

was deceased, and that the people of the parish had chosen him (Hazard) to be their minister." In the parsonage, which they only used themselves on the Lord's day, the Hazards entertained sometimes two or three families at one time (who were expatriating themselves for conscience sake to New England), whilst they waited in Bristol for a ship or for a fair wind. At other times the parsonage became a lying-in hospital for good women, who objected to the "ceremonies of their churching, the cross, and other impositions, that most of the parsons of other parishes did burden them withal that were delivered within their precincts." Mr. Hazard, by virtue of his office, was compelled to use the prayers of the church, although he would not indiscriminately administer the sacrament. Then arose a conflict in Mrs. Hazard's mind as to her duty. Her wifely affection and her position as a clergyman's wife drew her one way; her conscientious dislike of forms acted powerfully in an opposite direction. On her way to church one morning she hesitated and made a final appeal to her Bible; it opened at Rev. xiv. 9-11, "If any man worship the beast," &c. This was decisive; she from that moment became a Separatist. Four others, holding similar views, joined her: these were—Atkins, a countryman of Stapleton; Cole, butcher; Moon, farrier; and Mr. Bacon, a young minister. This was in the year 1640, and these five laid the foundation of open Dissent in Bristol. They met in the Parsonage house, and "covenanted to worship the Lord purely and persevere therein to their end." Their custom was in the morning of the Lord's-day to have their own devotional exercise until the prayers in the church were ended, and then to enter and listen to Mr. Hazard's sermon. In the afternoons they met to strengthen each other in the faith, at first at Mr. Hazard's, subsequently at Mr. Bacon's house in Lewin's mead. At Easter, Mr. Hazard, who was a man of very tender conscience, left the city, in order to avoid being compelled by law to administer the Sacrament to all comers being parishioners; at which juncture Mr. Cann, a Baptist, who had issued a Bible with notes and references, came to Bristol. Mrs. Hazard fetched him from the "Dolphin" inn, where he preached in the large room, to her own house, where she entertained him during his stay in the city. The next Lord's-day he preached in the church at Westerleigh, where many of the professors went from Bristol to hear him; but a godly great woman of that place, hearing that he was a Baptist, caused the church to be closed against him in the afternoon, although the vicar, Mr. Fowler, was rather favourable to him. Mr. Cann, therefore, held a service of two hours upon the green, and stated that if

the churches were closed against him he should in future hire a barn, or any convenient building for the purpose of worship.

The idea of preaching in an unconsecrated place found no favour in the sight of the people, as we may well imagine, and for two years the Separatists continued worshipping as they best could in each other's houses. They lost Mr. Bacon, who accepted a call to the church at Filton; the little handful of believers, however, prospered under lay agency until, in 1642, a Mr. Pennill, who had been the vicar of St. Leonard's, became a Nonconformist, and took the oversight of them in the Lord. By this time, with accessions from Brislington, Keynsham and Wells, &c., they numbered in church fellowship 160 persons. Then broke out the war between the king and Parliament, and the opprobrious name of Roundhead was applied to the Puritans, chiefly because the apprentices, who in large numbers entered the army, cut their hair short, so that their ears could be seen. The city being, in 1642-3, in the possession of the Parliament, many Welsh christian people sought refuge therein; and Mr. Cradock, who was pastor of the church at Llanvaches, being with many of his people refugees, the two churches, Welsh and English, coalesced, and met in fellowship in the great room of the "Dolphin" inn. This was the first place in Bristol in which the ordinance of the Lord's Supper was administered to a Dissenting church. They afterwards met for worship at a baker's house on St. James' back, and finally in the church of St. Ewen, until Bristol was taken by Prince Rupert, when they again met secretly in private dwellings, principally at Mrs. Nethway's, a brewer's house in Lewin's mead; but on the Lord's-day in the morning they attended the church of All Saints, where Mr. (afterwards Doctor) Ingelo was appointed the minister. This continued for four or five years, when Mr. Ingelo's dress and musical tastes gave offence to the more rigid. Mrs. Nethway having heard a good report of Mr. Thomas Ewins, late of All Hallows, London, but then a preacher at Llanvaches, rode over into Wales to hear him; the result being that Mr. Ewins was, on the 14th July, 1651, invited by the commissioners under the Act of Parliament passed "for the better maintenance of ministers to preach the gospel," as well as by the members of the church, to come to Bristol. The commissioners who signed the invitation were ten in number. [The first commissioner was Dennis Hollister, who was a member of the Parliament of 1653; four others, viz., H. Browne, R. Aldworth and E. Tyson, who was mayor in 1659-60, with R. Vickris, who had been chief magistrate; two others, Thomas Harris and George Lane, served also as sheriffs; the

other three were James Powell, John Haggatt and Jer. Holwey.]

Most modern preachers would shrink from the work performed by Mr. Ewins. Teacher of the church which had given him the call, "he was also appointed by the mayor to be lecturer for the city. Every Tuesday he had to preach a sermon at St. Nicholas; on the Lord's-day morning at Christ church; at St. Mary-le-port in the afternoon; and in the summer he frequently preached as well in the evening at St. Thomas', over the bridge, and at St. Philip's, because these churches were more spacious." He also preached once a fortnight at the almshouses of St. Michael's hill (Foster's) and at Lawford's gate, lectured at Bedminster and other places on convenient seasons, and during the long winter evenings he gave expositions and lectures at St. Ewen's and St. Leonard's. Under the Commonwealth the practice appears at first to have been for the Dissenters to have what is termed a mixed communion, pedo-Baptists and Baptists worshipping God in fellowship and brotherly unity; but in 1650-1, or thereabouts, some of the brethren who could not countenance "the sprinkling of infants" separated themselves from the congregation, and under Mr. Hynam founded what is best known as the Pithay Baptist church.

3. In our ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, at 24 and 285, we have already given some description of the rise and sufferings of that section of the church of Christ known originally as the Quakers, but now more frequently called the Friends, who were the first sufferers in Bristol for conscience sake since the days of the Marian persecution. Their first appearance in Bristol was probably in 1652; certainly they were here in 1653. At serious variance with their fellow-Separatists, and bitterly persecuted by the Presbyterian hierarchy, they rapidly increased in number in Bristol. Conceiving themselves the subjects of inward monitions from the Divine Spirit, resolutely opposed to compulsory payments for religious services, rejecting some of the courtesies of society, remarkable for plainness in dress and manner of speech, they pertinaciously thrust themselves into the churches and offensively gave utterance to their peculiar views before the assembled congregations. They thus brought upon themselves punishments which, if not wholly unmerited, were, it must be allowed, carried to an excess that was thoroughly disgraceful to a civilised Christian community, punishments which in several instances resulted in death. In 1655, James Naylor, who had been one of their preachers, suffering under aberration of mind, came to Bristol from Glastonbury, attended by a concourse of persons more mad apparently than himself. They "spread their garments before him, hand-

kerchiefs, aprons, scarfs and the like, and even gloves, singing 'Holy, holy, holy,' &c. October 24th, 1656, they came through Bedminster; Naylor rode on horseback, and there were six more in his company, one of whom, a young man, bareheaded, 'led his horse by the bridle, and another uncovered before him, through the dirty way in which carts and horses and none else usually go, and with them two men on horseback, with each of them a woman behind him, and one woman walking on the better way or path. In this posture did they march, and in such a case that one George Witherley, noting their condition, asked them to come into the better road, adding that God expected no such extremity; but they continued on their way, not answering in any other notes but what were musical, singing "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth," &c. Thus continued they till by their wandering they came to the almshouse within the suburbs of Bristol, where one of the women alighted, and she, with the other of her own sex, lovingly marched on either side of Naylor's horse. This Witherley saith he supposes they could not be lesse deep in the muddy way than to the knees (and at this very time it happened to rain so violently that the water ran in streams from their cloaths); and he saith they sang, but sometimes with such a buzzing mel-odious noyse, that he could not understand what it was. This the said Witherley gave in upon oath. Thus did they reach Ratcliff gate, with Timothy Wedlock, of Devon, bareheaded, and Martha Symonds with the bridle on one side, and Hannah Stranger on the other side of the horse. This Martha Simonds is the wife of Thomas Simonds, of London, bookbinder (and sister to Giles Calvert, the bookseller, living at the black-spread-eagle at the west end of Paul's, publisher of most of the fanatic books of that day), and Hannah Stranger is the wife of John Stranger (*alias* Stangar), of London, comb-maker, who sung "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Israel." Thus did he ride to the High Crosse in Bristol, and after that to the "White Hart" in Broad street." <sup>1</sup>

Being apprehended, Naylor was sent to London by the mayor, and was tried for blasphemy by the Barebone's Parliament. The trial lasted thirteen days. "December 16th, it was proposed that the punishment of James Naylor should be death; and the question being put, 'the noes went forth ninety-six, the yeas eighty-two, so it passed in the negative.' On the next day, Wednesday, 17th, the House agreed to the following sentence:— 'Resolved, that James Naylor be set on the pillory with his head in the pillory in the Palace yard, Westminster, during the space of two hours on Thursday next, and shall be whipt by the hangman through the streets from

Westminster to the Old Exchange, London; and there likewise be set on the pillory with his head in the pillory for the space of two hours, between the hours of eleven and one on Saturday next, in each place wearing a paper containing an inscription of his crimes; and that at the Old Exchange his tongue be bored through with a hot iron, and that he be there also stigmatised in the forehead with the letter B; and that he be afterwards sent to Bristol, and be conveyed into and through the said city on horseback, bareheaded, with his face backward, and there also publicly whipt the next market-day after he comes thither; and that from thence he be committed to prison in Bridewell, London, and there restrained from the society of all people, and there to labour hard, till he shall be released by Parliament; and during that time be debarred the use of pen, ink and paper, and shall have no relief but what he earns by his daily labours.' This inhuman sentence was fully executed on the unhappy maniac. Thursday, December 18th, he stood in the pillory in Palace yard, and was from thence whipped to the Old Exchange, receiving 310 lashes, one on crossing each gutter." <sup>1</sup>

"Saturday, December 20th, James Naylor was to have suffered the remaining part of his sentence; but on the morning of that same day a petition was presented to the House, signed by Joshua Sprigge, formerly an eminent independent preacher, author of a book quoted above, T. Z. and Jer. White (Cromwell's chaplain), C. H. representing the wretched condition of the prisoner and the danger to his life if he should receive the remainder of his punishment; and praying in the name of many honourable persons, both citizens and others, wholly unconnected with him, for a week's respite, which was granted. Meanwhile many well-affected and respectable persons, of whom Colonel Scrope, sometime governor of the castle and fort of Bristol, was the first name, shocked at the inhumanity of the sentence, petitioned Parliament for a remission of the remaining part of the sentence; many of the members were against admitting the petition, but being put to the vote it was admitted. The petition was presented Tuesday, December 23rd, at the bar of the House, by Mr. Joshua Sprigge, above-mentioned, accompanied by about one hundred eminent persons in behalf of the whole; Mr. Sprigge made a short speech on presenting, but it was unsuccessful. The petitioners then applied to his highness the Protector, still without effect. On Wednesday, December 24th, five Presbyterian or Independent ministers, Caryl, Manton, Nie, Griffith and Rennolds, went to James Naylor in Newgate, and it was said that they did so by order of the

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 485-6.

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 491-2.

Parliament; but Naylor persisting in his ordinary discourse and usual answers, they left him in wrath.

"On Saturday, December 27th, he suffered the remaining part of his punishment. 'About eleven o'clock he was carried in a coach from Newgate to the Black Boy, near the Royal Exchange, in which house he continued till the clock had struck twelve at noon, when by divers on foot with halberts he was guarded to the pillory, where when he came they presently put his head into the same, and having pinned it down came up Martha Symonds, and with her two others, who were said to be Hannah Stranger and Dorcas Erbury; the first seated herself just behind on the right side, the two latter before him, and Robert Rich likewise accompanied him with com-

him; after which Robert Rich, through his ardent love, licked the wound on his forehead. And James was conveyed to the Black Boy, and from thence to Newgate.' This Robert Rich had been a merchant in London, an enthusiastic follower of Naylor, a perfect maniac, but religious and harmless. After James Naylor had been on the pillory some time, 'he took a paper out of his pocket and placed it over his head, whereon was written, IT IS WRITTEN LUKE 23, 38, THIS IS THE KING OF THE JEWS. But presently an officer stepped up and pulled it down, and turned Robert Rich and the two women off the pillory; but after a while they lifted up Robert Rich again on the pillory, where he staid till James Naylor had undergone his sufferings for that time, and held



*Punishment by whipping and the Pillory. From an old Print.*

fortable words, kissings and stroaking on his face. He having stood till two, the executioner took him out, and having bound his arms with cords to the pillory, and having put a cap over his eyes, he bad him put forth his tongue, which he freely did, and the executioner with a red-hot iron, about the bigness of a quill, bored the same, and by order from the sheriff held it in a small space, to the end the beholders might see and bear witness that the sentence was thoroughly executed; then, having took it out, and pulling the cap off that covered his face, he put a handkerchief over his eyes, and putting his left hand to the back part of his head, and taking the red-hot iron letter in his other hand, put it to his forehead till it smoaked, all which time James never so much as winced, but bore it with astonishing and heart-melting patience. Being unbound, he took the executioner in his arms, embracing and hugging

him by the hand whilst he was burning, and afterward licked and sucked the fire out of his tongue and led him by the hand from off the pillory. This was also very remarkable, that notwithstanding there might be many thousands of people, yet they were very quiet, few heard to revile him or seen to throw any one thing at him. And when he was a burning, all the people, both before him and behind him and on both sides of him, with one consent stood bareheaded.

"Afterwards he was sent by the sheriffs of London to Bristol, and the sheriffs of Bristol before that had a warrant under the speaker's hand to see the sentence executed as far as they were concerned therein. January 16th, 1656-7, he arrived at Lawford's gate, where he slept. January 17th, this day James Naylor took horse at Lawford's gate and rode on the horse bareridged, with his face to the tail, through the city without Redcliff

gate, and there alighted, and was brought to the middle of Thomas street, and there stripped, and then tyed to the horse to be whipt from thence back again to the middle of Broad street. Before his whipping the following order was sent to the keeper of Newgate:—"Mr. Roch, cause Naylor to ride in at Lawford's gate, from thence along Wine street to the Tolzey, thence down High street, over the bridge, and so out at Redcliff gate; there let him alight, and bring him into Thomas street, and cause him to be stripped and there made fast to the cart-horse, and in the market first whipped; from thence to the foot of the bridge, there whipped; thence to the end of the bridge, there whipped; thence to the middle of High street, there whipped; thence to the Tolzey, there whipt; thence to the middle of Broad street, there whipped; and then tane (taken) into the Taylor's hall; there release him from the cart-horse, and let him put on his clothes and carry him thence to Newgate, by Tower lane, the back way." And whereas of custom the bellman goes before and makes proclamation of the offence of the offender, yet here the keeper commanded the bellman to the contrary (as was said), and suffered one Jones (a coppersmith and ugly Quaker) to hold back the beadle's arm when striking; and in all the way the bell rang but six times, a trait of mercy in the midst of such brutality which ought to be recorded to the credit of the magistracy of Bristol. All the while he passed along, his dear and worthy friend, Robert Rich, the maniac above mentioned, rode bareheaded before him, having a meermid's head, such was the length of his hair, singing "Holy, holy," &c. After this the sheriffs of Bristol sent him up to the governors of Bridewell, London, who had before received order from the speaker as to that part of the sentence wherein they were concerned, where he continued till the wise providence of God released him. After his discharge from Bridewell he returned to this city, and in a meeting with some of his friends he made a public recantation of his errors in so affecting a manner that they were convinced of the sincerity of his repentance. He lived some time afterward in this city in a serious and becoming manner, and died on a journey from hence to Wakefield, in Yorkshire, where he was born in 1616."<sup>1</sup>

4. The chronological sequence may be roughly summarised as follows:—Up to 1645 the Church was the established church of England, it included men of all views, from highest Anglicanism to the extreme Puritanism. Outside its pale there were a few Separatists, who were Independents, men who claimed perfect liberty in matters religious, and who held that no man or body of

men had any right to dictate to them modes of worship, or forms of doctrine. After the conquest of Bristol, in 1645, came in, by Act of Parliament, the English Presbyterians, who monopolised the churches and their livings, but with these men, who sought to usurp the place of the church of England and to form themselves into a state church, the Separatists or Independents could not unite. As we have noticed elsewhere, Independency grew rapidly, and speedily resolved itself into several modes of worship. Originally, in the struggle for religious life and liberty, lesser forms had been considered to be but of little import; but now they took definite shape, and led, naturally enough, to further divisions. The pedo-Baptists retained the name Independents, but about 1651 another body was formed in Bristol, who were termed Anabaptists, who practised adult or believers baptism, these were again divided into open and close communionists, and in 1654 other godly men left both of these societies and became Quakers. The practice at this period appears to have been for the Presbyterians to hold their service in the church at stated regular times, after which the Separatists occupied the pulpit or held their own service in rooms. "I had thought to go to the meeting that was after sermon in the Castle, at the governor's, Colonel Scrope's, house in the Castle."<sup>1</sup> At times the Independents were allowed to preach in the churches, "which we had liberty to be in, all the time of Oliver's reign"<sup>2</sup> (Cromwell went to St. Ewen's to hear one Major Kemm), but they more frequently, if they spoke in the building at all, did so after the regular service was ended, and they held their communion service and their church meetings in private rooms.

Mr. Ewins left the Presbyterians in 1656 and became a Baptist, or rather he seems to have engrafted adult baptism on the Presbyterian form of church government. He was, under the Restoration, turned out of his several appointments in the city churches. There was some difference of opinion amongst his people as to their taking the oath of allegiance and supremacy which, on the 10th of December, 1660, was tendered to all above sixteen years of age. The brethren met those of the close communion views for conference upon its terms, and agreed to take it in as far as they were warranted by the Scriptures. They sent their view of the oath in writing to the mayor, Sir Henry Creswick, who ordered that they should not be disturbed until he had received fresh orders from the king and council to whom he sent the paper. These orders came down within the month, and were to this effect:—"That they must take the oath according to the letter of

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 493-6.

<sup>1</sup> Broadmead Records, 60. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 56.

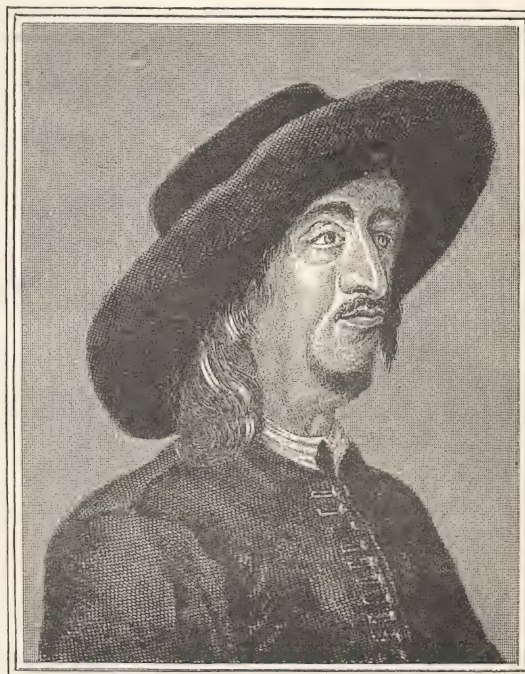
the law." Some refrained from taking it, but the majority submitted.

5. On the 15th of the 11th month (January), 1660, the mayor sent his sergeant with the king's proclamation, and forbade Mr. Ewins to preach in his own house. Thenceforth the meetings were held in a large room at the end of Broadmead, called the Friars; but on the 21st of June, 1661, Ewins was summoned before the mayor, and charged to preach no more. This he disregarded, and on the 27th of July he was taken by a sergeant of the trained band whilst preaching, and with a guard of musketeers was sent to the city marshal's, in Christmas street, where he was kept a prisoner until the 12th of August; he was then committed to his own house as a prisoner until the 27th of September, when he was discharged in open sessions. He, however, returned to his people and continued his ministry, and on June the 24th, 1662, was chosen to be pastor, having up to that date been simply recognised as a teacher. On the 26th of October he was again taken into custody whilst preaching at the Friars, and conveyed with a guard of musketeers to the Guildhall, whence he was committed to the marshal's, in Wine street, where he was kept close prisoner until the 13th of November, when he was liberated by the late mayor, Nathaniel Cale. For a while the church had rest, but when Sir John Knight became chief magistrate, on the first week of his holding office, he sent for Mr. Ewins, on the Saturday, October 3rd, and commanded him not to preach; upon his answer that he must obey God and not man, and persisting in meeting his congregation on the following day, he was for the third time taken into custody, and was committed to Newgate, having for a companion Mr. Patient, one of the Baptist ministers, a close communionist. In the afternoon Messrs. Terrill and Simpson, laymen, were also taken and imprisoned in the same place. Terrill was released on sureties after a fortnight's detention; the others lay in prison until the sessions, a period of three months. They were then indicted and found guilty of a riot, and were fined, Ewins and Simpson, £50, and Terrill, £5, which sums refusing to pay, they were again thrown into prison. After suffering for three months some friend paid Terrill's fine, he being still contumacious, and he was released. The others were kept in prison until Sir John Knight was going out of office, when it was arranged that if some one would nominally pay the fine, it should be reduced. This was done, at the cost of forty shillings.

This was the beginning of a series of bitter persecutions, of which the record reads like a page torn from the history of the Vaudois, or that of the Scottish Covenan-

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ters. Hunted out of their homes, harassed by fines and imprisonment, banished from the city, exiled from their native land, their meeting-houses spoiled by riotous mobs, led on by truculent, time-serving magistrates, bibulous mayors, or a martial bishop, the Dissenters had to seek a sanctuary, wherein to worship God, in the glens, cliffs, and woods, that surrounded their city. Many of these well-known spots, scenes of exquisite natural beauty, are to the thoughtful mind rendered still more lovely by the remembrance that our forefathers hallowed them by services that were divine, held at the hazard of their liberty or their life. On the Somersetshire side of the Avon some of the localities



*James Nayler. From an old Print.*

thus chosen were St. Anne's wood, the meadows around Brislington and Knowle, the Leigh woods and the Ashton valley. In Gloucestershire, the winding reaches of the serpentine Avon had their frowning bluffs of Pennant stone cut into galleries of seats for accommodation. The woods of Conham and Hanham resounded with songs of praise, or the hushed low voice of prayer and instruction; the glens of the banks of the Frome, the dingles and copses of Westbury and Henbury, the slades of Durdham and Clifton, and the quarries of the Avon-side, were, as necessity arose, to them temples in which they found the holy of holies. The river itself became to some the pathway into immortal life, and the noisome dungeon the gateway into heaven. In all the

sturdy fights for religious liberty that adorn the history of our native land, few, if any, are more deserving of everlasting record than that which our forefathers waged in Bristol, almost without intermission, from 1660 until the second Declaration of Indulgence was won in 1688, when freedom of worship was proclaimed, and religious tests, as a qualification for office, were abolished. Let those amongst us who enjoy advantages won by the sufferings, tears, and death of our ancestors, remember them with gratitude as we read these pages of their history.

Ewins and Simpson were released on September 26th, 1664. During all the time of his incarceration Mr. Ewins had on every Lord's-day preached out of a lofty window of the gaol to his beloved people, who gathered under the walls, an exertion which seriously affected his health and shortened his life. Still hunted by the constables, they had to leave their preaching place at the Friars, and when the Conventicle Act, which imposed penalties ranging from one month's imprisonment to seven years' transportation, was passed in May, 1664, they met in private houses. Being assembled thus at Mr. Yeats's house, in Mary-le-port street, an information was laid against them by one Tyler, a meal man, who lived near. The mayor, Mr. Lawford, grocer, the ex-mayor, Sir John Knight, with other aldermen and officers, broke open the door, by which time Mr. Ewins and others of the brethren were conveyed away through the adjoining house. Terrill and a minister were apprehended as they issued from the house, but proof of their having been engaged in the meeting being wanting, they escaped banishment. Of those found in the room, some were apprehended, and, it being their first conviction, they were sent to prison for one month.

6. One of their principal rendezvous was at Mr. Ellis's, in Corn street, from which, by arrangement, when the house was visited by the sergeants, they escaped through a cellar into a back street. This plan being discovered, and an entrance forced that way by the officers, Ellis, fertile in expedients, once more baffled the capture of the ministers, and those who had been previously convicted. He had contrived a secret door behind a great cupboard, by means of which the delinquents, who were most earnestly wanted, escaped into a garret, where they lay perdu; but thirty-one were taken in the room, and on conviction, it being their first offence, they were imprisoned for one month. This occurred repeatedly; at last Mr. Ellis himself was caught and imprisoned.

Mr. Ewins records the appearance of "three blazing stars," one of which was first visible for fourteen days in December, 1664, the second throughout the following

month, and the third in March, 1665. This was evidently, from the drawings left by the narrator, a large comet, with its tail differently inclined when seen in widely distant parts of its orbit. In 1665 the appearance of the plague, and the appointment of a more liberal-minded mayor, John Willoughby, merchant, gave the persecuted church breathing time and rest.

On the 6th of April, 1666, ten men and four women were baptised in the river Frome, at a spot ever since known as Baptist mills. Their purpose had been to have been immersed in February, but several accidents and the rigorous season prevented. In June Mr. Ewins was served with a process to appear before the bishop, which he disobeyed, and on the 20th he was brought before the mayor, Sir Thomas Langton, and because he would not promise to leave the city he was imprisoned at the marshal's house, in Frog lane, until July 20th, when he was bound over to appear at the sessions, but there this ended. Mr. Ellis had meanwhile removed to Whitson court, where in a large upper room the church assembled peaceably for some years, until the death of Mr. Ewins, who was buried in the churchyard of St. James.

On the 11th of April, 1670, the old Conventicle Act was revived and amended; all doubtful clauses were now to be interpreted in favour of the suppression of conventicles, and it gave warrant to the officers to pursue offenders who fled or removed into another county. A fine of £20 was to be levied on the preacher, and one of £20 on the owner of the house or ground wherein the meeting was held. The hearers were to be fined 5s. each for a first and 10s. for each subsequent offence. The amounts to be levied by distress on their persons, goods or chattels. Any justice declining to act upon information given, to be fined £100.

The Bristol Dissenters were destined soon to feel the effect of the revived Act. On the 10th of May some informers, sent by Bishop Gilbert Ironside, came to their place of meeting, and finding the door closed they, with the aid of the constables, forced it, and so ensured a conviction the next day against many of the congregation. By the next Lord's day the persecuted flock had made a window through the party wall in the adjoining house, in which the preacher was placed, unseen but not unheard, he thence brake to them the bread of life. The bishop's men came, however, and for three Sundays following ensured convictions against the auditors. On the fourth Sunday, Sir Robert Yeamans, the ex-mayor, came with some of the aldermen and the officers, and turned the people out of doors. As a last resource, the mayor ordered the trained band out on each Saturday evening to watch against their assembly, and fur-

ther took the precaution to nail up and lock the doors of the place where they were wont to assemble, so that they were driven to the lanes and highways to hold their services; this lasted for several months. Mr. Terrill's garden-house, near Lawford's gate, became a favourite resort as this persecution declined, and the next mayor, Mr. John Knight (not he of the same name before mentioned as Sir John), being a more liberal-minded man, the wearied people again had a respite. Mr. Thomas Hardcastle was entreated to come as successor to Mr. Ewins, and in the list of ninety-eight members who signed the call to him to take the oversight of them in the Lord the name of Dorothy Hazard appears at the head of the female signatures. This would appear to have been her last public act. In the list of those who promised a few months afterwards to give definite sums yearly to the support of the minister we do not find her name. She had lived to a great age, and had apparently spent all her substance. She died on the 14th April, 1673-4. Her death is spoken of twice in the records, and she is stated to have been the first female member of the church, and to have come to her grave like a shock of corn fully ripe.

Driven from Whitson court, the church, in 1670, hired a meeting-house at the lower end of Broadmead, "where the heretics called Quakers had formerly used to meet, it being four great rooms made into one square room, about 16 yards long by 15 yards broad, which we took and fitted it up against the 20th of August, 1660-1." Fresh attempts were made to trouble them, but Mr. Alderman Knight, of the sugar house, then mayor, showed them favour and forbearance. Mr. Hardcastle's stipend was £20 per quarter. This year it is noted in one of our old MS. annuals the Quaker's meeting-house was built by them near the Weir. The spirit of Christian forbearance had not thriven under persecution, inasmuch as in an entry of the church at Broadmead in the following year they denounce "the damnable principles of the Quakers."

During all the time of their persecution, to their honour be it spoken, the Baptist church had not scrupled to exercise discipline upon lax members, cutting off those who persisted in living contrary to their views of the gospel; and now, in 1670-1, they addressed a loving circular letter to those of their number who had left the city, and also fraternal letters to other Baptist churches in Gloucester, London, and elsewhere.

In 1672, Mr. Terrill was deputed to preach at Shirehampton, "the place being altogether destitute, the chapel open, where all sorts will freely come." But their present quiet was only a lull in the storm, which ere long was to burst upon them with renewed fury.

7. There were, in 1673-4, six separate churches of Dissenters in the city besides that of the Quakers, viz., Mr. Hardcastle's, Broadmead, mixed communion, the greater part being Baptists; Mr. Andrew Gifford's, in the Friars, afterwards in the Pithay, close communion, Baptist; Mr. Kitchen's, Baptist; Mr. Thompson's and Mr. Troughton's, both Independent or pedo-Baptist; and Mr. Weeks', English Presbyterian, thenceforth to be ranked as Nonconformists. Three of these, Weeks, Troughton and Hardcastle, were in St. James' parish. Mr. Kitchen's people met within the precincts of the Castle, they were free-will Baptists, numbering about seventy or eighty. Mr. Troughton's followers were fewer still, being only about twenty in number; they had no fixed place of worship, but met chiefly in St. James'. Mr. Thompson's met in the Castle.

In 1671 Guy Carleton was made bishop of Bristol; he had served formerly as a captain in Charles I.'s army, had been in exile with Charles II., and now, being in the plenitude of power, was very bitter against the schismatics. Ralph Oliff, who is described as a great drinker, and one ready to do the bishop's will, was mayor. To these was joined a third and more pestilent adversary, one John Hellier, an attorney, who, by craft and subtlety, had obtained an estate of about £200 per annum, a dissolute man, of foul tongue, who, being the mayor's landlord, could use him at his pleasure. This man, living in St. James' parish, got himself elected a churchwarden, "with which fig leaf he covered himself, pretending what he did against us was in pursuance of his duty." Of Hellier, an amusing anecdote is recorded. On one of his raids on the Presbyterian church he proceeded as usual to take down the names of those present at the service. One man hesitated to give his, and when pressed repeatedly refused. Being still urged by others of the congregation to do so and not be ashamed to own his principles, he replied, "But I am ashamed." "What of?" "Why, of my name." "Why so, young man?" roared out Hellier. "Because," said he, looking on him with apparent shamefacedness, and great reluctance, "because it is the same as yours! it is, Hellier." One can imagine that even the grave, serious members could not refrain from a hearty laugh that would be a real refreshment in their sore trouble. Hellier, with his man; Pledwell, the vicar of St. Peter's; Heath, of St. Augustine's, and Godwin, of St. Philip's, came to the meetings during sermon time, and then laid information against those present; but the four large congregations had secured licenses from the king [see ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, 295] (that of Mr. Gifford is preserved in the Baptist college), and they employed counsellors-at-law to plead their right peaceably to

assemble for worship. "The bishop sat on the bench with the mayor, and threatened and browbeat the counsellor for pleading the licenses, and afterwards, in his sermon in the Cathedral, inveighed against him as one who would plead the devil's cause for a piece of money."

Notwithstanding these protections, Carleton and Hellier proceeded, first against Mr. Gifford, who on the day of his visit did not happen to preach; of this Hellier was not aware, but supposing the preacher to be Andrew Gifford, he swore an information against him. The chief constable, who was favourable to the Dissenters, evaded for some weeks the execution of the warrant; and when it was served, and Hellier had repeatedly sworn that Gifford was the man who was preaching, his evidence was disproved by ten persons. Much chagrined at the result, Hellier did not trouble them for four months; so the preachers kept their regular meetings, and pleaded their right by law to do so. Meanwhile the bishop went to London, and the result was that Charles, in February, 1674, withdrew the licenses by proclamation. His lordship lost no time on his return: not waiting for the first day of the week and its appointed services, he, on the 10th of February, with divers of the clergy, some of the aldermen and some military officers, went (it being Wednesday, the lecture night at the Castle meeting) to the chapel, and there apprehended Mr. Thompson. Some of his congregation being made aware of the coming attack, shut the doors of the meeting-house: the noise and disturbance caused him to desist, and by persuasion he escaped into the adjoining house by a door of communication; but a chorister boy from the Cathedral espied him in his flight, and for a sixpence given him by this bishop betrayed his retreat. At nine o'clock the same night he was committed to prison for six months by the mayor, bishop and aldermen.

Four days before this "a fiery apparition appeared in the air over St. James'; in shape it was like a boy's kite, the head of it oval and like fire, with a tail streaming white, and growing longer and lesser till it seemed to be ten yards long. It moved but slowly towards Lawford's gate, and we lost sight of it as it passed over the houses." All extraordinary natural phenomena were looked upon as portents, and the good people thought when their persecution thickened that this had been indicative thereof.

On the 14th of February, being the next Lord's-day after Mr. Thompson's apprehension, the mayor, Oliff, with Aldermen Hicks and Lawford, accompanied by the mayor's sergeants, visited during divine service the Broadmead and St. James' back meeting-houses, and apprehended both Messrs. Hardcastle and Weeks: they were taken at once to the Tolzey, where, refusing to

take the oath under the Test and Corporation Act, they were both committed to Newgate, where Mr. Thompson had preceded them, Sheriff Fielding, the soap-maker, deridingly telling Mr. Weeks as he shut him in "to take his farewell of the holy brethren." The Presbyterians now were the greatest sufferers, inasmuch as they had not introduced lay agency in their ministrations, but had relied upon an educated, cultured and regularly ordained ministry; hence their people had great difficulty in supplying their pulpit with men who had received the necessary education at an university. Driven together by the pressure of circumstances, the three bodies for a brief while fraternised and held their meetings in common; but on the 21st Mr. Gifford was warned, and on the 1st of March he also was taken and committed to prison. The method of procedure of the Dissenters was as follows:—Outposts were provided to watch and give notice of the approach of the officers, and at a given signal the long passage leading to the rooms were crowded by the women, who would also sit close together upon the stair, which was the principal way of access. Hellier and his men rudely thrust these aside, threw them down, dragged some of them out and sent them to Bridewell, but could not get through the crowd; then the officers went to the other door, broke it open, and making prisoners of the chief men, carried them before the mayor. These scenes occurred both at Mr. Weeks' as well as at Broadmead, and the excitement, the sense of duty, of weakness passively resisting brute force, of right contending with wrong, gave to the persecuted new strength and added daily to their numbers.

8. Leaving for a short time the pastors of the Castle meeting and Broadmead safely incarcerated, let us turn to the records of the other church, that of the Close Communion Baptists, which became the parent of the Pithay, King street and City road churches in this city. In 1652 one of the members of the Broadmead church "desired leave of the congregation to go and join himself to the other church in Bristol that were all baptised, having one Henry Hynam for their teacher."<sup>1</sup> This is the first mention we have of this select body of Dissenters: they were probably small in number, as they seem to have been very leniently dealt with in the first persecutions. Mr. Hynam died in 1679. "In a garden in Redcross lane we buried that weak but holy, lamb-like servant of God, Henry Hynam, pastor, before brother Gifford, that we might bury our dead without the ceremonies of the parish parsons in their yards."<sup>2</sup>

At the Restoration Mr. Thomas Patient was for a short time assistant-pastor to Mr. Hynam; for preaching

<sup>1</sup> Broadmead Records, 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 399.

he suffered imprisonment in October, 1663. Originally a pedit-Baptist minister in New England, he, on a change of views, became co-pastor with Mr. Kiffin in London; then he went with General Fleetwood to Ireland in 1649, where he laboured till 1654, preaching chiefly in the cathedral of Dublin. A letter of his to the lord-lieutenant is published in Milton's *State Papers*. In 1666 he was again in London, as co-pastor with Mr. Kiffin at Devonshire square; he died on the 30th July in that year.

In 1672 a female member was expelled from the Pithay church, which met in the Friars, for taking upon her to preach at meetings after being admonished, and justifying her conduct; for putting on man's apparel and going to Mr. Harcastle's meeting because she would not be permitted to preach in her own garments, and for being idle and gadding about, not minding her husband's business or keeping her own house.

Mr. Hynam was succeeded by Mr. Andrew Gifford, who was ordained on the 3rd of June, 1677. He had preached constantly before this, being what was termed a preaching member, sometimes occupying the pulpit at St. Leonard's, until he was excluded by the Act of Uniformity. He appears to have been physically a perfect contrast to Mr. Hynam. Being once invited to preach a funeral sermon for the wife of a wealthy man in a market town in Somerset, in the church some opponents kept the organ playing in order to drown his voice, Mr. Gifford came down into the churchyard, and preached from a tombstone, making thereby a lasting friend of the widower, who ever after freely offered his house, for preaching and as a shelter. Gifford would preach anywhere, and in the later persecution, would even swim over the Avon, regardless of weather or danger. So great was the attachment of the colliers to him that they formed a bodyguard around him when he was preaching, and when interrupted, they would disguise him. With an old coat, a pitchfork, and a bundle of hay on his shoulder, he once marched right through the posse of officers sent specially to arrest him. He frequently assumed different dresses in order to evade detection. On one occasion he wore a very loose coat, much too large for him; surprised by the informers, one grappled him, but he slipped out of it and escaped. The bellman cried it before his own door the next day, but Mr. Gifford was not to be caught. One day, meeting a dear personal friend, Mr. Lawrence Brain, he said, "Lawrence, did you not meet me last night, going through Lawford's gate? Why did you not speak to me?" "I did not see you, sir." "Did you not meet a tinker?" "Yes." "That was me, Lawrence." Four times he suffered imprisonment; three

times in Newgate, and once in Gloucester castle. He was as courteous as he was intrepid, a quality in which some of his equally zealous brethren were somewhat deficient; hence he had more favour shown him by the magistrates, some of whom did not approve "the hunting of so innocent and holy a man, whose very countenance and presence struck amaze into the beholders." Once at the Friars, whilst he was preaching, the mayor and officers entered and commanded him to be silent and to come down. He replied, "I am about my Master's business, but if you will stay until I have done I will go with you wherever you please." They stayed; he went with them to the Tolzey, and was dismissed with a caution. He did not fare quite so well on another occasion; the officer, on his refusal to desist, struck him on the face. Mr. Gifford replied, in the words of his Master, "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall." His assailant was cowed, and waited until the service was concluded. Being committed to Newgate for a month when the prisoners suffered from infectious fever, he was allowed to be removed to a house in a more airy situation, and so escaped the malady. In January, 1684, he was taken on a warrant signed by thirteen magistrates. The weather was bitterly cold, and his wife, ere he rose from his bed, endeavoured to dissuade him from going out to preach, she having had a singular dream, viz., that on taking his first step out of doors he was up to the knees in snow, and that she saw two men seize him and take him a prisoner to the "Sun" inn, outside Lawford's gate, and there hold him down by the shoulders by main force behind a particular table. Gifford told her she talked like one of the foolish women; nothing should hinder him from his Master's business. On opening the window and finding that a heavy snow had fallen, the wife renewed her importunity, but in vain. To satisfy her, however, extra precautions were taken, and their son, Emanuel, was stationed on the watch, to give an alarm if informers approached. Sitting on the ground a few minutes to rest, the lad's frieze coat became so firmly frozen to it, that he could not rise without cutting off the skirts, so was unable to give the alarm in time, and his father fell into the hands of the enemy. The colliers gathered around him with bills and clubs, and would fain have rescued him, but he prevented them, saying, that whilst he was justified in doing all he could to prevent being taken, now that he was in custody he thought it right to submit, and to leave his cause to God. His wife being near her confinement, one of the city magistrates allowed him, on his parole, to return home for three days; but before that time had expired he was seized, carried to Gloucester in most inclement weather, and

was thrust into the gaol in that city as the midnight chimes were striking. In the prison both he and Mr. Fownes wrought a good work amongst the felons; whilst at court his persecutors sought for and actually obtained from James, Duke of York, an order to confine him for life. Of this Mr. Gifford was secretly apprised, and when his six months expired he desired his dismissal. The governor said, "It is not usual to open gates at midnight." "You opened them to take me in," said Gifford; and backing his application with a present of money, he marched out to the same tune as that which played at his entrance. Six hours later came an express from London with an order to imprison him for life. It was too late; this was his last imprisonment. His grandson, Dr. Gifford, who for a short time preached at Broadmead chapel, says: "The Rev. Andrew Gifford, my grandfather, was, with several others in the city of Bristol, deeply engaged in the affair of the Duke of Monmouth. He collected a considerable sum, and provided ammunition; and when the duke came near the city, he sent his son, Emanuel, to Knowle castle, a mile out of the city, to invite the duke and his friends in, assuring him that there were many friends and supplies provided, and that a part of the city wall was undermined to let them in with ease and safety. But the Duke of Beaufort, the lord lieutenant, having set fire to a ship in the harbour, and sent the Duke of Monmouth word that if he attempted the city he would burn it down, the duke seeing the flames, called a council of war, in which it was resolved to preserve the city from being destroyed. And thus, being betrayed by those about him, especially Lord Gray, a notorious coward, he desired my father to return his thanks to his friends; but the council having determined otherwise, he should remove into the west, and earnestly desired my father to accompany him; which my father, perceiving that the duke was betrayed, civilly refused, telling him he must now return as his commission was at an end. Accordingly, he rode round near Keynsham bridge; but as he was going through Kingswood a friend met him, and asked him what he did there, telling him that the plot was discovered, and that his errand to the Duke of Monmouth was publicly known, and a troop of horse was sent out to take him, and therefore bid him shift for his life. On hearing this he took off the saddle and bridle and turned his mare loose in the wood, and hid himself in a great bush near the highway-side, where he had not been more than a quarter of an hour before the troop came by, swearing if they could catch the heretical dog, they would cut him as small as herbs for the pot; but missing their prey, a little before night they returned the same way,

on which my father caught his mare, and as soon as it was dark returned home safe, and kept out of the way for some time. The next day the fatal battle of Sedgemoor was fought. He was a melancholy witness of the sufferings of five or six, executed without Redcliff gate, on the account of it; but lived to share in the joy of the Prince of Orange's arrival; the first news of whose embarkation, at Helvoetsluys, was brought to Bristol by his brother, Samuel Gifford, who sailed the very night before the prince, who entreated him to be his pilot through the channel, which he excused himself from, lest it should endanger his cargo." For twenty-eight years Andrew Gifford endured persecution. He has justly been described as the apostle of the west, having founded so many of the Baptist churches that are scattered up and down through Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Somerset. He visited these frequently, not without complaint on the part of his affectionately attached people. He was an active promoter of the General Union of the Baptists in England and Wales, and a zealous patron of education. In 1690 he carried from his own church to London £50 for the training of young ministers. Being asked "why so anxious that your grandson [afterward Dr. Andrew Gifford] should have a learned education when neither yourself nor son, Emanuel, had one?" "It is for that very reason," said he. He was assisted in the ministry by his son and by William Harford, who suffered in the persecution, became acquainted with the inside of Newgate, and was interred in the same grave as Mr. Hynam, in the burial ground in Redcross street. During Mr. Gifford's ministry the church removed from the Friars to a soaphouse opposite the Pithay pump, which premises they bought, in 1699, for £168. Mr. Gifford died in November, 1721; he, also, was buried in the old ground in Redcross street, and was succeeded in the pastorate by his son, Emanuel.

9. We now return to the imprisonment of the Rev. Thomas Hardcastle, and the imprisonment and death of the Rev. John Thompson. There are several very scarce pamphlets in our possession relating to this and cognate subjects. They are too long for insertion, but we give a summary of their contents, preserving as far as possible the quaintness of the diction, but sparing our readers the antique spelling. One of these, bearing date May 1st, is by Thomas Hobson, gent., governor of the gaol of Newgate. It is addressed to the bishop, has a preface by a clerical hand apparently, with the "imprimatur Ex. Ed. Lambethanis, June 1, 1675, Thos. Tomkyns, printed in London by William Godbid," and is sworn before Ralph Oliff, the mayor. It narrates the conviction by R. Oliff and Sir John Knight, on February 10th, 1674, of Mr. Thompson, and speaks of him as a

corpulent man; states that he (the gaoler) allowed him several times to walk on the leads of the prison, to view the city and the adjacent country; that Thompson, Hardcastle and Weeks shared between them the largest chamber in the prison, containing two feather beds, until the violence of the fever compelled his friends to move to other quarters; that, in his opinion, the vomit Dr. Chauncey gave the deceased contributed to his death; that he had three physicians, and the best food and drink the city afforded; that the disease was a malignant fever; that the coroner held an inquest on the body, and that it had decent Christian burial. The preface accuses the Dissenters of possessing a turbulent spirit of fanaticism, states that it was their interest to delude the people and make them have an ill opinion of their lawful governors, affirms that they had recourse to lying and forgery to accomplish their ends, and that credulous men too often countenanced their malicious relations; for instance, the right rev. father in God, the lord bishop, is accused by them of having procured the imprisonment of Thompson and thrown him into a filthy dungeon, where the stench of the place and of a jakes near it, together with the want of meat, drink, and other necessities, had partly poisoned and partly starved him to death. "Whereas the contrary is true; he had the fairest lodgings in the prison, was never free from visitors, and scarcely had any intermission from eating and drinking until he had, by a surfeit (whereof he died), made himself incapable of the pleasures to which he had been accustomed," &c.

*The Reply to the Bristol Narrative, wherein the Malicious Relation contained in it, concerning his Death, is found False and Impudent*, 1675, ascribes the preface of that pamphlet to some informer (particularly a parson), to whom falsehood, rancour and impudence, perjury and lying, had become so familiar as to have become natural. Accuses the writer of polluting the ashes of the dead (*de mortuis nil nisi bonum*), it affirms that Mr. Thompson was a man of sobriety and moderation, a Christian divine and scholar of eminence, one whose exemplary abstinence was so well known as to cause the bold prefacer to be loathed and abhorred for charging his death, firstly, on his excess and intemperance; secondly, on the indiscreet conduct of his friends who sought to alleviate the noisomeness of the prison; the only witness to which is the gaoler, an interested party, &c. (From the Latin and Greek quotations, we judge this reply to be the work of one or all of the three pastors who were then suffering imprisonment in Newgate, viz., Hardcastle, Weeks and Gifford.) The reply, in continuance, gives Thompson's history: he was a son to Hugh Thompson, minister, of Dorchester, in which town he was born,

was educated under Hallet, of Bridport; then became a student and fellow of Christ Church, Oxford, where he was nine years, leaving with M.A. degree, when the church returned to Episcopacy; he then went to Dorchester and married a daughter of W. Ben, the dissenting teacher in that town; he came, in 1670, on special invitation to Bristol, not as matter of choice, but of conscience. He is described as having enjoyed the friendship of Gilbert Ironside, the bishop, in 1670-1; but Parsons, Williamson, Pledwell, Heath and Godwin were employed, it is stated, by his successor, Bishop Carleton, with particular enmity against Thompson, so that they caused him to be the first minister in this city to be convicted, on which occasion he was fined £20. When Thompson was the second time betrayed (by a college-singing boy for sixpence) into the hands of the bishop and the justices, he was baited and reviled by his lordship as a seditious villain, a factious fellow, one who deserved to stretch a halter, and such like. To which Thompson replied (after he had modestly rebuked him for his unbridled passion as utterly unbecoming a gospel bishop): "Sir, 'Master' is my title by the law of the land, for I am a Master of Arts of the University of Oxford." *Civis Romanum sum*. After a long argument he was convicted under the Oxford Act, as he firmly refused to take the corporation oath. His mittimus being made out, he asked, as it was late, that he might sleep at his own house that night; the justices were willing, but the bishop, in great wrath, rose and said, "Rebel dog! away to gaol with him." It was the 10th of February when he was committed. On the 25th, feeling ill, Thompson sent for Dr. Chauncey, who at once said his case was dangerous, and asked that he might be removed into a more convenient chamber. Application was made by the doctor and a person of quality that he might be removed out of prison to some room fit for a person in his condition to be in, and they offered bail in £500. The sheriff was willing, but was afraid of the bishop; they next applied to the committing magistrate, Sir John Knight, who was willing, and went himself the next day to the bishop, who still refused, and threatened the sheriffs with the extremity of the law if they did not keep him a close prisoner until the six months' end. That the vomit which the gaoler implied had killed him was given as the best known means of staying the fever, all three of the physicians approved of it; but all was in vain, the fever grew upon him, and on the 4th of March, at midnight, he expired. They acknowledge that during his illness he had the best room in the gaol, a good feather bed to lie on, free access of his friends, and as good entertainment as he could have within those walls; but for the bare lodging he was charged 10s. per week, and that

the very room in which he was lodged was annoyed with a most nasty jakes. More hardships than these they declare have not been affirmed in the case of Mr. Thompson; but in the case of Moses Jacoe, John Taylor, Robert Colebon and Roger Bagnall, who were committed to Newgate, March 14th, for being found in a conventicle, they state this, that the keeper asked them what lodgings they would have, and they answered a free prison, upon which, it being seven o'clock at night, they were thrust into the Westhouse, one of the worst places in Newgate, where was a

low, damp, earthen floor; that they were left all night without straw or any bed to lie on, or a seat to sit on; were denied candles or any refreshments; and a bottle of brandy that some friends sent for their use was kept from them. One of the debtors commiserating their case informed the ministers who were prisoners of it, with the result that he himself was locked up in the same place. This story (they add) is the

ground of the report which the keeper hath translated to Mr. Hobson. Continuing the narrative, they say Thompson, on his death-bed, sent for his fellow-prisoners, who, weeping, he comforted, saying, "Pray make my being here as comfortable as you can, that I may speak to you and for my Lord . . . 'Tis good," he added, "to die in good company." Then follows an elegy of three pages. We have also a similar pamphlet which narrates the deaths of Francis Bamfield and Zachariah Ralphson, written by Hereules Collins, their fellow-prisoner in Newgate. At the end

is an elegy which states that these ministers died for Christ in the press yard, Newgate, Bristol. Ralphson's real name was Jeremiah Marsden. These pamphlets are as rare as they are curious.

On the evening of the 5th they carried Thompson's mortal remains for interment to the churchyard of St. Philip's. Brief as was the time, the cry had gone throughout the city, and five thousand sympathisers thronged the streets that led to the grave. All classes of the community were represented, save the knot of

persecutors, for Mr. Thompson was a man who, irrespective of the manner in which he had been done to death, deserved their sympathy. He succeeded Mr. Hicks as pastor of the Independent church, whose meeting rooms were in the Castle, close to the Water gate. From this and the incidents given of the different attacks by the officers on the congregation, we should judge that the large room in No. 56 Castle



*The Horsefair, showing the back entrance to Broadmead Chapel.*

street, which looks out upon the ditch, was the meeting place of the denomination, which in unbroken succession is now represented by the Independent church in Castle green. It is expressly said "to be a lower room, with two lofts overhead, one above another. They made a door to the stairfoot into the second story, and made the minister stand in that middle room, and he so preached that they below and above might all hear. And they caused a curtain to be made that when the informers came in they might not see him that preached, but only hear him, and could not come at him by reason the new door

at the stairfoot was kept fast, and none suffered to go up but known friends. And if they went to break open the door, before that could be done they could from that second story convey the minister away into another house.”<sup>1</sup> At Broadmead sentinels were appointed, who passed the word when an informer came in sight; then the preacher having withdrawn, the curtain was pulled back, and the people began to sing one of the psalms chosen beforehand for a moment of need. In this manner the Scriptures also were read; each of the congregation had a Bible open, and the portion to be read being announced, all studied it in silence. “By these means, when the mayor came, he was disappointed; they were all singing, and whom to take up for preaching he could not tell. When the informers were gone, the singing ceased, the curtain was drawn, and the preacher resumed his discourse until they returned, which they sometimes did three times during one meeting. Then again the preacher retired, the curtain was drawn aside, and singing was resumed, as before. ‘This (they say) was our constant manner during this persecution, in Oliff’s mayoralty; and we were in a good measure edified, and our enemies often disappointed. *Laus Deo.*’ They had also contrived a back entrance, which led by a long passage to a house in the Horsefair, through which they could pass.

“On the 18th of July a Mr. Robert Colston, a soap-boiler, formed one of the congregation. He was not suspected of being a spy, not being known as an informer. Such, however, he was; and unhappily, when the signal was given of the approach of the informers, the person who attended the curtain withdrew it too soon, not giving the speaker sufficient time to be seated. Colston saw Mr. Terrill in the attitude of speaking, and immediately left the room. When the sergeants went in, they told Mr. Terrill that information was already gone to the mayor that he had been preaching. And the next morning Colston gave the information on oath, and Mr. Terrill was ordered to be brought up by the mayor’s sergeants; but Mr. Bodenham, who was in the Council-house, and heard the order given, went and apprised Mr. Terrill, who immediately made his escape. Then the mayor granted a warrant against him, and the constables had strict orders to bring him up to the quarter sessions, which were held that week. . . . But their search was fruitless; for though Terrill was there, he was so cleverly concealed at first, and afterwards introduced into a room underneath, that, to their deep mortification, they were compelled to return without accomplishing their purpose. Several times, also, during the week he narrowly escaped being taken.

<sup>1</sup> Broadmead Records, 228.

“On the 25th Hellier saw at Broadmead, in the morning, a gentleman and lady from Coventry, who were clients of his, and whom, the day before, he had invited to dinner.” He therefore did not act; in the afternoon, however, he visited the Presbyterians, and “as soon as Mr. Weeks’ meeting had closed he lighted a large fire, and burnt their stools and chairs with a rapidity which must have been the result of strongly excited feelings, until the landlord, fearing lest the house also would be consumed, came in and extinguished the fire.”<sup>1</sup>

10. On the 2nd of August, 1675, Messrs. Hardecastle and Weeks, having served their term of imprisonment, were liberated. Hardecastle preached at Broadmead the next Sabbath. Refusing to come down at Hellier’s command, he was again convicted; but it being his first offence since his imprisonment, he was only fined. Not to be silenced, he preached on the 15th, for which offence he was again sent to prison, this time for six months. The bishop, with the mayor and constables, went to the chapel the next Sunday, and ordered the congregation to disperse, but they went on singing psalms. Unable to do anything, they next went to Mr. Gifford’s, and finding him preaching, took him and sent him again to prison.

In the following month Sir Robert Cann was chosen as mayor, Williams and Lane being sheriffs. These were more moderate men, and, greatly to the bishop’s disgust, on the 22nd of October the mayor gave a banquet, to which he invited the principal Dissenters.

“As a security against the informers, Mr. Weeks’ people shut up one of their doors, and instead of a curtain, as at Broadmead, they put up a wainscot-board in a convenient place, behind which they placed the preacher, so that, though all might hear, no one could see him but friends, who alone were permitted to approach that part of the meeting. And when the informers made their appearance, the elders, by a convenient contrivance, conveyed the minister into an adjoining house.

“The expedient adopted at Mr. Gifford’s was different. A company of tall persons surrounded the speaker, and near where he stood was a trap-door in the floor, through which, on the entrance of the informers, whose approach was announced by a vigilant doorkeeper, he was let down into another room.

“The church in the Castle was not so often interrupted by informers as the other three, nor Mr. Gifford’s so often as the other two, Mr. Weeks’ and Broadmead generally sustaining the first onset, and frequently occupying the informers until the others had closed. But

<sup>1</sup> Fuller’s Dissent in Bristol, 61-4.

in the week-day the bishop's men frequently visited Mr. Thompson's place; he himself had been sacrificed, and his flock were not spared."<sup>1</sup>

Whilst the pastors were in prison the people still met as was their wont, and repeatedly sang down the informers and constables, there being no law against singing psalms. Conspicuous amongst the persecutors we find the names of Oliff, Streamer, Sir John Knight, Sir Robert Yeamans and Alderman Crab, who, as tools of Hellier and the bishop, were ever ready for a raid upon the meeting-houses.

Bluff old Sir Robert Cann had no taste for these Sunday sports. Fond of his glass, as were most of his compeers, and not scrupling to a few round oaths on occasion, he yet saw the injustice of these arbitrary proceedings against his fellow-townsfolk, as indeed did the majority of both the laity and the clergy. The men who worked the mischief were puppets; the strings that pulled them led from Whitehall. "Have a good mind to it, as the king said to me, and the business will be done. The king said to me [Sir John Knight], 'Sheriff, let the prison be the prison.'"

Obliged at times to follow in the wake of Hellier and the bishop, Cann, whenever he could, appears to have given the Dissenters notice that he was coming. He was often not to be found, and on one occasion actually went to London rather than proceed against them. Let the kindly actions be placed in the balance against the profane language to which he was addicted.

Mr. Harcastle died suddenly on the 7th of September, 1678. He was one of the ejected Nonconformists, having held a living in Yorkshire and been chaplain to Lady Barwick, as well as being a close friend of Lord H. Fairfax. Seven times was he imprisoned for conscience sake; of these, twice he suffered periods of confinement for six months each in Newgate gaol, Bristol. His letters to the church during his imprisonments show him to have been as good a man as he was firm and unyielding in his principles. Mr. Fownes succeeded him in the pastorate, and on April 22nd, 1679, "the church in Broadmead agreed with that in the Pithay to buy a burying ground for ourselves, a garden in Redcross lane, that we might bury our dead without the ceremonies of the parish parsons in their yard." The purchase was not concluded until October, and additional ground has been added to it.

11. In 1680, George Hellier, a brother of the arch-persecutor, appeared on the scene, and inaugurated another six months' foray on the Sectaries; and in 1681, under Sir Thomas Earl, mayor, began, on November 10th, a persecution, the first victim being Mr. Fownes,

<sup>1</sup> Fuller's Dissent in Bristol, 92-3.

who proved himself to be a worthy successor to the late pastor of Broadmead. The constables and rabble, on on the 13th of December, on pretence of levying a distress warrant for £5 as a fine in lieu of a soldier-at-arms, sacked Weeks' meeting-house at St. James' back, doing damage to the extent of £100, breaking down the pulpit and the gallery, demolishing the windows and carrying off the seats. Then Hellier, with his crew, fourteen labourers and a rabble of boys, went to Mr. Gifford's, and from thence to the Quakers', where they acted in the like manner, appraising their plunder from Mr. Weeks' at twenty-two shillings, that from the Quakers' at fifteen shillings, and Mr. Gifford's at twelve shillings and sixpence. Broadmead and the Castle chapel escaped, having paid the fine. But temporising was useless, for the next Thursday Broadmead was rifled, pulpit and pews were destroyed, beer was enthroned on the Bible cushion, and clouds of tobacco smoke served as incense, whilst ribald songs took the place of the psalms of David. The next Sunday the reprobate lawyer sent in three tankards of beer during the time of service, and challenged the congregation to drink; then, finding that they would not disperse, he nailed up the doors and fastened the people in.

The years 1681-2 commenced inauspiciously; each week's proceedings is but a repetition of the unbridled violence of that which preceded it, until at last, wearied out, the sufferers left their ruined meeting-houses in the city, and sought for quiet resting-places in the adjacent country; a valley on Durdham down is named as the first of these refuges. Mr. Fownes, who had been in prison over three weeks, was removed by *habeas corpus* to London, where, his mittimus being illegal, he was released. Then the following places are given as the spots where the congregations met for worship: Busselton (Brislington) common, fields in Barton Hundred, in Parkhouse, over Durdham down, lane near Baptist mills, Glen Frome, Stapleton, Upper Knowle, Conham house, the woods at Hanham, Keynsham, Kingswood, Easton, Horvill (Horfield), Westbury, Gassen lane, Southmead, Seruge Hole, where Mr. Terrill had the sides of a hill cut into steps to serve as a gallery. In these secluded spots the various congregations met, to the number generally of from 1,000 to 1,500 persons, their chief persecutor now being Sheriff Knight, who returned from Newmarket, where he had been with the merry monarch and the duke, and got knighted. Then the bandogs of bigotry waited at the city gates and illegally apprehended the people who entered from the country, accusing them of having been at a preachment. Meanwhile, every precaution was taken by the downtrodden people to divert or avoid suspicion; the women were

cautioned not to wear white aprons or pattens when attending service, and the men passed out of the gates, not in groups, but singly. At the close of the year the several pastors found it wise to withdraw into seclusion. In January, 1683, the congregations met in the woods round about Conham, escaping across the river into Somerset when the watchers signalled the approach of the officers. On March 15th, one hundred and fifty of the Dissenters were fined £20 each for not going to church; on the 28th, Mr. Fownes fell into an ambush, and was taken on horseback whilst about to preach in a wood. Then, to circumvent the Sectaries, Hellier got himself appointed under-sheriff of Somerset, and armed with pistols, he and his constables came upon a congregation listening to Mr. Whinnell on Brislington common; whilst these were endeavouring to escape across the river into Gloucestershire, Hellier gave the signal to young Ralph Oliff, who lay perdu awaiting them under the cliffs of Hanham, with the officers. These chased Mr. Knight, a minister of Taunton, and Mr. Ford, a Bristol mercer, for half a mile, vociferating, "Knock 'em down," so that onlookers thought they were hunting deer. Ford and Knight, not thinking the water deep, sought to recross the river by wading, when the former began to sink and cried out for help. Oliff, Watkins, the marshal, and their men, Hoar, Tilly and Lugg, instead of succouring them, ran off, when a Kingswood collier plunged in and with great difficulty saved Mr. Knight, but Ford was drowned. Knight, taken to a house in Pile marsh, was, by the use of suitable means, recovered, which his persecutors hearing of, they beset the house, but Mr. Fox, the owner, demanding to see their warrant, refused to admit them without, and while they went to fetch one, he removed Mr. Knight to another refuge. The body of Mr. Ford being recovered that evening, a coroner's jury of nineteen persons was impannelled, who brought in a verdict against three of the pursuers, for whose apprehension the coroner issued warrants, but the mayor of Bristol, Oliff, declined to assist him in any way. Two of these men, Watkins and Hoar, were some weeks later taken at an alehouse; but young Oliff stating that they had been already before the city magistrates (which was false), Mr. Newton, a county justice, let them go, notwithstanding which, at the Gloucestershire assizes a true bill was found against them for murder, on the prosecution of Mr. Ford's widow, also against Tilly and Lugg as accessories, but at Lord Herbert's dictation the judge directed the petty jury to acquit them. During their trial Mr. James Holloway, a merchant, who was in court as a spectator, was accused by Oliff of having formed one of the congregation, and he was conse-

quently bound over to appear at the sessions at Gloucester. (This is the man who was executed the year following for being concerned in the Bristol plot.)

On the 10th, Mr. Whinnell, the schoolmaster, who had preached often for the Broadmead church during Mr. Fownes' enforced absence, had to fly, a warrant being issued to apprehend him. That day also Mr. Knight died from the effect of his submersion in the Avon; another martyr to intolerance soon followed him. "On Monday, the 23rd, the church had a day of fasting and prayer, partly on account of Mr. Young, who had lately 'turned from being parson of Bussleton to preach among the Dissenters, principally Mr. Weeks' people.' A week before he had been to Gloucester, on a visit of condolence to Mr. Fownes. It being the sessions, Ralph Oliff was there to prosecute Mr. Dickenson, and caught sight of Mr. Young as he was riding into the city. He tracked him from street to street till he saw where he put up his horse; then he procured a warrant, followed him into the prison, seized him, carried him before a justice, and swore that he had heard him preach at a conventicle in the fields within the last two years. He was therefore committed for six months."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Fownes, whose legal term of imprisonment had expired, was on various pretences remanded as "turbulent and seditious," and bail was demanded to the extent of £600, that he would be on good behaviour, *i.e.* not attend any meetings. This he refused to do, and he was kept, illegally, in Gloucester gaol for two years and nine months, he having been only committed for six months. An endeavour was made to convict him also of a riot; but he pleaded that he and his horse could not surely be guilty of such, and that there was no other company when he was taken. The jury, although the bishop's chancellor who was on the bench tried to browbeat them, returned a verdict of "not guilty." He made strenuous efforts to obtain his liberty by claiming it at the end of his term, but the gaoler said he had orders not to let him go; then he appealed to the judge of assize, but in vain, the word had come from head-quarters, "It is not safe to the Government to let him go." Suffering from disease aggravated by confinement, an eminent physician said "it was no less than murder; better they had run him through with a sword the day he came in"; death on the 29th of November, 1685, put an end to his martyrdom, soon after which the troubled sea subsided into a treacherous calm.

12. We turn now to the Presbyterian church, which is represented by the Congregational church on Clifton down. "It may have been about the year 1660, or a little later, that the fraternity was first formed; but no

<sup>1</sup> Fuller's Dissent in Bristol, 157.

minister is mentioned till, all at once, we find a license granted by King Charles II. in 1672, in pursuance of the indulgence to Protestant Dissenters he had then yielded to 'Mr. John Weeks, of the Presbyterian persuasion, to be a teacher of the congregation allowed by us in a room or rooms, in the house of John Lloyd, lying on St. James's back, in the city of Bristol.' . . . (The original license still hangs in the vestry of this church.) This Mr. John Weeks was a noble and excellent man, and of far more importance in the 'kingdom of God and of Christ' than the prevaricating monarch who

other places besides his own meeting-house, and embraced every opportunity of diffusing the message of salvation. On one occasion he was preaching at Glen Frome, when some informers came who had vowed to shoot him, but he directed his discourse to them with such majesty and boldness that they rode away without giving him any disturbance. He was twice imprisoned six months for his Nonconformity, during which he preached out of the prison windows, and had many of the common people constantly to hear him. He was once carried to prison from his pulpit, where, while he



*Glen Frome.*

had granted him a license to preach imagined him to be. He had been a regularly educated and ordained minister of the Church of England, fixed at Buckland Newton, in Dorsetshire, and by the passing of the 'Act of Uniformity,' in 1662, was ejected, like many others, because he would not declare his unfeigned assent and consent to everything which human authority saw fit to impose in matters of religion and the worship of God. After his ejection he came to Bristol and ministered to the above congregation, which, very soon after his arrival, attracted by the eloquence and power of his preaching, amounted, it is recorded, 'usually to about 1,000 people.' . . . He was often called to officiate in

was preaching, the officers came in and demanded by what authority he preached. He thereupon clapped his hand on his Bible, and said, 'By the authority of God and of this Book.' They ordered him to come down. He desired they might conclude with prayer, which they yielded to, standing by uncovered. He prayed so heartily for the king and the government that one of his friends, after prayer, asking a clergyman who came with the officers, what he had to say against such a man, he replied, 'Truly nothing; only such men eat the bread out of our mouths.' Mr. Weeks was a man of great piety and prudence, and very remarkable for his courage. It was said of him,

‘That he could bear anything from his enemies, but not so from his friends.’”<sup>1</sup>

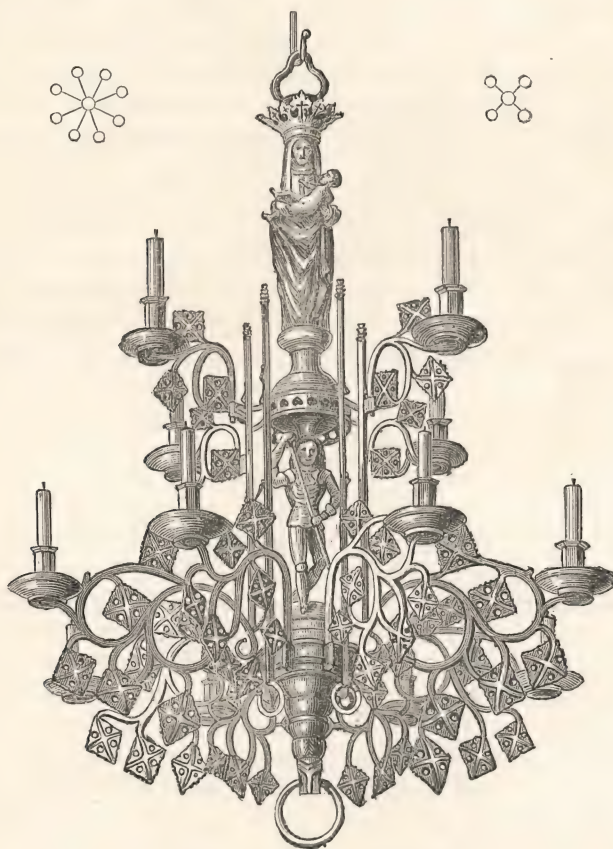
In 1685–6 Mr. Weeks’ congregation purchased the Old Theatre, in Tucker street; the site is now occupied as an iron warehouse. The entrance was by a passage (close to the “Pilgrim” public-house), at the end of which a flight of steps led directly into the meeting, the door of which was in the centre of the building; this was large, having three galleries that would hold about a thousand people. Mr. Weeks lived to a ripe old age, dying on the 23rd of November, 1698. He had for a while Edmund Calamy (who afterwards became celebrated as the learned Dr. Calamy) as an assistant.

Ere we turn from this interesting record, we would mention that Mr. Terrill, that noble sufferer for conscience sake, the very pillar and backbone of Nonconformity in its infancy in Bristol, whose self-denying, generous labours did much to establish its character

<sup>1</sup> Caston’s *Independency in Bristol*, 82–3.

for that broad, vital Christianity which has ever since distinguished our city, died in 1685. In 1683 he bequeathed to Almondsbury, the place of his birth, £50 for the purchase of land, “the yearly income to be given to successive poor in the winter season for ever.”

The story of these persecutions would be incomplete did we not place on record the sufferings of another faithful layman, Dr. Ichabod Chauncey, a physician who came to Bristol, in 1670, from Coggleshall, Essex. He was a son of the Rev. Charles Chauncey, of Ware, Herts, who was ejected, in 1662, as a Nonconformist. Chauncey, after repeated fines and imprisonments, was exiled from his native land in August, 1684, under the Act 35 Elizabeth, for his religious belief; he went, *vid* London, to Holland. Under the dispensing power of James II., in 1686, he returned to Bristol, and was not again molested. He died on July 25th, 1691, and was buried in the churchyard of St. Philip’s.



*Candelabrum in Temple Church.*



## CHAPTER XIV.

### ➤ THE † STUART † ERA—JAMES † II. † ◀

1. Accession of James II. Proclamation in Bristol. 2. Monmouth's Rebellion: its effect in Bristol. Trial of the Rebels; Judge Jeffreys' charge to the Jury; he sends the Mayor and some Aldermen to the Bar for Kidnapping. 3. Incidents of the period; Men Stealing. The Apprenticeship System. Bamfylde Moore Carew, the king of the gipsies. 4. A Priest arrested for saying Mass. The Southwell Letters. Sir John Knight's Petition to the King. The King visits Bristol and Sedgemoor. 5. Second visit to Bristol of James: ceremonious reception. The King coquets with the Dissenters. The Pope's Nuncio in Bristol. 6. The King purges the Corporation: list of members dismissed; list of new members. 7. How the news of a Prince's birth was received in Bristol. The Huguenots. Economies of the Common Council. 8. The Bishops imprisoned. Trelawny's popularity; his character. 9. Interesting Scraps from Old Letters. 10. The nation in a ferment. James endeavours to retrace his steps. 11. Romsey in prison. Nathaniel Wade: his escape from Sedgemoor, romantic arrest, and pardon; he builds Wade's bridge. 12. Disinclination of men to take office in the Council. 13. Landing of the Prince of Orange. The Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir John Guise secure Bristol. The Mob attack the houses of Catholics. James' character. 14. Edward Colston: his birth, descent, life, and benefactions.



JAMES, Duke of York, succeeded his brother, the late king, and 'was proclaimed in Bristol by Giles Merrick, the sheriff, the trumpets sounding, and every place in Bristol where he was proclaimed was hung with scarlet. He was proclaimed by the name of James II., on Sunday, 18th February, 1684-5, and was by order again proclaimed on Monday following. April 23rd, he and his Queen Mary were crowned at Westminster with very great splendour, and the day was kept in Bristol with all signs of joy and gladness. All shops were shut up; the mayor and the council and the companies in right order went to the College; fifty-two great guns were three times fired,

beside many guns in many ships at the Key. The conduits ran with wine very plentifully, and the evening ended with bonfires, &c. The bells all over the city rang for joy, even the tavern bells.'"<sup>1</sup>

The king, who had been an openly avowed Roman Catholic since 1671, published two papers taken from the strong box of the late monarch, which proved that Charles had himself lived and died in the same faith. James' first words as king were a pledge to preserve the laws inviolate and to protect the Church of England. "We have the word of a king, and of a king who was never worse than his word!" was the joyful cry throughout the land, and it produced immediate results.

A Parliament was assembled on May 19th, the first

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 523.

since 1681. Sir John Churchill and Sir Richard Crump were elected for Bristol without opposition. "The House voted £1,200,000 per annum to the king for life, were liberal in voting supply, and overlooked the king's irregularities."<sup>1</sup>

The effect produced by the king's words was but the lull preceding a storm, the first symptom of which came from the north, where Argyle landed and sought to wrest Scotland from the rule of a Popish king. His attempt was premature, and failed; he was arrested whilst attempting to escape, and died a traitor's death.

2. The second gale came from the west: on June 11th, 1685, the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of the late king, landed at Lyme, in Dorset, and issued a declaration of his intention to uphold the Constitution and the Protestant religion. Highly popular amongst the men of the west, especially with the Whigs and Dissenters of the middle class, because of his avowed intention to uphold Protestantism and to govern according to the teachings of the Bible, great masses of people flocked to his standard; the villagers of Somerset turned out *en masse*, armed with scythes, hay-knives and pitch-forks; the ladies of Taunton, to their misfortune, presented him with embroidered banners and a Bible, and the townsmen proclaimed him king. But the nobility, gentry, and leading clergymen, both Nonconformist (Gifford, of Bristol, being an exception) and Church of England, held aloof; they had no confidence in the son of Lucy Waters, who was known to be like his father, a man of dissolute life and morals; their hopes were centred in William of Orange. On the 22nd, Monmouth left Taunton for Bridgwater; there the mayor and aldermen in their robes met him in procession and preceded him to the High Cross, where they proclaimed him King. His army by this time amounted to 6,000 men, and they might have been trebled, but that he had neither arms with which to equip nor money to pay those who had already enlisted. Meanwhile the Royalist forces, under Churchill, were harassing his rear as he marched on Bristol. On the 24th he reached Pensford; but although Wade and Roe, both Bristol men, had given him repeated assurances that the majority of its inhabitants were in his interest and devoted to him, there was no demonstration made in his favour, beyond an attempt to create confusion by the firing on that day of a ship named the *Abraham and Mary* as she lay at the Quay. On the contrary, as soon as the news of Monmouth's landing reached the city the militia was called out and divided into watches, two of which kept guard at night, one in the Guildhall, the other in Thomas street, near the church. The Duke of Beaufort, lord-lieutenant,

hastened to the city, and on his arrival drew up twenty-two companies of foot in Redcliff mead and six companies in the Lamb ground, and threatened that if Monmouth's friends admitted him into the city by any devious way he would immediately burn the place about their ears. Some of the disaffected were locked up in the Guildhall to keep them out of mischief.

Monmouth marched from Pensford to Keynsham; but being informed of Beaufort's threat, said, "God forbid I should bring such calamities as fire and sword on so noble a city," and although some of his men had actually reached Bedminster down, he turned towards Bath. On the 26th a small party of the king's horse, under Colonel Oglethorpe, were surprised as they rode into Keynsham, and had the enemy been on the alert they might all have been captured. The rebels were in the fields refreshing themselves, and ere they could muster, Oglethorpe had escaped, after killing and wounding some twenty men; his own loss being Lord Newborough badly wounded and four men taken prisoners, three of whom, viz., Andrew Herbert, Charles Pope and Edward Taylor, were Bristol men, and the fourth, Captain Savage, belonged to a troop of Gloucestershire horse.

Meanwhile Faversham, with 250 of the king's horse-guards, stout, able men, exceedingly well mounted and finely accoutred at all points, had reached Bristol, which, finding sufficiently defended, and learning that Monmouth had changed his intention and was about to march on Bath, he anticipated him by a rapid advance on that city. Bath, walled and garrisoned, was an insuperable obstacle to an undisciplined force, however enthusiastic; the militia of Sussex and Oxfordshire, with a volunteer force of gownsmen, barred the way to London; and, losing heart, Monmouth fell back into the west by way of Frome and Bridgwater, to meet with his disastrous defeat on Sedgemoor. Of the ferocious cruelties of "Kirke and his lambs," who disgraced the name of soldiers, and the bloody campaign of the atrocious Jeffreys, all have read with horror. "About 200 of the prisoners were brought to Bristol to be transported. James desired to give his courtiers about a thousand; but Jeffreys remonstrated, and told the king that they were worth £15 a-piece. Wade fled from Sedgemoor."<sup>1</sup>

On Monday, September 21st, Jeffreys came to Bristol, and lodged at the house of the town clerk, John Romsey, King street. The house, which is given at page 77, is still standing, and bears on its door the initials J.R. and the date 1664. After he had refreshed himself, he went to the Tolzey, and thence to the Guildhall, where the

<sup>1</sup> Creasy.

<sup>1</sup> Southwell Papers.

commissions were opened and a jury of forty-one men was sworn. The lord chief justice then made his notorious charge, of which the following are extracts:—

Gentlemen,—I am, by the mercy of God, come to this great and populous city—a city that boasts both of its riches and trade, and may justly indeed claim the next place to the great and populous metropolis of this kingdom. Gentlemen, I find here are a great many auditors, who are very intent, as if they expected some formal or prepared speech; but, assure yourselves, we come not neither to make set speeches nor formal declamations, nor to follow a couple of *puffing trumpeters*, for, Lord, we have seen those things twenty times before! No, we come to do the king's business—a king who is so gracious as to use all the means possible to discover the disorders of the nation, and to search out those who indeed are the very pest of the kingdom: to this end, and for this purpose, are we come to this city. But I find a special commission is an unusual thing here, and relishes very ill: nay, the very women storm at it, for fear we should take the *upper hand* of them too; for, by the by, gentlemen, I hear it is much in fashion in this city for the women to govern and bear sway. But, gentlemen, I will not stay you with such needless stories: I will only mention some few things that fall within my knowledge. For points or matters of law I shall not trouble you, but only mind you of some things that lately hath happened, and particularly in this city (for I have the Kalendar of this city in my pocket); and if I do not express myself in so formal or set a declamation (for, as I told you, I came not to make declamations), or in so smooth language as you may expect, you must attribute it partly to the pain of the stone, under which I labour, and partly to the unevenness of this day's journey.

Gentlemen, I may say that even some of the youngest amongst us may remember the late horrid rebellion, how men, under colour of law and pretext of justice, after they had divested a most gracious and most merciful prince of all his royal power, by the power of the sword—they, I say, under colour of law and pretext of justice (which added the more to the crime, that it was done under such pretended justice), brought the most mild and meekest prince (next to our ever blessed Saviour, Jesus Christ, if we may but compare him to a man) to die a martyr, the first blessed martyr (pardon the expression) besides our most blessed Jesu, who suffered for us on the cross—I say, besides that blessed Son of God,—this, I say, was the first royal martyr; not suffering him to speak for himself, or make his defence—a liberty which is given to the vilest traitor; and this was done (not to descant on the number)<sup>1</sup> by *forty-one*! The rebels, not resting here, for rebellion is like the sin of witchcraft, divested the lineal, legal and rightful heir of the crown of all his power and prerogative, till the mighty God of heaven and earth, God Almighty, restored him to his just right. And he, as if begot in mercy, not only forgave all offences, and pardoned voluntarily even all that had been in actual arms against him (except those accursed regicides), but made it a crime for anyone that should but remember or upbraid any of their past crimes or rebellions. Good God! O Jesu! that we should live in such an age, in which such a prince cannot be safe from the seditious contrivances of pardoned rebels! Had we not the *Rye* conspiracy, wherein they not only designed to have murdered that most blessed (for so now we may conclude him to be with God Almighty) and gracious king, but also his ever dear and victorious brother? Had we not the Bill of Exclusion, which our most gracious king told us he could not, without a manifest infringement of the royal prerogatives of the crown (which are too sacred for us to touch) consent to? Had we not the cursed council of

<sup>1</sup> A shrewd hit at the number of the Bristol common councilmen.

*Achitophel*?<sup>1</sup> Kings are God's vice-regents on earth, and are indeed Gods on earth, and we represent them. Now, when God Almighty had of His infinite goodness called this blessed prince unto Himself, He sends a prince, who assures us he will imitate his royal brother and renowned predecessor in all things, especially in that of his clemency and mercy, and that, too, upon the word of a king—a king, I assure you, that will not be worse than his word; nay (pardon the expression), that dare not be worse than his word. Which of you all, that had a father murdered by another (and that deliberately, too, under colour of justice, which added to the crime, and your brother, nay, yourselves, thrust out from your inheritance, and banished from your country, nay, that sought your blood likewise), would not, if it was in your power, revenge such injuries and ruin such persecutors? But here our most blessed prince, whom God long preserve, hath not only forgiven, but will venture his life for the defence of such his enemies. Has he not ventured his life already as far as any man for the honour of these kingdoms? Nay, I challenge this city to show me any one man of it, that perchance may not be worth a groat, that has ventured his life so far for the safety of these kingdoms as this royal prince hath done? Good God! what an age do we live in! Shall not such a prince be secure from the sedition, rebellion and plots of men? He is scarce seated on his royal throne (where God Almighty grant he may long reign!) but on the one hand he is invaded by a condemned rebel and arch-traitor, who hath received the just reward of his rebellion; on the other hand up starts a poppet prince, who seduces the mobile into rebellion, into which they are easily bewitched, for I say rebellion is like the sin of witchcraft. This man, who had as little title to the Crown as the least of you (for I hope all of you are legitimate), being overtaken by justice, and by the goodness of his prince brought to the scaffold, he has the confidence (good God! that men should be so impudent) to say that *God Almighty did know with what joyfulness he did die*; (a traitor!) having for these two years last past lived in all incontinency and rebellion, notwithstanding the goodness of an indulgent prince so often to pardon him; but it is just like him! Rebellion (as I told you) is like the sin of witchcraft. For there was another, which I shall not name, because I will not trample on the dust of the dead, but you may remember him by these words of his speech: he tells you that *he thanks his God that he falls by the ax, and not by the fiery trial*. He had rather (he had as good have said) die a traitor than a blessed martyr.

Great God of heaven and earth! what reason have men to rebel? But, as I told you, rebellion is like the sin of witchcraft. *Fear God and honour the king* is rejected by people for no other reason, as I can find, but that it is written in St. Peter. Gentlemen, I must tell you, I am afraid, I am afraid that this city hath too many of these people in it; and it is your duty to search them out, for this city added much to the ship's loading. There was your *Tyllys*, your *Roes*, and your *Wades*, men started up like mushrooms, scoundrel fellows, mere sons of dunghills; these men must forsooth set up for liberty and property! A fellow that carries the sword before Mr. Mayor must be very careful of his property, and turn politician, as if he had as much property as the person before whom he bears the sword, though perchance not worth a groat. Gentlemen, I must tell you, you have still here the *Tyllys*, the *Roes*, and the *Wades*. I have brought a brush in my pocket, and I shall be sure to rub the dirt wherever it lies, or on whomsoever it sticks. Gentlemen, I shall not stand complimenting with you; I shall talk with some of you before you and I part. I tell you, I tell you, I have brought a besom, and I will sweep every man's door, whether great or small. Must I mention particulars? I hope you will save me that trouble; yet I will hint a few things to you that perchance I have heard of. This is

<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Shaftesbury.

a great city, and the magistrates wonderful loyal, and very forward to assist the king with men, money, and provisions, when the rebels were just at your gates. I do believe it would have went very hard with some of you if the enemy had entered the city, notwithstanding the endeavours that was used to accomplish it. Certainly they had and must have great encouragement from a party within, or else why should their design be on the city? Nay, when the enemy was within a mile of you, that a ship should be set on fire in the midst of you as a signal to the rebels, and to amuse those within; when, if God Almighty had not been more gracious unto you than you was to yourselves (so that wind and tide was for you) for what I know, the greatest part of this city had perished; and yet you are willing to believe it was an accident! Certainly here is a great many of those men which they call *Trimmers*. A *Whig* is but a mere fool to these; for a *Whig* is some sort of a subject in comparison of these; for a *Trimmer* is but a cowardly and base-spirited *Whig*; for the *Whig* is but the journeyman-prentice, that is hired and set on in the rebellion, whilst the *Trimmer* is afraid to appear in the cause; he stands at a doubt, and says to himself, "I will not assist the king until I see who hath the best of it," and refuses to entertain the king's friends for fear the rebels should get the better of it. These men stink worse than the worse dirt you have in your city; these men have so little religion that they forget that he that is not for us is against us. Gentlemen, I tell you I have the *kalendar of this city* here in my hand. I have heard of those that have searched into the very sink of a conventicle, to find out some sneaking rascal to hide their money by night. Come, come, gentlemen, to be plain with you, I find the dirt of the ditch is in your nostrils. Good God! where am I? In *Bristol*? This city, it seems, claims the privilege of hanging and drawing among themselves; I find you have more need of a commission once a month at least. The very magistrates, which should be the ministers of Justice, fall out with one another to that degree, they will scarce dine with each other; whilst it is the business of some cunning men that lie behind the curtain to raise divisions amongst them, and set them together by the ears, and knock their logger-heads together. Yet I find they can agree for their interest, or if there be but a kid in the case, for I hear the trade of kidnapping is of much request in this city. They can discharge a felon or a traitor, provided they will go to Mr. Alderman's plantation at the West Indies. Come, come, I find you stink for want of rubbing. Gentlemen, what need I remind you of these things? I hope you will search into them, and inform me. It seems the Dissenters and phanaticks fare well among you, by reason of the favour of the magistrates. For example, if a Dissenter, who is a notorious and obstinate offender, comes before them to be fined, one alderman or other stands up and says, He is a good man (though three parts a rebel). Well, then, for the sake of Mr. Alderman, he shall be fined but five shillings. Then comes another, and up stands another Good-man Alderman, and says, I know him to be an honest man (though rather worse than the former). Well, for Mr. Alderman's sake he shall be fined but half-a crown. So *manus manum fricat*; you play the knave for me now, and I will play the knave for you by and by. I am ashamed of these things. And I must not forget to tell you that I hear of some differences among the clergy—those that ought to preach peace and unity to others. Gentlemen, these things must be looked into. I shall not now trouble you any further. There are several other things, but I expect to hear further of them from you; and if you do not tell me of some of these things, I shall remind you of them. And I find, by the number of your constables, this is a very large city, and it is impossible for one or two to search into all the concerns of it; therefore mind the constables of their duties, and call on them for their presentments; for I expect every

constable to bring in his presentment, or that you present him. So adjourn, &c.<sup>1</sup>

Another writer, disposed to consider Jeffreys, "when under no state influence," as "sometimes inclined to protect the natural and civil rights of mankind," states that

The mayor and aldermen of Bristol had made a practice of transporting convicted criminals to the American plantations, and selling them by way of trade. This turning to good account, when any pilferers or petty rogues were brought before them, they threatened them with hanging, and then some officers who attended earnestly advised the ignorant, intimidated creatures to beg for transportation, as the only way to save them; and in general their advice was followed. Then, without more form, each alderman took one, and sold him for his own benefit.<sup>2</sup>

Six men were convicted of high treason, three of whom were reprieved; the others were hanged, drawn and quartered. One of them, Tippet, a shoemaker of Bedminster, was a victim to fatal curiosity: "I did no more than go to see the army," was his plea. About 400 men were brought to Bristol, sentenced to transportation.

"At the assizes in Bristol, Jefferies had a great feud with Sir William Hayman, the mayor, and also with Sir Robert Cann and Alderman Lawford; he made the mayor come off the bench to the bar, and made them all three give caution that they would appear at the King's Bench next term.' Another MS. gives 'the words of Sir George Jefferyes, Lord Chief Justice of England, which he spake to the mayor of Bristol, Sir William Hayman, September 22nd, 1685, as follow: "Sir, Mr. Mayor, you I meane, kidnapper, and an old justice of the peace on the bench [meaning Alderman John Lawford] I doe not know him, an old knave; he goes to the tavernne, and for a pint of sack he will bind people servants to the Indies at the tavernne. A kidnapping knave! I will have his ears off before I goe forth of towne. Well, read that paper," giving it to John Romsey, then towne clerke, and commanding that it should be read aloud, that all might heare; the said paper was read accordingly. One was for picking of a pockett, for which the now mayor would have sent him to Jamayca, &c. "Kidnapper [speaking to the mayor], you I mean, sir; doe you not see the keeper of Newgate? If it were not in respect of the sword which is over your head, I would send you to Newgate, you kidnapping knave. You are worse than the pickpockett who stands there [meaning at the barre]. I hope you are men of worth; I will make you pay sufficiently for it," and presently he fined the mayor £1,000. The lord chief justice, speaking againe to the mayor a little before he arose off the bench, ordered him to the barr,

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 235-9.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 239.

whither he went accordingly; and as he stood there like a prisoner, the lord chief justice asked him whether he was guilty or not guilty, to which the mayor pleaded not guilty. Then he made him give security untill the afternoone, and in the afternoone the mayor was turned over prisoner to both his sheriffs. Furthermore he said to the mayor, "Had it not bin in respect to the city, I would have arraigned him, and would have hanged him before I did forth of this city, and would have seene it done myselfe; a kidnapping knave!" The other calendars mention the affair, but not so particularly. On the whole of this extraordinary transaction, it may be observed on the one hand, that the magistrates of Bristol at that time did probably sometimes strain the law or terrify petty offenders with the prospect of severe punishment, that they might by these means send over persons to work on their estates in the infant colony of Jamaica; otherwise it is scarcely to be supposed that the chief justice would have thought of so strange an accusation: and on the other hand, Jefferies's conduct and language are so outrageous, as to induce a suspicion of intoxication, to which he was much addicted, or perhaps of insanity. Roger North, in his *Life of Lord Keeper Guildford*, first published this story; his account does not contain all which is above mentioned, but it contains many other curious circumstances."<sup>1</sup>

"At London, Sir Robert Cann applied by friends to appease the lord chief justice, and to get from under their prosecution; at last he granted it, saying, 'Go thy way, sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee!' The prosecutions depended till the Revolution, which made an amnesty, and the fright only, which was no small one, was all the punishment these juridical kidnappers underwent, and the gains acquired by so wicked a trade rested peacefully in their pockets."<sup>2</sup>

From another source we learn that the mayor was fined £1,000, not for "kidnapping,"—the ugly word is pleasantly converted into the vague offence "for suffering a boy committed to Bridewell to go beyond sea." The aldermen, however, viz., Sir William Clutterbuck, Sir Robert Cann, Mr. Alderman Lawford, Mr. John Napper, Mr. William Swymmer and Mr. Robert Kirke, were ordered to enter into recognisances, "with sufficient sureties, the principal in £10,000 and the sureties in £5,000 each, to appear to answer an indictment at the King's Bench for kidnapping."

3. There is no record that the Commonwealth-appointed corporation speculated in human merchandise, though they dealt somewhat leniently with men-stealers, as for instance: "September 24th, 1655.—John Morgan and Robert Bliss, for men-stealing, to stand upon the

pillory one hour three market-dayes, with the offence written upon their breasts. *To be protected*," signifying they were to have wire guards before them to shield their persons from the missiles of the mob. The punishment was "for form's sake"; it would not be graceful to inflict the extreme sentence; it would not have been prudent to have dismissed the offenders.

March 21st, 1661.—Information having been given by one Thomas Durham and his father against one Thomas Povey, for assaulting the said Thomas Durham on the highway, taking money from him, and stealing of him away without the consent of his father to go to the West Indies, and he being known to be a common man-stealer, and *spirit that enticeth away people*; it is therefore ordered that he find security to appear at the next Guildhall session in the year, to be holden for the city and county. NATH. CALE, Mayor.

We have italicised a relic of a once-popular superstition, curious from being in a magistrate's book. Some quarter of a century subsequently, the magistrates adopted vigorous measures to stop the retail traffic in humanity, and their eyes were opened to its villainy; but the wholesale villainy—the African trade—filled their coffers with red gold; there was no evil in that.

Whereas many complaints have often times been made to the mayor and aldermen, of the inveighling, purloining, carrying and stealing away boyes, maides, and other persons, and transporting them beyond seas, and there selling them, or otherwise disposing of them, for private gain and profit, and it being a time of much *villanny*, to have children and others in such a barbarous and wicked manner to be carried, stolen, and sold without any knowledge of the parents or others that have the care and oversight of them; it was "ordained, for the prevention of such mischiefs, that all persons for the future who should be leaving as servants should, before going on board ship, have their covenants or indentures of apprenticeship enrolled in the Tolsey book, and that any master of any ship or vessel acting contrary to this enactment were to be fined for every such offence, twenty pounds." And further it was decreed, "that the water-bayliffe should from time to time make diligent search in all ships and vessels transporting persons as servants beyond the seas, and should he find any on board who had not enrolled their names in the Tolsey book, notice thereof be given to the mayor."<sup>1</sup>

This was in May, 1685, a month before the corporation were "scoured" by Jeffreys. "John Sleeman to stand in the pillory at the High Cross next market-day for half an hour, with an inscription on his breast of his offence—KIDNAPPING, *To be protected*." The magistrates, influenced by a noble selfishness, inclined to the side of mercy.

That Bristol was not singular in this traffic, or the last to abandon it, as far as related to the exportation and sale of Englishmen, is evident from the adventures of Bampfylde Moore Carew, a man of good family, who, possessed with a mania for the free life of a gipsy mendicant, was twice seized, exported, and sold into slavery

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 531-2.

<sup>2</sup> Life of Lord Keeper Guildford, 27.

<sup>1</sup> Tovey's Local Jottings.

at Maryland. The first occasion he was seized at Barnstaple, and sent from Exeter by Justice Beavis. The time of his escape and return must have been about 1740. The ship *Ruby* being at that date in Kingroad, pressing men, her captain, Samuel Goodere, was hanged whilst his ship lay there, for the cruel murder of his brother. Carew escaped the press-gang of the *Ruby*, he says, by shamming smallpox, having punctured himself in many places with a needle, and rubbed salt and gunpowder into the sores. He was again seized at Topsham, a few years later, by the same merchant from whose ship he had escaped in Maryland on the first occasion, and was sent thither again; but once more he got away, and went to Boston, where he shipped as a sailor with Captain Ball, of the *Mary*, Bristol, for £15, fifteen gallons of rum, ten pounds of sugar, ten pounds of tobacco, and ten tobacco pipes. They were two months on the home voyage before they made Lundy. Carew tells us that on the first occasion, having been unsuccessful in attempting to escape, he was loaded with an iron neck-collar, which was rivetted upon him, according to the custom of the country, by Captain Froade, of the ship *Julian*, of Exeter.

4. In the autobiography of Sir John Bramston we find this incident related:—"On Sunday last, April 25th, 1686, at Bristol, information being given to the mayor (Richard Lane, grocer) that mass was saying in a house in that city, he took with him the sheriffs and some aldermen, and went and apprehended the priest and the conventicle, and committed the priest and some of the company to the gaol, and sent to the bishop, Sir Jonathan Trelawny, notice of it. His lordship carried the letter to the king." The priest was brought to the bar on the 10th of May, but the lord chief justice being conveniently absent, he was remanded to the king's bench. We hear no more of him; probably he was liberated by the king, who would not thank the mayor for his zeal.

Thomas Alcock, of Bristol, in a long and interesting letter to Sir Robert Southwell, dated Bristol, June 26th, 1685, describes the conflict of the king's soldiers with "Gaffer Scot" (the Duke of Monmouth) and his vagabond rebels, the latter being defeated and routed at Keynsham, and had purposed to have seized on Bristol. He complains, "I am very wearie, having been in arms night and day all this weeke and hope this night to rest."<sup>1</sup> Colonel Romsey, from a passage in one of Lord Weymouth's letters, appears to have saved his neck by being instrumental in the conviction of other persons implicated in this rebellion. Mr. Blathwayt, in a letter to Sir Robert, March 23rd, 1685-6, "acquaints

him of Colonel Romsey's being ordered, instead of a pardon, to repair to St. Nicholas island, near Plymouth, where Lambeth was kept, there to remain in safe custody; this afflicts the colonel, more especially his lady, but it is decreed. Also letters of Thomas Geering, Sir Robert's land steward, and of Katherine his wife. The humble petition of Sir John Knight, of Bristol (read in council, July, 1684), praying the king to discharge him from the common council of Bristol as the only expedient to secure the petitioner from envy and ruin, and thereby compose the difference in that city, and in some measure restore it to unity within itself."<sup>1</sup>

In 1686 Mr. Samuel Hall left £230, the interest to be spent in binding a poor boy or girl apprentice from Redcliff, St. Werburgh, St. Philips, or St. Thomas parishes.

On the 18th of August, 1686, "Kirke's Lambs" came to Bristol to be quartered for the winter, they were under the command of Captain Trelawny, brother to the Bishop of Bristol. They were a loose, rough lot of men, "who committed great disorders, beating some and stabbing others." Their coming was preliminary to a visit from the king on 25th August. George, Prince of Denmark, the Dukes of Beaufort, Somerset and Grafton, Lord Peterborough, and many other noblemen formed the royal retinue. It was probably on this occasion that the king turned aside to pay a visit to Hanham court. Mr. Creswick, in 1817, used to show a tree under which his grandfather once entertained James II., as he was informed by Hugh Brain, who lived to be 102 years of age, and whose father was present. The king was received with the usual formalities at Lawford's gate, and was conducted to the house of Sir William Hayman, in Small street, where he was honourably entertained at the cost of the city (the bill amounted to £573 0s. 1d.). The next day his majesty rode on horseback into the Marsh and reviewed the soldiers who had there pitched their tents. From thence he went along the Quay over Frome bridge, up St. Michael's hill, and rode along the old line of defence in the civil war as far as Prior's hill, thence down into the Barton, St. James', up Newgate hill, and so to his lodgings, where he touched several for the evil. After dinner he went to Redcliff gate, and thence to Portishead point, attended by several of his nobles. In the evening he knighted William Merrick, the sheriff, and Charles Winter, high sheriff, of Gloucestershire. Next morning, early, the king started for Bridgwater, on his way to Sedgemoor, to view the place where his army had overthrown the Duke of Monmouth. From which we gather that if Sir William Hayman had been

<sup>1</sup> Southwell Papers.

<sup>1</sup> Southwell Papers.

guilty in the king's estimation of any offence, it was condoned by his fine and by his hospitality. Whilst the king's birthday was being celebrated in the Marsh on October 14th a grenadier lost both his hands, through prematurely loading a gun without sponging it. A young grampus, six yards long, was caught in King-road in November, and a whale, twelve yards long, was stranded at Burnham in the same month.

5. The king and queen being at Bath in the summer of 1687, the mayor, Richard Lane, grocer, and the council ordered that an invitation be sent to their majesties to visit Bristol, that they be received at Lawford's gate by the mayor and aldermen in scarlet gowns, and council in black gowns, on horseback, and that the several companies of the city be ordered to attend in their formalities, and that a present of one hundred pieces be presented to her majesty at Lawford's gate. An entertainment was provided for them at Mr. Lane's, the Great House, on St. Augustine's back, and they returned to Bath the same evening after remaining only two

hours. The Quakers, by the hand of Charles Jones, one of their body, who headed a deputation, presented an address of thanks to the king for his Declaration of Indulgence. They held that the principle of religious liberty to all men was right, without regarding the motives which had led the king to make such a proclamation, and so set free his fellow-religionists, the Roman Catholics. On his return to London from Bath the king made Mr. William Kiffin, a Baptist preacher, an alderman of London. Those who had stood up for the king during the debate about exclusion were now turned out with disgrace, and those who had appeared most violently against him were put into the magistracy. The nuncio, being invited to dine at the Guildhall when the king dined there, the mayor and aldermen disowned

the invitation, and made an entry of it in their books, that the nuncio came without their knowledge. This the king took very ill, and said, "I see the Dissenters are an ill-natured sort of people that cannot be gained."<sup>1</sup> James' aim was the restoration of Roman Catholicism in England, and he had now obtained a regular resident at his court from the Pope.

On July 3rd the Pope's nuncio had made a public entrance into Windsor, "*in pontificalibus*," attended by monks and other ecclesiastics in their various dresses; the lord chancellor, the lord privy seal, the lord treasurer, and the bishops of Durham and of Chester, in their coaches, joined the procession. A short time after his arrival, the nuncio came to Bristol and dined at the Three Tuns tavern, in Corn street. "1687.—The Three

Tuns tavern, in Cornstreet, is that shown by the large bay window then adjoining, but afterwards a part of the Bush. The first beadle's books of account of the Merchant Society's almshouses begin this year."<sup>2</sup> To James' disgust, however, the corporation remained un-



Three Tuns Tavern, Corn Street, afterwards the Bush Inn.

awed by their monarch, and proof against the cajoleries of the priest; they held fast by their Protestantism and refused to abolish the penal laws against Recusants and Separatists.

6. In 1686, in opposition to the ecclesiastical commission, "at Bristol the rabble, countenanced, it is said, by the magistrates, exhibited a profane and indecent pageant, in which the Virgin Mary was represented by a buffoon, and in which a mock host was carried in procession. The garrison was called out to disperse the mob; the mob, then and ever since, one of the fiercest in the kingdom, resisted. Blows were exchanged, and serious hurts inflicted."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Oldmixon's History of the House of Stuart, 725-6.

<sup>2</sup> H. and R. Smiths MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Macaulay, VI., 99, from Citters, May 18-28th, 1666.

If ever man had need of the saying, "Save me from my friends," it was James. He determined to obtain, by the strong hand of power, that which his blandishments had failed to effect. Charles II., by his charter of 1682-3, had brought the members of the council within the power of the king, who reserved the right to displace any member or officer at his pleasure. Kings seldom are at a loss for tools. Nathaniel Wade, barrister-at-law, was a clever intriguer whose proclivities were manifest in Monmouth's attempt, but now the Whigs and certain of the Dissenters, who favoured the Declaration, were in league with the king and the Catholics against the High Church Tories, of whom a majority swayed the council in Bristol. On February 2nd, 1687-8, Wade came from London with "the corporation purge." "On February 4th he delivered to the mayor a special commission under the privy seal, whereby the mayor and sheriffs (having been in office only four months), six aldermen, the town-clerk, and eighteen common councilmen, were displaced. The order of council was as follows:—'At the court at Whitehall, January 13th, 1687. By the king's most excellent majesty and the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council. Whereas by the charter granted to the city of Bristol, a power is reserved to his majesty, by his order in council, to remove from their employments any officers in the said city, his majesty in council is pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered that Richard Lane, mayor, William Swymmer, John Hickes, Sir William Clutterbuck, Abraham Saunders, John Coombes, and Thomas Easton, aldermen, Samuel Wallis and John Sandford, sheriffs, John Romsey, town-clerk, Edmund Arundell, Nathaniel Driver, Giles Merrick, James Twyford, George Hart, John Oliffe, Robert Dowding, John Bradway, Henry Coombes, Marmaduke Bowdler, John Hollister, James Pope, John Yeamans, Richard Gibbons, John Seward, John Whiting, George Morgan, and Edward Tocknell, late sheriffs, common councilmen, be, and they are hereby removed and displaced from their aforesaid offices in the said city of Bristol.

"'WILLIAM BRIDGEMAN.'

"Mr. Wade then produced a second order, whereby the vacant places were filled up.

"'To our trusty and well-beloved the aldermen and corporation of our city of Bristol.

"'James, Rex. Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we have by our order in council thought fit to remove Richard Lane from being mayor of that our city of Bristol [&c., the preceding removals are repeated], we have thought fit hereby to will and require you forthwith to elect and admit our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Day to be mayor, Michael Pope,

mercier, Walter Stephens, William Jackson, William Brown, Humphry Crossley, and Thomas Scrope, to be aldermen, Thomas Saunders and John Hine to be sheriffs, Nathaniel Wade to be town-clerk, Henry Gibbs, William Donning, George White, Michael Pope, Joseph Jackson, Alex. Dolman, Peter Saunders, James Thomas, William Burgess, grocer, William Whitehead, William Weaver, William Burgess, draper, John Grant, John Cary, John Curtis, Nathaniel Day, Joseph Burges, and John Duddleston, to be common councilmen of our said city, in the room of the persons above-mentioned, without administering unto them any oath or oaths, but the usual oath for the execution of their respective places, with which we are pleased to dispense in this behalf: and for so doing this shall be your warrant. And so we bid you farewell.

"'Given at our court at Whitehall the 14th day of January, 1687-8, in the third year of our reign. By his majesty's command,

"'SUNDERLAND, P.'"<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Day had a house in the country at Barton hill; the chimney-piece is still extant in the "Rhubarb" tavern, and bears <sup>T.A.D.</sup> 1672.

7. On June 12th the news came to Bristol that the queen had been delivered of a son, which caused some rejoicing amongst those who held with the court. The bells rang awhile, but the people did not respond. A vast number of the nation would not believe in her majesty's pregnancy, and clung to the idea that it was a trick planned to pass on the crown to a Roman Catholic successor.

Many of the Huguenot immigrants who, for conscience' sake, had fled from their own country after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, settled in Bristol, and in 1687 a French Episcopal Church was formed. "It was," Smiles says, "of considerable importance, and was first held in the mayor's chapel of St. Mark the Gaunt; but in 1726 a chapel was built for the special use of the French congregation, on the grounds of Queen Elizabeth's hospital for the Red Maids, situated in Orchard street." The chapel at its first opening was so crowded with worshippers that the aisles, as well as the altar place, had to be filled with benches for their accommodation. From the register of the church it would appear that the Bristol refugees consisted principally of seafaring people—captains, masters, and sailors—from Nantes, Saumur, Saintonge, La Rochelle, and the Isle of Rhe.

The Chamber had been struggling with embarrassments for a series of years, and had made convulsive

<sup>1</sup> Seyer II., 534-6.

efforts, that came to nought, to extricate itself. In 1686, retrenchment with economy was the cry. The mayor's salary was reduced to £52 per annum, the sessions' dinner discontinued, and "the salary of all the officers reduced to the amount paid in May, 1661." During the Monmouth rebellion there had been a considerable charge in placing the city in a position of defence, and the common council were now so beset with difficulties that they heroically directed attention to the trimming of the official costume, and a resolution was passed, "that a distinction should be made between the officers' gowns and those of the common council; that the mayor's sergeants' dress be purple gowns unguarded; that the yeomens' coats be of the same colour, but of the present fashion, with short swords and bagonetts." The colour of the sergeants' gowns, however, gave offence, and it was forthwith resolved that they should be black and not purple, and it was ordered that they "be unfurred and without velvet." The mayor valued some old iron, which he did not know anything about, at £9 per ton, but Alderman Wallis, oblivious of the popular fallacy that a mayor knows everything, said, "his worship does not understand old iron; it is worth considerably more, and had better not be sold till the fair." The silver trumpets were "ordered to be sold by the sergeant, who is to bring the money in account, and in the same manner to dispose of the trumpeters' old coats and chain costumes."

"Received of John Cossley, goldsmith, for the silver trumpets and lace of the trumpeters' coats, £24 10s."

"It being represented to the House that there had been for several years past paid into the parish of Temple twelve pounds per annum, and to Redcliff three pounds per annum, out of the Chamber towards maintaining their respective poor, it was thereupon put to the vote whether the same shall be paid or discontinued; and thereupon it was, upon vote, ordered by the majority of this House that these two payments and either of them shall from henceforth cease and be no longer paid, unless at the next meeting of this House good cause shall be by the said parishes respectively shown to the contrary." It was also "ordered that the Chamber be no longer concerned in repairing the chancel of Temple church, unless at next House good cause should be shown to the contrary." Also "that the Chamber shall not at any time from henceforth pay to the burgesses of the city in Parliament any salary or other pay for their services there, but that is to be paid as the law directs." "That no public entertainments should be given, or presents of wine made, until the city debts were paid." Mr. Mayor being elected "a second time, would not insist upon double salary." Amongst other civic properties the mayor's barge was put up for "pub-

lick sale," but there being no bidding, it was ordered "to be ripped up, and the materials to be sold."

8. Seven of the bishops had refused to read the king's declaration of liberty of conscience on the ground of its being unconstitutional, amongst these was Trelawny, bishop of Bristol. They were committed to the Tower on the charge of writing a seditious libel (their petition to the king), and on June 29th, 1688, they were acquitted. On the news reaching Bristol on the Monday following there was great rejoicing, the bells of the churches rang out all day, and bonfires blazed throughout the night in many parts of the city. All over the West country the peasantry had chanted a bold Cornish song, of which the refrain was—

"And shall Trelawny die?  
And shall Trelawny die?  
Then thirty thousand Cornishmen  
Will know the reason why!"

On this ancient ditty the Rev. R. S. Hawker engrafted his popular "Song of the Western men."

How far Trelawny was in earnest in his resistance is a question; that he was a disappointed man, a truckler and a timeserver is, we fear, beyond dispute. Witness the following letter, taken from the Clarendon papers, written a few days only before he was appointed to the see of Bristol, to Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, brother-in-law to the king:—

My Lord,—Give me leave to throw myself at your lordship's feet, humbly imploring your patronage, if not for the bishoprick of Peterborough at least for Chichester, if the Bishop of Exeter cannot be obliged to accept of that now vacant see which he seemed to incline to when his removal to Peterborough was purposed; and I am assured from those about him that if the king should be pleased to tell him he is resolved on his translation to Chichester he will readily close with it; and let me beseech your lordship to fix him there and to advance *your creature* to Exeter where I can serve the king and your lordship.

I hear his majesty designed me for Bristol, which I should not decline, was I not already under such pressure by my father's debts, as must necessarily break my estate in pieces, if I find no better prop than the income of Bristol, not greater than £300 per annum, and the expense in first fruits, consecration and settlement will require £2000. If Peterborough and Chichester be both refused me I shall not deny Bristol, though mine own ruin goes with it, if it be the king's pleasure or any way for his majesty's service that I should accept of it, but I hope the king will have more compassion on his *slave*, and that your lordship will vouchsafe a better lot to

My Lord,  
Your most humble and devoted servant,  
J. TRELAWNY.

Macaulay has delighted to honour Trelawny, but to us he is only another example of the inability of a frenzied populace to estimate moral character.

"*Vox populi, vox Dei*,' is monstrous odd;  
It is, and it is not, the voice of God."

For a specimen of the bishop in his parental character see our ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, 95. The Great House in the Marsh was at this period, 1688, the residence of Sir William Poole.

9. In the Southwell collection were various letters of Dr. Griffith, a physician at Bristol, who was the medical attendant on Sir Robert Southwell and his family. Richard Gravett, a bookseller in Bristol, in a letter to Sir Robert, in 1687, sends him a pamphlet on the state of Ireland, and adds, "what other new things come forth, I will take care and send; and if you take them not, I will take them again if you peruse them three or four days or a week." In another letter, Judge Baldock's charge at Bristol is said to be highly intemperate and in favour of the Popish government of James II. A letter from H. Gascoyne to Sir Robert Southwell, October 30th, 1688: "My lord hath received a very civill letter from the mayor of Bristol, on the occasion of his being chosen their high steward, to which I send by his grace's command under this cover to you, to cause it to be delivered in such manner as you shall judge proper." The Duke of Beaufort was chosen lord high steward in that year, and the town clerk, Romsey, on November 1st, announced his intention of forwarding an express "to let his grace know what we think to be very true that the Dutch are landed at Torbay." Letters of Thomas Edwards, of Bristol, one dated December 3rd, 1688, acquaints Sir Robert "that the fear of the country people about having their horses impressed is vain, none were to be taken but with the person's consent; on complaint the horse to be immediately restored, and the latter to be severely punished."

10. The whole nation was now in a ferment, the leading men amongst the Liberals and Dissenters had never agreed with James' policy, and those of them who had taken that side had lost all faith in him. Numbers of the principal persons in the kingdom were in correspondence with William, Prince of Orange, entreating him to come over and regulate the government and save the Protestant faith. James, in terror, proposed to call a new Parliament, and on August 24th the writs were issued, returnable on November 27th. The plans for frustrating the designs of the Prince of Orange were, however, rendered abortive by James' infatuation, vacillation, and pride. On September 26th he restored the deputy-lieutenants and justices whom he had displaced; on the 28th he proclaimed a general pardon, and, whilst replacing in power the Church of England men, whose cause the Prince of Orange had espoused, and restoring them to the commissions and trusts they had been unjustly deprived of, he, in the madness of folly, revoked the writs for calling a Parliament, and determined to

govern without one. On the 17th of October, still further to complicate his cause, having made foes of all the Tory members of the corporations by demanding under a *quo warranto* either the surrender of their charters or the displacement of those who would not receive and act upon his Declaration. In Bristol he dissolved the new Chamber by proclamation, and ejected the members he had thrust upon the city, making new foes, by replacing those whom he had previously turned out. A copy of this proclamation may be seen in Seyer II., 537-9. On the 22nd of October there arrived in Bristol an order to carry the changes into effect. On the 23rd Sir William Clutterbuck, by the old charter, convened the former members, who chose William Jackson, merchant, in the room of the king's nominee, Thomas Day, mayor; Jackson had been elected on September 15th, and was now re-elected; whilst John Hine and Thomas Saunders, sheriffs, had also to yield to Thomas Liston and Joseph Jackson, merchants; these sheriffs of a month were also displaced, and Thomas Cole, merchant, and George White, draper, were chosen in their room.

11. In 1688 John Romsey, the town clerk, was missing; there was "considerable excitement in the corporation on account of the confusion that would have ensued to all civic transactions" when a letter was received in which he states, "I am a prisoner in the Fleet (London) at the suit of my daughter and only child, and her husband." At the suggestion of the mayor, "his very loving friend, Nathaniel Wade," was allowed to act as his deputy. Romsey got over his difficulties, indeed it is doubtful whether it was not a friendly arrest, as both he and his brother were concerned deeply in the Revolution (Romsey's daughter had married Sansom, the collector of customs, Bristol). Be that as it may, he was a part owner in the *Duke* and the *Duchess*, privateers, by which £178,000 was cleared, and out of the proceeds he gave a pair of silver candlesticks to the Bristol cathedral of the value of £174. These the dean and chapter placed on the communion table.

Nathaniel Wade was a barrister of the Temple, admitted to the New Inn, June 11th, 1678, to the Temple, June 16th, 1681. Romsey swore that Wade was concerned in the Rye House plot. He joined Monmouth in Holland under the name of John Lane (his mother was a Lane), and superintended the landing of the cannon at Lyme Regis; after Sedgemoor he fled to Ilfracombe, and thence to Brendon, where he was taken by the rector, Richard Powell, who says, "the colonel, in attempting to escape, was shot through the back; he was disguised, on his head he had an ordinary hat, grey clothes, leather stockings, the soles of his shoes three-

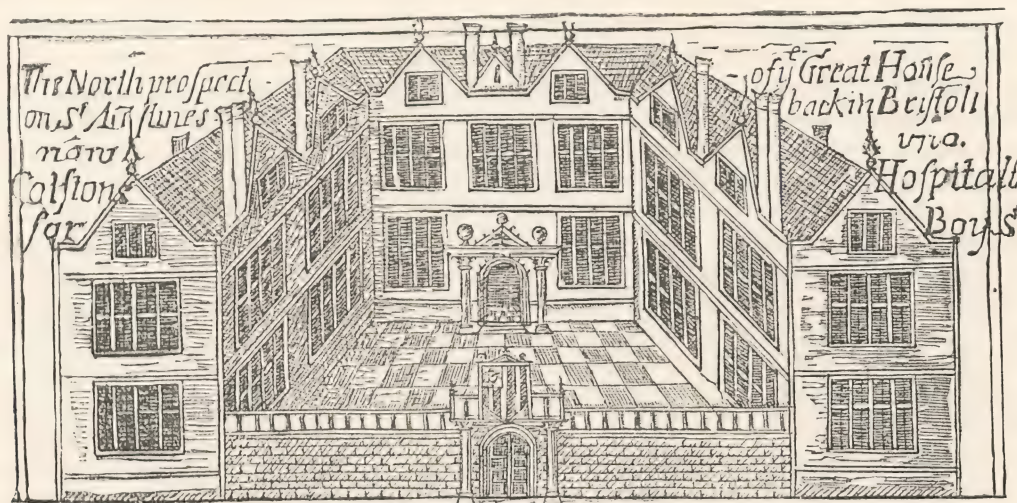
quarter inch thick, with great nails in them of the ordinary country fashion. I took up his coat to see where the bullet lodged and found that he had a good holland shirt on his back. I told him that this shirt did not belong to those clothes, &c. He said his name was Lane, but when his wound became worse he disclosed his proper one; he lay at this place some weeks under the care of two surgeons." Wade's confessions are dated from Windsor; but he was first imprisoned in the Tower, where James visited him to induce him to give up the names of those concerned in Monmouth's rebellion. His friends used to send him, done up in the plaits of his shirt, the names of those who suffered death; these he gave to the king, who, finding he could get no more information, pardoned him, saying, "Your

over the Frome at the end of Wade street was built by him, in conjunction with Abraham Hook and others, in 1711. He resigned the office of steward in 1711-12. He was buried in the Dissenters' burial ground, Red-cross street, in 1717; he left two daughters, Anne and Damaris, whose births are recorded on the register of the Friends.

12. The following curious entry in the Archives shows how indisposed the burgesses were to accept office at this time:—

Meeting of the Common Council, November 6th, 1688, "was read the order and summons to Mr. William Browne, sheriff-elect, to appear here and be sworn into that office":—

Mr. William Browne,—Above is a copy of our Comon Councell whereby you are chosen as well one of the Sherrives of this City of Bristoll as one of the Bayliffes of the Maior and Commonality



From an old Print.

friends, Major Wade, have long been with the dead." In 1687 he was sent down by the king, who was anxious to curry favour with the Dissenters, as town clerk, with a revised list of the common council, but he only held office for a few months. In 1688, on the landing of the Prince of Orange at Torbay, he mounted his horse to join him; but remembering that he owed his life to James' clemency he returned to his house, where he became conveniently ill until William was firmly fixed on the throne. In 1689 he, with Sir Francis Trenchard and others, gave evidence before the House of Lords regarding the judicial murders of Lord William Russell and Algernon Sydney. In 1698 he gave £50 to St. Peter's hospital, of which he was chosen deputy-governor in 1704. In Anne's charter, 1710, we find him steward of the sheriff's court, in which he was confirmed. He appears as Major Wade at the head of the militia, repulsing the Kingswood colliers. The bridge

of the same City, and you having not appeared to be sworn and take upon you the saide Office according to former summons—I, William Jackson, Maior, and we the Aldermen of this City hereto subscribing, Doe hereby signifie to you your said Election, and doe now again summons you to appear, on Tuesday, the sixth day of November, by tenne of the clock in the forenoon of the same day, at the Guildhall of this City (at which time and place I, the said Maior, have already summoned a Councell to be holden for that purpose), then and there to be sworn into and take upon you the said offices, or to show good cause to the contrary, in default whereof you will be fined according to the custome of this City. Given under our hands and also under the Common Seale of this City this third day of November, one thousand six hundred eighty and eight. Subscribed, William Jackson (Maior), John Hickes, Richard Crumpe, Joseph Creswicke. An oath was then made by Thomas Chatton and Giles Andrews of the service thereof.

Mem.—That on Monday, the fifth day of November, 1688, we, underwritten, by order of Mr. Maior, went with an instrument of summons under the Common Seale of this City (a true copy whereof is above written) to Frenchay, where, between seven and eight of the clock in the morning, we knocked at the door of the inner court of Mr. Browne's house, but receaving no answer, we went

to the house adjoining, being Mr. Browne's tenant's house, and inquired of a woman there (whom we suppose to be Mr. Browne's tennant) for Mr. Browne, his wife and family, were by her answered that Mr. Browne had not been at home for a long time, whereupon we left the instrument open upon the porch, &c.

This being deemed sufficient service, the House proceeded to impose a fine of £400 upon the said Mr. Browne. "Drowning men catch at straws." James had, in March, sought, by further concessions, to regain the position he had lost in the esteem of the citizens of Bristol, and he appointed Symon Hurle to be alderman, and John Jones, James Wallis, Thomas Walden, Samuel Clark and Daniel Gwilliam to be members of the common council in place of those members who had been dismissed, or rather, we judge, of those who declined to serve. The council met on the 25th, and appointed a committee to draw up an address of thanks to the king for the choice he had made. John Duddlestone was its reporter, and on presenting it he was apparently knighted, inasmuch as we find that William, about fourteen months later, made Sir John Duddlestone, knt., a baronet on June 11th, 1689-90. This was twelve years before Anne came to the throne, and it completely demolishes the silly story which has recently been revived in a religious periodical, viz., that Duddlestone was a corset maker, who had a vulgar wife, and that he was knighted because, when prince George of Denmark, Anne's husband, was in Bristol, Duddlestone was the only man who showed him hospitality. He was a wealthy tobacco merchant of Bristol and London, with residences in both Shannon court, Corn street and St. Peter street, Bristol. James was too late; the very sheriffs he appointed were the men who in Bristol declared the throne vacant by the abdication of the king and proclaimed his successor.

13. On November 4th and 5th, 1688, the Prince of Orange landed in Torbay; the stone on which he first set foot is guarded as a precious relic on the pier at Brixham. With a Dutch army of 14,000 men he marched on Exeter. There he remained ten days, receiving accessions from all ranks. The news was brought daily to Bristol by post, and was cried about the streets in halfpenny broadsheets. As William advanced to Sherborne the possession of Bristol, as the key of the west, was felt to be of the first importance. The Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir John Guise were sent to secure the city for the prince. Sir John had, from a difference with the Duke of Beaufort, been constrained to take refuge in Holland. Now the tables were turned; he had raised in Gloucestershire a regiment for the prince, and with it and two troops of dragoons, one Dutch and the other English, he entered Bristol, "the duke," says one

*Calendar*, "not staying to dine." Guise then sent the dragoons on to make sure of Gloucester. Then came in the Lord Delamere, who, seeing the condition of affairs, did with his six companies declare for the Protestant religion and the Prince of Orange. It would seem to be a matter of course, but so it has ever been that in times of confusion, when the grip of the law is relaxed, a mob has arisen in Bristol. No sooner did the rabble know that Beaufort had retired, than they, before Guise could arrive, sacked the house of Mr. Whitney, a Catholic collar-maker, in Castle street, ruined his household goods, burned his books and stole his valuables, besides abusing his wife, he being absent in London; from thence they went into King street to two other such houses, and did much harm. The following week they rose again in tumult; but the three knights, Sir John Knight, Sir Richard Crump, and Sir Thomas Earl, although they were pronounced and avowed "no Popery" men, rushed to the rescue, drew their swords, and so daunted the rabble that they fled. Seven of them were captured and put in prison; the rest escaped.

The king fled, but being taken, was brought back to London, finally leaving the realm on December 23rd. On the 16th December the dragoons left Bristol, having in charge six horses laden with money raised by customs and excise in this city (tobacco then paid 5*d.* per pound duty).

"James II. succeeded to his brother under many disadvantages, so far as his own character is taken into account. His arbitrary principles had never been concealed, because he viewed the prerogative in the light of a religious ordinance, committed to the sovereign by an authority above all human control, and entrusted to his wisdom for the good of the church and people. He was a man of good private character, steadiness and a conscientious regard to truth, and he had a great command over his passions; but to these valuable qualities were added so deep an infusion of despotism as to render him quite unfit to govern the kingdoms over which he ruled. The inroads which he made on the constitution, and the designs he meditated against the Protestant established church, hurried on a crisis for which he was unprepared."

14. We know of no more appropriate period in which to give a brief history of Bristol's great philanthropist than the reign of King James, brief though it was. Our readers will see how at a critical period in our civil history, when the king was truckling to the Catholics and leavening the corporation with his friends, Colston called in the moneys he had lent to the city, and in disgust took up his residence elsewhere; whether he

acted wisely is not for us to decide, we simply narrate the fact as we find it.

Edward Colston was the eldest son of William Colston and Sarah (*née* Batten), his wife, who resided in Small street, Bristol, in a mansion the remains of which are now included in that portion of the Guildhall which is occupied by the Law Library and other offices. Mrs. Colston was on a visit to her parents, in Temple street, when the child was born, on November 2nd, 1636. The house, which stood opposite to Dr. White's almshouses, has been demolished. He was christened in Temple church, November 8th, 1636. The baptismal feast was held after the mother's return to her home, in December. We learn from the monument in All Saints church, "To the dear memory of his father, his mother, their two daughters and four sons, William, Thomas, Robert, and a second William," that there was a family of at least eight children. Thomas and Robert, together with another son, Richard, were alive in 1676, and are mentioned in the father (William Colston's) will. The family was of good descent. From Gwillim's *Heraldry* we find that a Colston of Essex, in the reign of Edward III., bore arms—two barbels respecting each other. The arms of the Bristol Colstons prove them to have belonged to the same family; although the fish are commonly supposed to be dolphins in their coat of arms, they are not, we believe, the conventional dolphin of heraldry, but the barbel. The legend that Colston adopted the dolphin in his arms because one of these fish entered a hole that had been made in one of his ships, and so stopped what would otherwise have been a fatal leak, must be discarded, the arms being of so much earlier a date. The first mention of the family in the annals of Bristol is in 1345, when Thomas Colston had estates in Temple street, bequeathed to him by John Woodrowe. In 1387 a Thomas Colston served as one of the bailiffs of the town. Thomas, the great-grandfather of the philanthropist, was sheriff in 1561–2, and mayor in 1577–8. On an old stone which used to be under the reading-desk in All Saints church was the following inscription:—"Thomas Colston, mayor and alderman of this city, died 16th November, 1597.

"Death is no death, now Thomas Colston lives,  
Who fourscore years hath lived to his praise :  
A joyful life now Christ doth to him give,  
Who wrong'd no wight, each man commends his ways.  
Death him commands to bid this world adieu ;  
Thrice happy those who die to live anew."

His son William was sheriff in 1600; another Thomas Colston was sheriff in 1629; whilst William, the father of Edward, was sheriff in 1643, and deputy-lieutenant of Bristol and commander of Colston's mount during

the siege in the year 1645. Humphrey Colston, an uncle, resided in Spain, being English consul at Malaga. Edward Colston was early put to nurse at Winterbourne, but was educated at Christ church, London [see his letter bearing date March, 1705], after which we get no certain information about him until he bursts upon our notice as the friend of education. Barrett says that "at years of maturity he was sent as a factor to Spain, where he behaved with great diligence and prudence. He cultivated the Spanish trade of oil and fruit with such industry, that besides the fortune descending to him from his parents, and some say by the death of his brothers (one of whom is said to be consul at Venice), he acquired great riches, so great that the family since have never yet given any account how his fortune accumulated so fast. It has been said he was also concerned early in the trade to the East Indies; all agree that he was a most successful merchant, and never insured a ship and never lost one."<sup>1</sup> Chalmers says that two of Colston's brothers died in Spain the victims of assassination, a tragedy which had its influence on Colston's character. But Mr. Garrard, the late chamberlain, and Mr. S. G. Tovey, Colston's talented biographer, have failed to verify the tradition, and evidently disbelieved it. In 1680 Edward Colston was chosen one of the governors of Christ's hospital, London, to which, within five years, he gave £500, and again in 1693–4 a free gift of another £500. His father died in 1676, and left him certain estates in Hambrook, together with a third part of two houses and a warehouse in St. Peter's parish, after the death of his wife (Edward's mother, who lived until 1701), also £1,000 in cash. In 1682 he lent the city of Bristol £1,800, at five per cent. In 1683, December 10th, he took up his freedom as the son of William Colston; and on the 17th of the same month, as "a free burgess of Bristol and a *Meire* (*i.e.*, St. Kitts') merchant, son of William Colston, deceased." He became a member of the Merchant Venturers' Society, was chosen on a committee for managing the affairs of Clifton, at which we find him present June 7th and 21st, 1684. In the preceding April he was also chosen on the vestry of St. Werburgh's. From receipts in the Council chamber, we find that Colston's loan to the city had increased, in 1685, to £4,000, by his having transferred to him seals for £2,000, which Mrs. Colston, his mother, had lent. On October 13th, 1687–8, we find him suing the city. "The mayor, Sir Richard Lane, recommends to the House the business of Mr. Colston, that an extent is issued against the city. It being proposed that the quit rents of the Castle and Stockland be security to such person who shall advance

<sup>1</sup> Barrett, 655.

the money to Mr. Colston, or to Mr. Colston himself; and Mr. Town Clerk to take care of the conveyances for the mortgage to accept of £200, at any time in discharge of the principle, and that Mr. Romsey, town clerk, and Mr. Yate take care to see to this.

"April 9th, 1686, £400 was paid to Colston; and November 5th, 1687, the remainder, including legal charges, to Mr. Thomas Edwards."<sup>1</sup>

Colston hated the Roman Catholics, and the Pope's nuncio had been in Bristol during the year. The king had granted the Declaration of Indulgence, and the changes in the corporation were imminent; Bristol was veering round to the side of Dissent and Catholicism. To a man of Colston's character, these would appear to be reasons sufficient for him to break with the corporation and to take up his residence elsewhere; he chose Mortlake, Surrey, where, in 1689, we find him engaged in parochial affairs.

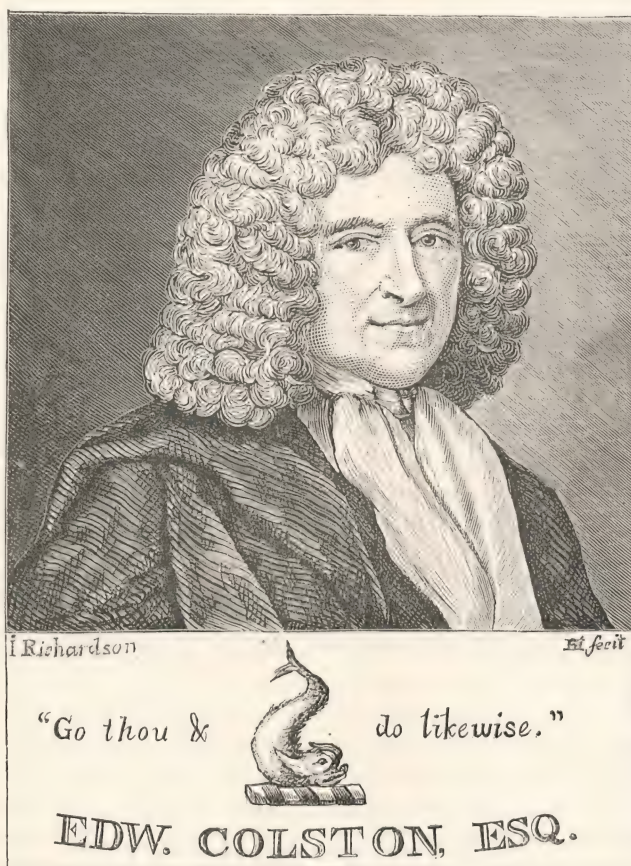
Leaving for a moment solid facts for vague traditions, we give the following items on the word of Silas Told, "a man of eminent veracity," says John Wesley; but inasmuch as we find that Told states as facts that Colston was the son of Edward Colston, a journeyman soap-boiler, whose wages did not exceed ten shillings per week, and "that he built at his own expense the whole church and tower of All Saints, near the Tolzey, Bristol," we can only accept Told's testimony for facts that came under his personal observation. The statements he gives have obtained currency as truths, but our readers must judge for themselves. Told was only admitted into Colston's school at the age of eight years, *i.e.*, in 1719, so that we cannot give much credence to his account of what happened to his patron thirty-five years before he himself was born. "He paid his addresses to a lady; but being very timorous lest he

should be hindered in his pious and charitable designs, he was determined to make a Christian trial of her temper and disposition, and therefore filled his pocket full of gold and silver, in order that if any object presented in the course of their tour over London bridge he might satisfy his intention. While they were walking near St. Agnes' church, a woman in extreme misery, with twins in her lap, sat begging, and as he and his intended lady came, arm-in-arm, he beheld the wretched object, put his hand in his pocket, and took out a handful of gold and silver, casting it

into the poor woman's lap. The lady, being greatly alarmed at such profuse generosity, coloured prodigiously, so that when they were gone a little farther toward the bridge-foot she turned to him and said, 'Sir, do you know what you did a short time ago?' 'Madam,' replied Colston, 'I never let my right hand know what my left hand doth.' He then took leave of her, and for this reason never married, although he lived to the age of eighty-three. . . . His penurious, avaricious housekeeper telling him that he was profuse and overfree, he would reply, 'Sweetheart, be not troubled, I only lend to the Lord, He will restore me fourfold; riches flow on me surprisingly; I have it from Christ to distribute among His own

members, I neither can nor will be unfaithful to my trust.' When some friends would urge him to marry, he usually replied in a sort of pleasantness, 'Every helpless widow is my wife and distressed orphans my children.'"<sup>1</sup>

Colston did not, however, when he became non-resident, forget the poor or the ignorant in his native city. "September 2nd, 1690, 'Colston made application to the corporation to purchase two acres, three quarters and twenty-seven perches of pasture ground,



<sup>1</sup> Tovey's Life of Edward Colston, 21-2.

<sup>1</sup> Tovey's Life of Edward Colston, 14.

on St. Michael's hill, just above the site of St. Mary Magdalen's nunnery, called the Turtle's, or Jonas Leaze, to erect thereon an almshouse and chapel and three other messuages. The application was referred to the surveyors of city lands, to contract with him. The 10th September following the corporation agreed to sell him the same for £100, which he paid on the ensuing November. The charge of building and finishing this house amounted to about £2,500. January 24th, 1696, he conveyed to Sir Richard Hart and twenty-seven other persons of the city of Bristol a piece of land, called the Turtle's, or Jonas Leaze, which he had purchased of the corporation, on part of which he had built an almshouse, and that the same should be called Colston's almshouse, and be for ever employed for an almshouse or abiding place for twenty-four persons (twelve men and twelve women), the said Edward Colston to appoint during his life, and afterwards by the master, wardens, assistants and commonalty of the Merchant Adventurers.' . . .

" 'Merchants' hall, at a meeting, September 17th, 1695, Colston's proposal for the endowment of the almshouse was read, and the committee of the master wardens, Sir John Knight, Mr. Arthur Hart, Mr. Robert Yate and Mr. Edward Tocknell, were appointed to consult with him and conclude the arrangements, which they did 20th instant, and next day delivered their sentiments to him.'<sup>1</sup> Colston was therefore in Bristol at that date, but by the 20th of the following month he had returned to Mortlake, where we find him attending a vestry meeting. . . .

" 'December 5th, 1695.—The almshouse on St. Michael's hill wants some men to fill it; if you, or any of your body, know of any persons that are fit to go into it, I would gladly have them put in. I would willingly that they should be such as have lived in some sort of decency; but that a more especial regard should be had that none be admitted that are drunkards, nor of a vicious life or turbulent spirit, lest the quiet and order the inhabitants at present live in be thereby interrupted. If a fit man could be found out that should succeed Mr. Ham he might be presently admitted, and his allowance should be 12*d.* per week more than the rest, till he comes into his station; for, in truth, when he (Mr. Ham) dyeth, the house will be under a very great want of a prudent overseer, to preserve the good order that is among them. One of those houses which I built, adjoining to the almshouse, and is made over as part of its maintenance, wants a tenant: I recommend it to the care of all the gentlemen of the Merchants' hall to find out one, and when that is done I make it my request to them that he may be put in at

<sup>1</sup> Merchants' Hall Proceedings.

such rent and terms as they shall think fit; and further, that they would please to appoint a committee to visit the house once every three or six months at longest, for I leave it wholly under their care and management, and shall in a little time send them down all the writings relating to it.

" 'I am, sir, your humble servant,

" 'EDWARD COLSTON.'

" 'Mortlake, the 6th October, 1696.

" 'Gentlemen,—I think in this month or the ensuing you constantly hold a general court for the stating your yearly accounts, at which time I make it my request unto you that the account relating to my almshouse on St. Michael's hill may likewise be audited, to prevent a farther meeting thereabouts. The trouble, therefore, I cannot apprehend can be so much as to obstruct your other affairs that are appointed for that day, because it will not consist of many articles. As for the debtor part, the weekly allowances may be all comprised in one sum. The coal money in another, which is £12, being for twenty-four sacks for each inhabitant, half to be delivered before, and the other after, Christmas; the soap and candle money being £12 more, namely, 10*s.* to each of them. In a third article, the reading of prayers. In a fourth, which comprehends all the charges of the house, when there shall be any casual ones, as repairs, they may be also added; and for the creditor side of the account, the fee-farm rents (when they are received by you, which I intended should have been this year, but that the scarcity of money hath obstructed the regular payments of them) may be made good in one article, the rent of Lansdown's house in a second, Jane Short's in a third, and the rest of the ground behind the almshouse in a fourth, and the forfeitures for any omissions about prayers (if any shall be) in a fifth. Although I have mentioned this method, yet I shall submit to such an one as you shall judge more proper to be used, whatsoever it be that you shall agree upon. I desire it may be made up once in a year, and that the balance that shall be due thereupon may be brought to the account of the year following, which balance is designed shall be kept as a stock for repairs, against such time as they shall be needful. The rents appropriated for the maintenance of the house exceeding the constant charge by about £10 per annum, since you have not received this year the fee-farm rents (which, God willing, shall be paid you this next), please to credit the house for such sums as have been paid to your treasurer by Mr. Thomas Hart and Mr. Richard Bailly, which last hath my directions to pay you any further sum that shall be needful to defray the expenses till Michaelmas; and likewise for £15, due from Walter Lansdown, for one year's rent

of his house, to Michaelmas last; and also for £2 5s., due from John Short, for the other half-year, for said ground; and further, for £7, one year's rent of his house he now lives in, due at Michaelmas. I desire the said rent may be demanded and received from them before your audit, because I would willingly then have them made good in account, forasmuch as it would be more facile and clear if all the income of the year could be received before and made good at that time; but, notwithstanding this account is not to be audited before your general court sit, I judge it convenient that the yearly expense be not carried beyond Michaelmas, and from that time a new account to commence. Towards the carrying on of this new charge, I have further desired Mr. Richard Bailly to pay your treasurer £50. I am forced to pay it in by such small sums, because I find money with you at Bristol is also received with a great deal of difficulty. One of the houses adjoining to the two abovenamed is yet unlet. I should be glad if a tenant could be procured for it by any of the members of your society; but if that cannot be done, then to encourage the present reader of the prayers to live therein. I shall be willing that he be for the future allowed £10 per annum, where, as he has hitherto been paid but £8, for reading the prayers; neither shall I give more, unless it be upon the said condition—for the rent of the house he shall pay but £8 per year, which I judge to be moderate; however, if it should be thought too much, you may please to do therein as you find convenient. Herewith I enclose you a scheme of the rules which I would have observed in the almshouse; if, after perusal, you shall find it needful to have a further addition, pray favour me with sentiments thereabouts, and you will oblige,

“Your humble servant,

“EDWARD COLSTON.

“When your court is over, pray favour me with a copy of the account as it stands in the book, and likewise with the names of such feoffees that are dead since the particulars I had from Mr. Yeamans, which may be two years past.

“To Captain Samuel Price,

“Master of the Merchants' hall in Bristol.”<sup>1</sup>

These are fair samples of his letters, and they prove him to have been a thorough man of business as well as a Christian philanthropist; he was a strict man, one who held to the adage “Take care of the pence, the pounds will take care of themselves,” and who would and did exact the fulfilment of his bond to the utmost farthing.

Colston did not forget the class of men who had helped him to make his great wealth:—

<sup>1</sup> Tovey's Life of Edward Colston, 31-33.

“October 24th, 1695.—That at this court and hall, the master reporting that Mr. Edward Colston hath proposed to maintain six poor sailors in our almshouse, in case we will build convenient rooms to receive them, it is voted that his proposal be thankfully accepted, and the master desired to write him a letter of thanks.

“Worthy Sir,—I this day communicated to our hall your charitable proposal of providing for six poor sailors for ever, if we would build additional rooms to our present almshouse for their reception, the which we unanimously accepted of, and a committee is chosen to prepare fit buildings accordingly; and they are agreeing with workmen forthwith to sett about it, as well for their six as for six persons intended to be settled there by the executors of Mr. Rd. Jones, deceased, who resolve to follow your good example. And by order of the said society, their thanks are by these rendered you by,

“Sir, your humble servant,

“SAMUEL PRICE, Master.

“To Mr. Edward Colston, Merchant, London.

“Merchants' hall, Bristol, 24th October, 1695.”

To this Colston answers:—

“I received yours of the 24th October in due time, whereby I perceived that the Merchants' hall had resolved upon the building of a new apartment, not only for the reception of the six poor sailors proposed by myself, but for double that number; I return you my hearty thanks for imparting this said overture unto them, and to request you to render them, in my behalf, to the whole society, at their first meeting, for their unanimous consenting thereto. When I understand the house is finished I shall make provision for the maintenance of my quota.’

“It was not long before the Society of Merchants fulfilled the condition on which they had accepted Colston's endowment. In 1699 the eastern wing of the almshouse was built, the old centre rebuilt, and both angles united. On the left of the entrance, facing King street, are the city arms, with the date 1696, and on the right [adjoining the City Library] the date 1699, with the arms of the Society of Merchants. The part on the left was built with the monies of Colston and Jones. Placed against the centre almshouse in the great quadrangle, painted on a board, are these homely, truthful lines:—

“Freed from all storms, the tempest and the rage  
Of billows, here secure we spend our age—  
Our weather-beaten vessels here repair,  
And from the merchants' kind and generous care  
Find harbour here, no more we put to sea,  
Until we launch into eternity;  
And lest our widows, who we leave behind,  
Should want relief, they too a shelter find.

Thus all our anxious cares and sorrows cease,  
 Whilst our kind guardians turn our toils to ease,  
 May they be with an endless Sabbath blest,  
 Who have afforded unto us this rest.'

"The donation of Colston, for the support of six seamen, of which the hall takes the trust, is said to have arisen from an incident which Silas Told thus relates:—'One of his (Colston's) ships having been missing for upwards of three years, and having been given up as totally lost, arrived deeply laden. He said, as he had given her up as totally lost, he would claim no right to her, and ordered the ship and cargo to be sold, and the produce to be applied towards the relief of the needy, which was immediately carried into execution.'"

We next find the following entry, dated November 13th, 1695:—

"Ordered, that the thanks of this house be returned to Mr. Edward Colston, for his gift in having added six boys unto Queen Elizabeth's Hospital; and that the mayor (Samuel Wallis) and the aldermen are desired to write him a letter to that purpose.' [Colston, before he

purchased the land for the endowment of the additional boys, that his benevolent purpose might not be delayed, paid in the interval the sum of £70 per annum as the allowance for the six boys. In 1697–8 he conveyed to the governors of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital a house and sixty-eight acres of land, at Yatton, in the county of Somerset, which he had purchased of William Dale; and another messuage, and about thirty-five acres of land, at Congresbury, for the purpose of maintaining the said six boys. The boys to be the sons of free burgesses, and each boy to receive ten pounds as an apprentice fee, the same boys to be over and above the thirty belonging to the said hospital. And he further expressly provides that in case the governors should at

any time lessen the number of thirty-six boys, and should not fill up that number within three months, after a request in writing by him, or the Society of Merchants, it should be lawful for him, or the society, to possess themselves of the premises granted, and apply the profits thereof to the use of his hospital in the parish of St. Michael, or for the benefit of the Merchants' almshouse.]

"An Act of Parliament, passed in 1697, 'for supplying some defects in the Laws for the Relief of the Poor of this Kingdom,' led to the entire purchase of Aldworth's fine mansion in St. Peter's churchyard, commonly known as the Mint. Colston was the principal proprietor of the sugar-refining business, which, in 1689,

is described as there carried on by 'Edward Colston and Co-partners.' The partners were Richard Beachim, Esq., of London, Sir Thomas Day and Capt. Nathaniel Wade, of Rye-house celebrity. They sold the property on the 7th June, 1697, for £800. In the conveyance it is styled 'a mansion-house behind St. Peter's church, heretofore a sugar-house.' To aid



*City Library, adjoining the Merchants' Almshouse. 1876.*

in effecting this purchase, money was advanced by Colston and Richard Beachim. At a meeting of the court, held at St. Peter's hospital, November 22nd, the mayor (Sir Robert Yate) presiding, they were paid £200 each, 'in part of the money due for the purchase of the Mint workhouse for the corporation.' . . .

"Colston's name is not often visible in the books of the corporation. He is discernible at times as present in court, and once or twice as bestowing a donation. On August 8th, 1700, at a meeting of the court, it was ordered that he should have the thanks of the corporate body, 'that his name be put up in the table of benefactions, and that he be elected an honorary guardian of the poor of this city.' The record bears testimony why he

was thus distinguished:—‘Mr. Treasurer maketh report that Edward Colston, of London, Esq., present in court, hath paid him one hundred pounds, as his gift to the poor of this city, under the care of the corporation. Ordered, that he have the thanks of the court for the same, and that his name be put up in the table of benefactors.—(Signed) JOHN DUDDLESTONE, Governor.’

“The last notice we have of Colston’s attending the court in 1701 is October 9th.”<sup>1</sup> His presence in Bristol was doubtless connected with the pious view of comforting his aged mother and closing her eyes. On the 22nd of December, 1701, she fell asleep. He was present at her funeral sermon, which was preached in Temple church by the Rev. George Keith, and in All Saints church he caused to be erected a monument with this inscription:—

“TO THE DEAR MEMORY  
OF HIS FATHER, WILLIAM COLSTON, AND OF HIS MOTHER,  
SARAH COLSTON,  
INTERRED NEAR THIS PLACE,  
IN THE SEPULCHRE OF HIS ANCESTORS;  
ALSO,  
THEIR FOUR SONS, WILLIAM, THOMAS, ROBERT AND WILLIAM;  
FURTHER,  
THEIR TWO DAUGHTERS, MARTHA AND MARTHA,  
WHO WERE ALL NATIVES AND INHABITANTS OF THIS CITY;  
WILLIAM, HIS FATHER, DIED THE 21ST NOVEMBER, 1681, AGED 73,  
AND  
SARAH, HIS MOTHER, 22ND DECEMBER, 1701, AGED 93 YEARS.  
EDWARD COLSTON, THEIR ELDEST SON,  
BORN LIKEWISE IN THIS CITY, BUT AN INHABITANT OF LONDON,  
HATH DEDICATED THIS MONUMENT.”<sup>2</sup>

While his heart was yet warm with filial affection for her memory, he gave £1,000 for the maintenance of poor children, £3,000 for the relief of poor debtors in Whitechapel prison and the Marshalsea, and during a time of great scarcity in 1708–9, when wheat was 8s. to 9s. per bushel (more than double its ordinary price), he gave the munificent sum of £20,000 to the London committee for helping the poor throughout the country. These three benefactions are beyond all praise, inasmuch as they were anonymous. Previously to this last he had, in 1702, given £200 to the poor of the city of Bristol. He this year returned to Mortlake to reside, but before he left Bristol he gave £500 towards rebuilding the school-house of Queen Elizabeth’s Hospital. We can easily imagine that so great a friend of education would not sympathise very heartily with a corporation several of whose members were unable even to sign their names, as directed by 13 William III., for which inability they were removed from the council.

<sup>1</sup> Tovey’s Life of Edward Colston, 38–43.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

The manner in which the corporation received Colston’s advances will be understood from the following minute:—“‘Mr. Edward Colston, being a very great benefactor to this city by several charities and bounties, and this day having made proposal of adding a farther number of boys to those settled in the Hospital of Queen Elizabeth, of Bristol, it is ordered that Sir Thomas Day, Aldermen Jackson, Yate, Lane and Wallis attend him with the thanks of the house.’ His proposal was probably to add another four boys, so as to increase the number to forty-four, and also to rebuild the school-house, to make it capable of containing 120 boys. [Colston had from 1702–3 allowed the charity to receive the annual rent of £51, payable by John Porter, for premises at Wick St. Lawrence, for the maintenance of four boys, making in the whole forty-four in the hospital, but he had never conveyed these premises to the governors. The 24th July, 1710, having himself established an independent foundation, the following July the boys were reduced to forty.] We infer this from reading the heading of the subscription list:—‘We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do promise to pay towards the pulling down of the hospital, and rebuilding it convenient for the accommodation of 120 poor boys, the several sums following our respective names. Witness our hands this 26th day of August, 1702.’ ‘I, Edward Colston, promise to pay £500 for this purpose,’ &c. [The subscription list received additional names up to the month of March, 1704–5, when it amounted to £2,155, of which twenty members of the corporation contributed £1,400, £150 of which was never paid. The re-building commenced in the early part of 1703. Another house had been taken for the temporary occupation of the boys till March, 1704–5, when they were removed to the Mint, where they remained till their return to the new hospital, College green, September, 1706. The entire cost of the building of the ‘Free Grammar School’ was £2,471 14s., of which £2,005 was raised by subscription, and the remaining £466 14s. was paid out of the hospital funds.”<sup>1</sup>

When the re-building had commenced Colston proposed to give an additional sum towards the endowment, so that 100 or 120 boys should be on the foundation instead of forty-four. Municipal ignorance led to delay, and ultimately the offer was declined by the corporation. Cautious and deliberate, yet resolved, the good man waited awhile; but his next move was to make an offer to the Merchant Venturers’ Society.

“‘Mortlake, March, 1705–6.

“‘Gentlemen,—Although my intention of making provision for fifty poor boys hath been hardly censured

<sup>1</sup> Tovey’s Life of Edward Colston, 50–1.

by some of the inhabitants of your city, nay, even by some of the magistrates, if I have not been wrong informed; yet the sense of that hath not extinguished those thoughts, but I still retain them, and I make no doubt but they will meet with far different returns from the magistrates of the city of London, should I make the offer for the benefit of Christ's Hospital there, than they have from yours. But although I have had my education, and spent good part of my days there—yet, since I drew my first breath in your city, I rather incline that the poor children born there should partake thereof; therefore, if your society will please to undertake the trust (and are not of the opinion that gifts of that nature are only a nursery for beggars and sloths, and rather a burthen than a benefit to the place where they are bestowed), upon the conditions mentioned on the other side, which is a paragraph taken out of my late will; then it is my desire that you would take it into consideration whether the place may be proper and convenient; as also if there be a likelihood of finding of stone upon the premises—if not, if it may now be had from the field that was formerly Mr. Seward's, that lieth on the other side of the road, and from which I was furnished for the building of my almshouse. When you shall favour me with your sentiments thereon, then we will enter more into the further thoughts of the time of beginning the structure and the endowments it ought to have. My present ones are ten pounds per annum for each boy, which since I found was as much as was expended at Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, by the particulars given me out of their books for ten years following; and I suppose may be more than will now cost them at the Mint, to which, if £100 per annum were added for the master, &c., and for placing them out apprentice at £5 each, which will not be done but once in seven years, and therefore will not come to above £36 per annum; the whole provision, by these propositions, will come to £600 per annum for fifty boys, which is the least number I think of; and the upper part of the field belonging to my almshouse fronting the road for the building the house, if there be room enough for that purpose; there will be no need of orchard nor garden; neither will they there want for air, provided a court be assigned them to play in, which is what occurs to my thoughts at present. I shall attend yours thereabouts, if, sirs, you will oblige your humble servant,

“‘EDWARD COLSTON.’

“This letter sets at rest the vexed question as to the propriety of the removal of the school to Stapleton. It is no doubt a removal which Colston himself would have approved of. We read his anxiety that the boys

should not want for air, and that he thought of an orchard and garden, which, under the circumstances, could be dispensed with. The trustees, in the course they have pursued, have done all and everything to carry into execution the will of the founder. Almost the only instance in which Colston gives us any information concerning himself occurs in the preceding letter, wherein he says ‘he had his education and spent a good part of his days in London.’ . . .

“The merchants, above the predilections of the age for antiquated ignorance, appreciate Colston's intention, and the confidence he placed in their honourable society; and the hall writes the following reply, judiciously avoiding any comment on the discouragement with which his offer had been elsewhere received:—

“‘Merchants’ Hall, Bristol,

“‘30th March, 1706.

“‘Sir,—We received yours of the 21st instant, and yesterday, being as soon after as with convenience it could be, a hall was called, and your letter was read. It was voted and ordered, *nemine contradicente*, that the thanks of this hall should be returned to you for your kind offer in your letter; and the hall agreed to accept of the trust offered to be reposed in them, and we were appointed a committee to return the thanks of the hall accordingly, and further to correspond with you thereabouts.

“‘We do, therefore, in pursuance of such order, return you the hearty thanks of this hall for your good and charitable proposals; and as to the place you mentioned for building the house, some of our members have viewed it, and do find it very convenient and large enough for the purpose. We are informed that there is not stone on your own ground; but Mr. Holmes, who owns that ground which was Mr. Seward's, having been spoken to, hath offered that we shall have stone there at the same rate as we paid for your almshouse. As to the £10 per annum you propose for the maintenance of the boys, we are of opinion that that sum will be very sufficient; but as to the £5 for binding them out apprentices, we doubt that a boy in this time cannot be placed out to any good master for that sum. At present we shall not give you any further trouble, but shall attend your further directions, and with all give our utmost assistance to put forward so good a design, who are, sir, your most humble servants,

“‘WILLIAM CLARKE, Master.

“‘JOHN DUDDLESTONE.

“‘ABRAHAM ELTON.

“‘JAMES HOLLIDGE.

“‘THOMAS HORT.

“‘ABRAHAM BIRKEN.’

"Considering the above letter was written at an age when even some of the magistrates regarded a school as a 'nursery for beggars and sloths,' and members of the common council could not write, we may overlook the inelegancies of the composition and look at the liberal element which pervades it. . . .

"The members of the Merchants' hall, fully awakened to the importance of the trust about to be committed to them, and instigated by a due sense of their serious responsibility, zealously exerted themselves, to the utmost of their judgment, to bring into speedy operation the project of their exalted citizen. Colston was desirous of investing his money, intended for the support of the school, in land. Accordingly, March 17th, surveys of several estates were brought to the master of the hall, when the standing committee was ordered to survey the same, ascertain their value, and report on the most advantageous purchase. October 8th, two letters from Colston were read, relating to the maintenance and education of fifty boys, for which he offers £627 per annum. The members agree with him that it would be sufficient, but desire a little more for contingencies; and resolve that if he would settle £640 per annum, 'they would, with all gratitude and thankfulness, undertake the same, and enter into such covenants as shall be advised for the due performance thereof.'

"In the meantime the committee had been engaged in ascertaining the most available situation for the erection of the school. November 1st, 1706, it was discussed which would be the most favourable. Mrs. Lane's (the Great-house), St. Augustine's back, Colston's ground, on St. Michael's hill, 'or the house and garden (late Manning's), in Temple street.' The hall decided upon Mrs. Lane's house, if it could be purchased, and appointed a committee to view the same. November 6th, they reported that the house was found substantial, and with some alterations would be well adapted for the purpose; that, exclusive of the materials of the sugar trade, still-house, and the hangings of the dwelling-house, they did not consider £1,500, the sum required, unreasonable, which decision they desired to communicate to Colston, who, the following August, 1707, purchased the house for £1,300, and its conversion and adaptation to the purposes of the school were immediately proceeded with."<sup>1</sup>

This stately mansion, so often noticed in these pages, had been built on the site of an extensive friary of the Carmelites (see ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, 112). "Though prudent and careful in his expenditure, Colston never withheld what was necessary. He desired to be guided by the knowledge and experience of others in prose-

cuting and maturing his benevolent institutions. In answer to his enquiries as to the amount requisite for giving full development to the projected school, he is informed by the hall that it would require an estate of not less than £850 per annum to maintain, educate and apprentice fifty boys, and that they supposed such an estate would cost £18,000. 'The 10th June the hall agreed to purchase, as part of the endowment, an estate of Edward Browyer, Esq., at Beare, in the county of Somerset, for the sum of £9,000 and 150 guineas; and on the 19th, as another portion of the endowment, accepted Colston's proposed settlement of his manor of Locking, in the same county, valued, by Mr. Stephen Stringer, at £5,000. In a letter from Colston, of the 5th July, he states that he considers it would be more convenient to make all purchases in his own name, and then convey them to the hall in one deed, with which the hall concurred.' A survey and estimate of the estate of the late Sir Thomas Eastcourt, at Nation, in the county of Wilts, was also made by Mr. Stringer, and sent to Colston, as another investment for the remainder of his endowment. December 12th, the same year (1707), Sir John Knight, Sir John Duddlestone, Mr. George Mason and Mr. William Clark were requested to wait on Colston, at London or Mortlake, in order to confer with him concerning the school. They returned with proposals from him in his own hand, relating to the estate agreed to be purchased of Mr. Browyer and to the manor of Locking, which proposals were accepted by the hall.

"While these negotiations are pending a letter is received from Colston, dated April 2nd, wherein he purposes to provide for an additional fifty boys, and desires that a clause should be inserted in the settlement, obliging the hall to maintain them upon the terms mentioned, provided a proportionable value of land should be endowed. To this the hall agreed conditionally, that they approved of the maintenance. [The hall accepted of the lands at Congresbury, lately purchased of Mr. Appleby, and intended to be settled by Colston, of the yearly value of £51. About this time he sent his scheme to the Merchants, who referred the same to counsel's opinion, by whom it was amended. The committee directed the master and others to attend upon Colston with it. The expenses of Mr. Mason, Mr. Clark and Sir John Duddlestone, the members who waited upon Colston with the scheme to and from London, were £55 8s. 9d., which was directed to be paid.] It is apparent throughout all Colston's negotiations that he was a strict disciplinarian—a skilful organiser of business arrangements, apt in making a bargain, and not to be taken advantage of; though voluntarily granting

<sup>1</sup> Tovey's Life of Edward Colston, 53-8.

away large sums, he was especially careful over small ones, and did not forget any quarter which, however trifling the amount, could be made productive. We may suppose the same principle to have influenced him in his commercial pursuits, to which probably he was more indebted for his vast wealth than to any caprice of fortune. In the letter wherein he makes the munificent proposal of supporting another fifty boys he enquires concerning the cellars under the 'Great-house,' and desires to know for what they will let. In reply, he is informed that they will not yield above £20 per annum.

"The draft of Colston's settlement for the maintenance of one hundred boys, legalised by counsel, was approved by the hall, which, October 14th, 1708, consented to accept the trust, and appointed a committee to inspect the progress of the work at the 'Great-house,' that it might be 'properly executed according to Colston's directions.' They were also 'to let the cellars and warehouses belonging thereto at most rent,' &c. At this period the names of forty members of the hall were sent to Colston, for his selection of feoffees for his intended settlement. The nominees, appointed by Colston himself, were—Francis Colston, Rev. Charles Brent, Rev. Hugh Waterman, Sir John Smyth, Bart., Edward Southwell, Esq., Richard Haynes, Thomas Hungerford, George Attwood, James Pym, Joseph Edwards, Thomas Oldfield, John Henely. In the conveyance (dated November, 1708) of the property for the support of the one hundred boys, Colston stipulated that he should have the nomination of the boys during his life, and after his decease one-half of them should be nominated by the Society of Merchants, the other half by his executors, and after their demise by his nominees. On the death of a nominee, the survivors were, within three months, to elect some other to fill the vacancy. . . .

"That he encouraged the labour by his presence is evident from the following familiar anecdote:—"During the alterations at the hospital one of the labourers, in ascending a ladder, was observed by Mr. Colston to be without a hat. Mr. Colston went to a shop in the vicinity to purchase one—his dress and appearance were such as to draw from the woman serving not very courteous behaviour; but during the negotiation Colston was discovered by the master, who was sitting in an adjoining room at dinner, who immediately came forward and expressed his thanks at having been honoured with his (Colston's) presence. Mr. Colston having purchased the hat, withdrew with it, and was observed to present it to the labourer.' . . . He possessed what is rarely united in the same person—humility and wealth. He inspected and assisted the labourers, regardless of everything but the object of his solicitude, and covered with dust and

lime, received (if we are to credit the apocryphal anecdote) that uncourteous treatment which too often befalls the wearer of soiled or homely apparel, however just and good the heart that may beat beneath it.

"Another little incident (communicated to the late Mr. Rowland's father, distiller on the Quay, by a carpenter who assisted in fitting up the school for Colston), touching upon Colston's fixedness of purpose, is to be preserved with jealous care, as an authentic pendant to the above. One day a man was called from his work to turn a grindstone, that a carpenter might sharpen his tools. Whilst thus engaged, Colston, not seeing the man at his usual work, sought for him. Coming to the place where he was, he sent him to his task, saying 'he wanted the school finished, that he might get his boys in;' and, taking the handle of the grindstone, continued turning as long as was necessary. . . .

"With his usual judicious consideration, Colston directed the master to inform the hall that he had allowed the expenses incurred in repairing the houses and lands to be settled; but that he expected in future no money should be charged for common repairs than that mentioned in a schedule affixed to the deed of settlement, to which the hall agreed, and that an abridgement of the settlement should be made, to be read over once a year, in the Common hall, at a meeting of the society. . . .

"He wrote, on April 20th, 1710, to the hall, expressing his intention to furnish the boys intended for the hospital 'each with a suit of clothes, cap, band, shirt, stockings, shoes, buckles, spoon and porringer—one of each; also, brewing utensils, barrels, bedding sheets, towels, tablecloths, notwithstanding the hall was bound to provide the same.' The clothes, &c., cost £122 10s., for which the thanks of the hall were voted him July 7th—"more especially his due, as the charge did not properly belong to him, but to the hall." <sup>1</sup>

That month the school was opened, and the day was observed by holding a special service at the Cathedral; the venerable founder, leading his grandniece by the hand, headed the procession from the school-house. "There has descended, by oral tradition, a beautiful passage in Colston's life, illustrative of his great humility, and his desire that not to the servant who did the work of his Master, but to the Master be the thanksgiving, the praise, and the glory. Shortly after the opening of the school, while Colston was yet in Bristol, a poor widow waited upon him with her only son, entreating Colston's aid in obtaining the boy's admission into the school on St. Augustine's back. After a few enquiries satisfactorily answered, the widow was made

<sup>1</sup> Tovey's Life of Edward Colston, 61-6.

glad by Colston removing her anxiety for her child, graciously adding that, if upon enquiry her case were proved as stated, he himself would be the boy's patron. The poor woman, in the fulness of her gratitude, said she would ever pray that Heaven's blessings might descend on Colston, and that when her son grew up she would teach him to thank his benefactor. 'No,' was the mild reproof, 'we do not thank the clouds for rain, nor the sun for light, but we thank the God who made both the clouds and the sun.'"<sup>1</sup> His solicitude for the welfare of the school is evinced by the letter of which we give a reduced facsimile. From his first settlement at Mortlake he took part in parochial affairs. There, on the death of his mother, he established two schools, and, in 1708, he re-built their almshouse.

The reaction against the Whig party, in 1710, was very great, and when the queen called a new Parliament Colston was proposed as one of the members for Bristol. "In a newspaper of the day the election is thus noticed: 'Bristol, October 28th.—On Wednesday last our election came on, and it was generally believed the old members would have carry'd it without opposition, for Edward Colston, Esq., who had given fifty thousand pounds to the city, in building of hospitals, schools, and other charities, refused to stand, by reason of his age; but some persons, who were well affected, demanded a poll for him and Captain Earle, and, after four days' poll, the said Mr. Colston and Captain Earle carried it—the first by near a thousand voices, and the latter by six hundred. It was surprising to see the joy it occasioned in this city when they carried their member that was present along the city, with the mitre and streamers before him,

<sup>1</sup> Tovey's Life of Edward Colston, 67-8.

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Mr George Mason

Wrote Colston

Mortlake 4th Decemr 1711

Sir

I am favoured with yours of 19<sup>th</sup> past & came to my hands but two days since, & was read by me with great satisfaction, because it informs me that if I should have made choice of so deserving a Gentleman to be their Master, by whom I cannot in if least I had there with any neglect of his affairs, so neither of want of care in seeing the trust reposed in them religiously performed. because thereon depends the welfare or ruine of so many poor Boys who may in time be made usefull & well to your City & Nation by their future honest Endeavour. The which that they may be, is what I principally desire & recommend unto you & the whole Society.

I having had notice by last post of the death of Mr. Mason who was chosen Master of my Almshouse considering how necessary it will be to have a proper man to succeed him, I am thence intreated to recommend it to all I care as you are included with you will please to communicate to them; in so doing & complying with it, I am, Sir, your most obliged

Yr humble servant  
Edward Colston

Reduced fac simile of a Letter from Colston.

and the whole city was illuminated, and the night concluded with bonfires and the ringing of bells.'"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tovey's Life of Edward Colston, 71.

In March, 1711, on the motion of the mayor, Christopher Shuter, a gross of bottles of sherry was presented to Colston for his services; the wine cost £16 18s. 6d. He presented petitions during the session from Bristol in favour of keeping the navigation free between Hanham mills and Bristol (there was a bill then pending for making the Avon navigable from Bath to Hanham mills); also for power to raise a further sum of £1,200 for employing, educating and maintaining the poor of the city; also that the trade to Africa might be open to all her majesty's subjects (slavery was not abhorrent even to a good man); also sundry other petitions, but he was not one that wasted the time of the House by speechmaking.

In 1699, Mary Gray left money by will, £50, the profits, less 6s. 8d., for a sermon for teaching fatherless children of Temple parish. Mr. John Gray afterwards supplemented the gift; he was a cousin of Colston, which fact probably induced the latter to take an interest in his native parish. (In the new schoolhouse, a building of good architectural character in Victoria street, is a tablet, with the following inscription: "On this endowed school for forty poor boys, by Mr. Edward Colston, in 1712, there was engrafted, in 1864, a national school, in accordance with a scheme sanctioned by his trustees, the Charity Commissioners, and the Committee of Council on Education, and new schools, with accommodation for 200 boys and 200 girls, were erected, with a good dwelling-house for the master, at a cost of £2,534 19s. 8d., of which there was contributed by the public £1,693 2s. 2d.; the Committee of Privy Council; £541 17s. 6d.; the Society of Merchant Venturers, £200; the Diocesan Society, £100; and publicly opened on the 21st February, 1866, by the Right Reverend Bishop Anderson.—JOHN LONGMAN, Treasurer.")

It is necessary, however, that we take a retrospective view of some ten years' occurrences in connection with this school, ere Colston interested himself in it. The Rev. Arthur Bedford, the vicar of Temple, had taken a great interest in the school founded by the Grays, had collected subscriptions in the parish, and devoted the offertory to the purpose of erecting a Church school for the 232 poor children in the parish, of whom only three were provided for by the guardians. After a while, the parochial subscriptions being £35 per annum, Mr. Colston gave an additional £10 to make it perpetual. The children then met in Tucker's hall, for which a rent of £4 was paid. Then Colston wrote to Sir John Hawkins, "that he had determined, God willing, to settle an annuity, for the support of the school for ever, of £80, in clothing and educating forty poor boys." In 1710 Sir John Duddleson, writing to Colston, ex-

presses his great approbation at the progress made by the children; soon after which Colston writes to the trustees, that "as soon as the parish is in cash to build a school, I will take care to order money to pay for the purchase of the ground." Then occurred the election, in which Colston and Bedford, both conscientious men, took different sides. Colston's antipathy to Dissenters, his inability to recognise any good in men who differed from the Established Church, or to conceive it possible that any clergyman could sympathise with schismatics, was the weak point in his character. Bedford was a liberal-minded man; he could not support Colston, nor did he like to stay in Bristol to oppose his valued friend, so he went to Gloucester, where he voted for the two Whig candidates. This led to a rupture between the friends, which ended by Mr. Bedford resigning the vicarage in 1713. (See ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, 146.) Colston never lost his good opinion of the late vicar, for we find him that year expressing his doubts as to whether the boys will be so well cared for by the new vicar as they were by his predecessor. In answer to a letter from the trustees, on February 13th, 1711, asking him to define the number of boys to be chosen from this school into the Hospital school, on St. Augustine's back, and the number of aged poor from Temple parish into his almshouse, in which they express a fear that the merchants who live in the richest parishes might, after his decease, prefer the poor of their own parish, to the injury of those living in poorer neighbourhoods, to prevent which they ask his leave to set up a table in the school that shall express his intention, he replies: "Whereas I have caused to be taken into my hospital on St. Augustine's back one hundred poor boys from the several parishes of the city, which I proportioned according to the lists given me by the churchwardens, out of an inclination to be equally assistant to them all, for which reason it is my desire that such method shall be still continued and perpetuated amongst them to the end that each parish may be partakers of the said charity, according to the number of their poor as it was at first given by me; but whereas at the said first admission there were taken in from Temple parish but eight boys, and since that time I have been credibly informed that the number of their poor is much increased by reason of the little trading there is in the said parish, which makes them want a further help; therefore, and because it was the place of my nativity, it is my will and desire that the said parish should enjoy the benefit thereof, in as full a degree as any other of the said city, and that in order thereto there should be at no time less than the aforesaid number of eight boys (if not ten) in my said hospital, and that so

often as any boy of the said parish shall die, or for any misdemeanour, or according to the establishment, be removed, another, or so many more, shall be taken in continually, and from time to time of the poor of the said parish as shall make up the said number, within the term of thirteen weeks, from his or their death and removal. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, in the presence of the two subscribed witnesses, the 31st December, 1712. Witness, Thomas Edwards and Robert Carr.—EDWARD COLSTON. To the present and all future masters, wardens, and assistants of the Society of Merchant Adventurers of the city of Bristol, and to all others that are empowered by my settlement to the said Society to place boys into my hospital, in the parish of St. Augustine.”<sup>1</sup>

Colston, a thorough business man, required an estimate of costs before he issued orders for the erection of the building. But the trustees, overstepping their authority, consulted a builder, and had all but come to terms, which brought down a sharp reproof. “I gave you no authority to send for or to agree with Mr. Davis. . . . Let not anything be done therein till you hear farther from me; and that there be no after additions, it will be much better to consider what will be needful as well for beauty and strength before my contract be entered upon. It being also intended that the inside be furnished with forms, desks, and what else be needful.—Your friend to serve you, EDWARD COLSTON.”<sup>2</sup>

The school finished, Colston paid the balance. “The trustees, in a letter through Mr. Gray, thank Colston for the £47 12s. 7d., and say that in order that the books for the schools shall have no tincture of Whiggism they have added this clause: ‘Provided that such books are composed by sound members of the Church of England, and are first approved of as such by the trustees, then by the bishop, and also by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.’”<sup>3</sup>

Colston was elected a member of the above society in 1709. They wished him to accept “a correspondence,” which he expressed himself willing to do, “provided it don’t oblige him to write frequent letters.” In 1710 he instituted a course of Lent lectures. “Whereas I have ordered sermons to be preached in some of the parish churches in the city of Bristol every Wednesday and Friday during Lent, yearly—upon several subjects relating to the primitive discipline and usage of the Church of England, such as the Lenten Fast, the Nature and Institution of the Catholic church, the Excellency of the present Church of England, the Censures of the Church, viz.: Excommunication, Penance, and Restitution, Baptism, Frequenting the Communion, Against

the Pope’s Supremacy, and the Errors of the Romish church, Confirmation, Frequenting the Public Worship, Our Saviour’s Meritorious Passion, Confession, Public and Private Absolution, Public and Private Repentance; (but because the last of these is a topic very much handled, and the two former may be a subject for one discourse, forasmuch as they are inseparably united), instead of Repentance, Superstition and Enthusiasm, in the room of Absolution (if it shall be adjudged by the generality of the ministers of the said city, who are to preach those sermons, that they will be more beneficial), which I have continued during my life, with an allowance of £20 per annum to such ministers of the said city as shall preach them, together with a sermon each month in the year to the prisoners in Newgate, and also a yearly sermon, on the 2nd November, at the Cathedral church, at which my hospital boys are to be present. The Society of Merchants to pay the £20 per annum for three years, and at the expiration of three years, should my executors and nominees be satisfied that such preaching hath proved beneficial to the inhabitants, by inclining them to a love and good liking of the institutions of the Primitive church, then the Society of Merchants to pay the same for ever. Should the ministers neglect their duty, the £20 per annum to be paid to the churchwardens of Redcliff and St. Thomas parishes, towards the maintaining of a charity school in each parish, for twenty children at least, if the parishioners will raise a fund sufficient to teach the children to read, write, cypher and the Church catechism, and in default the £20 to be given annually to forty poor housekeepers of the said two parishes who do not receive alms, and who do frequent and conform to the doctrines of the now established church. The minister, who shall teach my boys their catechism, to be allowed 20s. per annum, to make up his salary £10 per annum. The boys not only to repeat by heart, but thoroughly to understand the meaning and use of the present Church catechism.’ . . .

“We learn that here his favourite place of worship was the Cathedral, which he daily attended. On the Sabbath he would stand at the door to see his boys arrive, and as the long train, with doffed caps, passed their benevolent patron, he would kindly pat them on their heads, speak encouragingly to all, and follow them to his accustomed seat within the choir. Here the dean and chapter had exhibited their respect for his virtues and admiration of his character, such as we believe had been seldom conceded to a private individual—a stall, distinguished by his crest and initials, having been appropriated to his use. A short time previous to Colston’s decease he had made a contract, it is said, to pave the whole of the Cathedral choir with white marble, at

<sup>1</sup> Tovey’s Life of Edward Colston, 82. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 83. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 85.

his own private cost, to the amount of £600. This munificent intention he did not live to perform. He subscribed, however, towards beautifying the choir and laying the marble about the Communion table. . . .

"For the augmentation of sixty small livings, Colston placed in the hands of the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty £6,000. His intention was communicated to them by Mr. Edwards. In reply, the governors state that they look upon the charity 'as so prudent and well placed,' that they desire Mr. Edwards to give the thanks of the board to the donor. 'So large is this benefaction, that after all his other immense sums given in charity, the name of Mr. Colston does stand highest amongst those who have added to the Queen's Bounty for augmenting the maintenance of the poorer clergy.

"With respect to the amount of this benefaction there is a tradition which, although unauthenticated, may be incidentally related. It has since Colston's time been applied to many succeeding philanthropists, as it has probably descended to him from some kind soul in ages far remote. It is related that a gentleman waited upon Colston for the purpose of soliciting aid in the augmentation of several small benefices. He explained the requirements, and warmly advocated the cause of the poorer clergy. Colston had just opened a letter when interrupted by his visitor, and deferred its perusal until the interview was over. After expressing his regret that he could not, in justice to the many claims upon his purse, do more in so excellent a cause, he presented the gratified agent with a cheque for £3,000. While yet speaking, Colston's eye was attracted by some words in the opened letter, and he begged to be excused while he read. The contents informed him of the destruction by fire of several large warehouses. These, conformable to Colston's views, had not been insured, and his loss was very considerable. He calmly handed the letter to his companion, saying, 'See how the Lord reproves his tardy steward; I had reserved that property for a charitable endowment after my decease.' He then requested the cheque to be returned, which he immediately destroyed, and writing another, said, as he placed it in the hands of his visitor, 'I have still something left, let me endeavour to make atonement while I have to give.' He had doubled the amount!

"Colston had now retired to his seat at Mortlake. Whatever had been the cause, if any had induced him to withdraw his attendance from the parish meetings, it was removed, and he resumed his place the 24th June, 1711. We find him in attendance during the two following years, and for the last time the 13th June, 1713."<sup>1</sup>

In December, 1715, he writes to Mr. Robert Earl:—

<sup>1</sup> Tovey's Life of Edward Colston, 97–103.

"As to the accounts of both Houses, whensoever the hall shall think fit to send them, I expect and desire that they come in the same form that they last did—that being agreeable to the covenants between us; only I judge they ought to be signed by the master and the other gentlemen, our friends, that audit them, as hath been formerly done. And if the almshouse accounts were made debtor for the balance of the hospital, and that thereby evened, then at one view it would appear what was owing by the hall on both—but this last I submit to their thoughts, as I also do if the arrears may not be sooner got in.

"When you shall have duly considered of the placing out of some of the boys apprentices, and by so doing paying the money allotted for that purpose sooner than otherwise they ought to have done, and find that the hall hath been any ways damaged thereby, I will readily reimburse them of it by ordering the payment of it to them, for I would not have it charged in their accounts, that it may not be brought into a precedent for the future; and for that end it is my desire that no boy be taken in above such an age, as he may tarry in the house full seven years, without being a prejudice to his being bound out an apprentice afterwards, and that his or their parents be acquainted that no manner of allowance shall be made for that purpose, unless they shall complete the said time there, the which, peradventure, may make them not to misrepresent their ages, and thereby causing a breaking in on our agreed methods, which it is my desire should be punctually observed.

"Sir, I am your humble servant,

"EDWARD COLSTON."

"The accounts kept by the hall were probably not managed according to Colston's system; and the worthy baronet, who, it will be observed, was no grammarian, for the purpose of avoiding differences and saving trouble, suggests to Mr. Earl:—'If the accounts was made up in the manner within mentioned, it will please Mr. Colston, and be an ease to the hall, so is my opinion, that am, your humble servant, JOHN DUDDLESTONE.'

"The following year, in October, a letter addressed to Sir John Duddlestone was received from Colston, and read to the hall. The contents refer to putting out apprentices from his school, and in phraseology partakes of the same business character as the preceding correspondence. This, as it does not portray any new feature, we withhold transcribing. It is different, however, with his next letter. We have ever seen him particularly sensitive on any infringement, or apparent disrespect to his position, or what he might have construed into unsanctioned interference, slight, or neglect. The acting without his council or approbation displeased and dis-

quieted him, and ruffled the wonted tranquility of his placid temperament. It was under the influence of such feelings that he thus expressed himself:—

“‘Mortlake, 26th April, 1717.

“‘Gentlemen, Governors of the Merchants’ Hall,—Yours of the 15th past and 5th present I received in due time, and with the latter your hall’s accounts of my hospital and almshouse, which I have passed accordingly, and as to what relates to the former, notwithstanding I have empowered them to make choice of a schoolmaster and other officers requisite for my hospital; yet the common civility that is showed to all men, especially to those under my circumstances, would have prevented the surprise you express to have been at, for my resenting your too hasty proceedings in your election of a chief, before you had intimated to me your disapproval of the person recommended by me for that employment. But since my inclinations are rather to close than to widen a breach, I shall forbear to say anything further on that subject. Only I do hereby solemnly declare that I had not the least knowledge or intimation of Mr. Looker being a non-juror at the time I recommended him, nor yet till after you had made choice of Mr. Samuel Gardner, who I shall hope, and not doubt by the discharge of the trust reposed in him, will deserve the character you have given of him. I shall also acquiesce in what you write relating to myself; and, lastly, that you will have no objection to direct that this following clause be copied in your hall book, which I rather desire, because it will remain there on record.

“‘That I was not induced to endow my hospital only for the bare feeding of the one hundred boys that at present and in futurity are to inhabit there, but chiefly that they should be educated under such overseers and masters as will take care that they shall be bred up in the doctrine of our present Established Church of England. Therefore, I conjure you, as well all the present as future governors of your hall, that they take effectual care, as far as in them lieth, that the boys be so educated as aforesaid, and that none of them be afterwards placed out as apprentices to any men that be dissenters from the said communion, as they will be answerable for a breach of their trust at the last and great tribunal before which we must all appear.

“‘I am, your humble servant,

“‘EDWARD COLSTON.’

“Towards the ‘seating and beautifying’ All Saints church, Colston had given, in 1703, through Mr. Thomas Edwards, £100. In 1713 the low freestone tower was taken down, and the present dome was commenced building. It cost £589 10s. 3d., raised by voluntary contributions of the citizens—Colston himself gave £250

and an additional £100 for ‘beautifying’ the chancel. At a meeting of the common council, 16th January, 1716, ‘a petition was laid before the house from Mr. Harcourt, minister, Isaac Taylor and Francis Gythers, churchwardens of All Saints, stating their having expended several hundred pounds in building a new tower, and that £800 would not be sufficient to mend the side-walls, seats inside, and setting up the bells, conduit, and other things to be done in the church; all which, being for the glory and service of God, and for the honour of the city (the church being situate in so eminent and conspicuous a part of it), and praying the consideration of the house;—resolved, that £100 be paid the churchwardens towards accomplishing so pious and good a work.’

“On erecting the present tower, under the influence of a grateful feeling towards Colston, his crest of the dolphin and a pine apple were placed over the same as a vane; but with time the grateful feeling appears to have subsided, and to have given way to a sense of disappointment. Colston remained no longer to answer to the call of improvement, or the appeal of charity. He had left but a small bequest to the church in which his ashes and those of his sires reposed. Therefore, 16th May, 1728, the vestry resolved that the present vane should be taken down and a ball and cross substituted. The dolphin was of copper, and, with the pine apple, was ordered to be sold in 1729.”<sup>1</sup>

Being applied to by the rector of Chew Stoke for help, he writes 12th April, 1718:—“‘Yours, of the 9th present, informs me that you have been endeavouring for these last two years to set up a school in Chew Stoke, and, in order thereto, have got up subscriptions to the value of £169, and are in hopes to make them £200, with which sum you propose to purchase £10 per annum in lands, in perpetuity, for the payment of a master to teach the boys therein to read, write and cypher, and also to be thoroughly instructed in our Church catechism.’ The letter then proceeds to declare Colston’s willingness to assist in so good a work, but that his inclination would be rather to do it by a certain sum for a term of years. In a subsequent letter, dated 13th May, 1718, Colston adverts to a communication which he had received from the same person, acquainting him with the further progress that had been made towards settling a charity school by purchasing a house, and that subscriptions had been received sufficient to pay for the same within £5, which Colston offers to contribute. Colston settled the annual sum of £5 on the school during his life and for twelve years after his decease.”<sup>2</sup>

It will ever redound to the credit of Colston’s christian character that his good works were done by him

<sup>1</sup> Tovey’s Life of Edward Colston, 108-9.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 109.

while his vigour was unimpaired and his mind undecayed; it was no giving that which he could no longer possess, still less carry away. It was not the work of repentance, of remorse, but one of benevolence and love, spread over the many years of his lengthened pilgrimage of eighty-four years. As the end drew near, one after another of the ties that bound him to earth dropped away. His sister, Ann, who had lived with him for many years at Mortlake, then his tenderly-loved niece, Sarah, his nephew, Edward, and in 1720 his valued friend, the Rev. W. Jones, the clergyman whose ministry he attended, passed onward into the Spirit land. His own end seems to have been a gradual decay of nature. "An inward daily sinking; business is irksome, and thought wearies, but prayer is always welcome." Sight failed, and a kind friend and neighbour often came to read to him; "she proved a very helpful assistant to me in my indisposition," for which he left her a legacy of £100. And so, apparently without a relative present to close his eyes, the grand old man passed, on October 11th, 1721, into the presence of his Lord, to be greeted with the "Well done, good and faithful servant."

Nine years before his death Colston had written directions for his funeral—"As to what relates to my funeral, I would not have the least pomp used at it, nor any gold rings given; only that my corpse shall be carried to Bristol in a hearse, and met at Lawford's gate, and accompanied from thence to All Saints church by all the boys in my hospital on St. Augustine's back, and by the six boys maintained by me in Queen Elizabeth's Hospital in College green, and also by the twenty-

four poor men and women (or so many of them that are able) in my almshouse on St. Michael's hill, and only to the church-door of All Saints; likewise by the six poor old sailors that are kept at my charge in the Merchants' almshouse in the Marsh, and likewise by the forty poor boys in Temple parish that are clothed and otherwise provided for by me. To be drawn directly thither, so as it may be there in the close of the evening or the first part of the night; and my further desire is that at my interment the whole burial service of the Church, as

it is now appointed, may be decently read and performed. And that the money, that might have otherwise been expended in gold rings, be laid out in new coats or gowns, stockings, shoes and caps for the six sailors; and the like (except caps) for so many of the men and women in my almshouse that shall accompany my corpse, as above, and are willing to wear them afterwards. And to signify that this is my desire, I have hereunto set my hand this fifteenth day of July, 1712.

(Signed)

EDWARD COLSTON.

"My sister, Ann Colston's corpse, is interred in Mortlake church, under the rail, on the south side of the Communion table. But since it was her desire that her bones should lie in the same grave where I shall be buried, and forasmuch as my intentions are that my corpse shall be carried into Bristol, and interred in All Saints' church, in the grave that belonged to my ancestors, my desire is that my said sister's bones should be taken up (if it be done by the authority of the minister, without the trouble of applying to the bishop of the diocese), and put into and carried down in the same coffin with my body; or if that cannot be conveniently done, then



Colston's School, now the site of Colston Hall.

is another small one to be put into the hearse, and buried in the same grave with mine, in compliance with her request in that behalf.'

"Among Colston's papers was found an interesting estimate of the expenses of his funeral, £209 7s. 2d. It conveys a gloomy picture of the style in which the mournful ceremony was performed, and contains full particulars of the dismal paraphernalia, which was not in strict accordance with Colston's desire that 'not the least pomp should be used' at his funeral. From the document we learn that the funeral procession consisted of a hearse and six horses, covered with plumes and black velvet, attended by eight horsemen in black cloaks, and followed by three mourning coaches, with six horses to each, plumes and black velvet. Additional mourning coaches, and twelve pages with caps and truncheons, accompanied the gloomy cavalcade to Brentford. The sable parade was a week on its slow and melancholy journey, and where it rested on the road the rooms were 'hung in deep mourning.' 'A large velvet pall, edged with silver,' covered the coffin, and 'a lid with fine ostrich feathers was placed on the body for the journey.' 'Twenty-four shields and eight large silver candlesticks,' with wax candles, were around the coffin, which was surrounded by a rail decorated with 'twenty-four silk escutcheons,' and more plumes of 'fine ostrich feathers.' 'Nine dozen escutcheons, twelve banners, an Achievement frame, &c.,' dressed the rooms, and completed the undertaker's show."<sup>1</sup>

The day of the arrival of the procession in Bristol was a gloomy one; the rain had all day descended in torrents, yet the streets were lined with people, and every window along the route was crowded with spectators. The Merchants gathered in their hall, and met the corpse at the entrance to the city; the grey-haired, weather-beaten mariners from King street, clad in their rueful black cloaks, and the aged men and women from St. Michael's almshouses, new clothed, marched feebly before them, thirty in number, whilst 146 boys from Temple and Colston schools led the van, chanting the 90th Psalm, to the church of All Saints, all hung with black. Five hours, says Silas Told, did the procession take from Lawford's gate to the church, which it only reached at midnight of Saturday, October 28th, amid the light from flaring torches and the sobbing sound of falling rain. "Southwell, Codrington, Harrington, Trye, Haines and J. Downing, Esqs., were ye bearers." The following day his funeral sermon was preached to a crowded audience by the vicar, the Rev. James Harcourt, from the words—"He hath dispersed abroad, and given to the poor, and his righteousness remaineth for ever;

<sup>1</sup> Tovey's Life of Edward Colston, 113-15.

his horn shall be exalted with honour."—Psalm 112, v. 9.

"His figure, modelled from the original picture by Richardson, was executed by Rysbrach. It is judiciously draped in the costume of the period, and reclines upon an altar tomb at the eastern end of the north aisle, surmounted by a pedimental canopy, beneath which is the following inscription and list of his charities. It contains a record almost unparalleled in any time or country." [It is still customary to place a bouquet of flowers in the bosom of Colston's statue every Sunday, an eloquent token that 'the ashes of the good and just smell sweet and blossom in the dust.']

THE PUBLIC CHARITIES AND BENEFACTIONS GIVEN  
AND FOUNDED BY EDWARD COLSTON, Esq.

IN BRISTOL.

ON ST. MICHAEL'S HILL.

1691.—An almshouse for 12 men and 12 women, the chief brother to receive 6 sh., the others 3 sh. per week, besides coal, &c. To a chaplain, £10 per annum. The whole to be paid by fee-farm rents on estates in Northumberland, Cumberland, and Durham, and by some houses and lands near the house. The charge about... .. £8,500

IN KING STREET.

Six saylors to be maintained in the merchant almshouse, by a farm in Congresbury, Somerset. The charge ... .. 600

IN TEMPLE STREET.

1696.—A school for 40 boys to be cloath'd and taught, endowed with an annuity out of the manor of Tomarhear, Somerset. An house and garden for ye master. Ye charge ... .. 8,000

1702.—To ye re-building ye boys' hospital, and for 6 boys to be cloath'd, maintain'd, instruct'd, and apprenticed. A farm of £70 per annum, in Congresbury. Ye charge ... .. 1,500

IN ST. PETER'S PARISH.

To the Mint workhouse ... .. 200  
And for placing out poor children ... .. 200

ON ST. AUGUSTINE'S BACK.

1708.—A hospital for a master, two ushers, and a catechist, and for one hundred boys to be instructed, cloath'd, maintain'd, and apprentic'd, the charge about ... .. 40,000  
£100 per annum, to be given for 12 years after his death either to those who have been apprentic'd from the hospital of St. Augustine's back, or for the apprenticing of boys from Temple school, by £10 each ... .. 1,200

TO THE SEVERAL CHARITY SCHOOLS.

Each £10 per an., given for many years while he liv'd, and to be continued for 12 months after his death.

TO YE REPAIRING AND BEAUTIFYING OF CHURCHES.

All Saints	... £250	St. Michael	... £50
Cathedral	... 260	St. Stephen's	... 50
Clifton	... 50	Temple	... 160
St. James	... 100	St. Thomas	... 50
St. Mary Redcliff	100	St. Werburgh	... 160—1,230

For reading prayers at All Sts. every Monday and Tuesday morning, £7 per annum... ..	£140
For 12 sermons at Newgate, £6 per an. ... ..	120
For 14 sermons in Lent, £20 per an. ... ..	400

## IN LONDON.

To St. Bartholomew's hospital ... ..	2,500
To Christ church " ... ..	2,000
To St. Thomas " ... ..	500
To Bethlem " ... ..	500
To the new workhouse without Bishop's gate ...	200
To the Society for Propagating the Gospel ...	300
To the Company of Mercers ... ..	100

## IN SURREY.

## AT SHEEN.

An almshouse for six poor men, built and endowed

## AT MORTLAKE.

For the education and clothing of 12 boys and 12 girls, £45 per an. ... ..	900
To 85 poor people at his death, 20s. each ... ..	85

## IN DEVONSHIRE.

Towards building a church at Tiverton ... ..	20
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## IN LANCASHIRE.

Towards building a church at Manchester ... ..	20
To eighteen charity schools, in several parts of England, for many years of his life, and to be continued for 12 years after his death, £90 per annum.	

To the augmentation of 60 small livings ... ..	6,000
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In all ... .. £70,695

"THIS GREAT AND PIOUS BENEFACITOR WAS KNOWN TO HAVE DONE MANY OTHER EXCELLENT CHARITIES, AND WHAT HE DID IN SECRET IS BELIEVED TO BE NOT INFERIOR TO WHAT HE DID IN PUBLIC."

"On the slab beneath is the following:—

"EDWARD, THE SON OF WILLIAM COLSTON, ESQ., AND SARAH HIS WIFE, WAS BORN IN THIS CITY NOVEMBER 2ND, 1636. DY'D AT MORTLAKE, IN SURRY, OCTOBER 11TH, 1721, AND LIES BURIED NEAR THIS MONUMENT.'"<sup>1</sup>

There are several other monuments in the church to members of the Colston family.

In corroboration of the last paragraph but one given above, the late Mr. Thomas Serel, of Wells, some years since wrote that he had discovered that Mr. Edward Colston (the nephew who predeceased his uncle) was, in 1707, made free of the city of Wells and of the Woolcombers' Company, and that under the date 27th June, 1709, he found this entry also in the archives of that

<sup>1</sup> Tovey's Life of Edward Colston, 121-24.

city:—"At this convocation it was put to the vote of this house (Mr. Colston, sen., being now at Bristol) whether the thanks of this house for his late great charity and benefactions to this city should be sent to him thither, and at the same time to give him an invitation to this city, and also to give him the offer of being made a freeman and burgess thereof or not, and it passed in the affirmative; and at the same time this house made their request to Mr. Recorder to make a journey to Bristol for the purpose abovesaid, and promised to reimburse him the charge and expense thereof." Mr. Serel added:—There is no record of what this "great charity and benefaction" was, nor although he had written to *Notes and Queries*, and sought information elsewhere, had he been able to discover.

It is a fact, we believe, without precedent, that six different societies have been formed in this city of Bristol, comprising all ranks, conditions and denominations of men, to commemorate the memory and work of this servant of God:—The Colston Society, established November 2nd, 1726; the Dolphin, 1749; the Grateful, 1758; the Anchor, 1768; and the Colston Fraternal Association, 1862. [See ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, 103.]

We have dwelt somewhat at length on this subject because it is one dear to the heart of Bristolians, fragrant and evergreen as each November month recurs. We know but of one instance in which political animosity even dared to try to soil the purity of character or the holiness of life of this ever to be honoured name, and it fell harmless, because it was a lie. That he had his faults is but to say he was human; his early training, and the injustice and harshness of the Puritanic element that ruled Bristol during his youthful days, narrowed his character, and caused such a rebound that he was never able to see anything good in men who were averse on principle to an Established State Church. That, like many another great man, he was somewhat dogmatic, and liked to do good according to his own line of thought, our readers will have gathered; but beyond these trivial shortcomings we have been unable to discover anything that is not noble, generous, and in the highest degree honourable—in short, his life is that of an educated, philanthropic, Christian gentleman. Those who wish to see extracts from his will may read them in Tovey's *Life of Edward Colston*, to which we have been largely indebted for the above particulars.





## CHAPTER XV.

### ➤ WILLIAM AND MARY AND QUEEN ANNE. ◀

1. How William and Mary succeeded to the Throne. Opposition thereto in Bristol. 2. Their Majesties Crowned. The Bill of Rights. The Nonjurors. The Tories in power. 3. James in Ireland. Mutiny of Soldiers in Bristol. Disputed Election. Quarrel between Lord Brandon Gerrard and Sir John Knight. 4. Sir John Knight's career in the House of Commons; his extraordinary speeches. 5. Settlement of French Huguenots in Bristol. Party squabbles in the city. 6. William lands in Kingroad, sleeps at Kingsweston, and treats the Mayor and Citizens with contempt. Letters of the time. Captain Price's adventure. Anecdote of R. Henley. 7. Incidents of the period. Cook's Folly. Detention of two Bristol Ships. First Bristol Water Works. 8. Bank of England and the Land Bank founded. Old Moneys called in, New Coinage minted in Bristol. 9. Penalties for growing Tobacco in Bristol. Local incidents. 10. The Cathedral authorities and the Corporation at variance. The Coins minted in Bristol. 11. Strike of the Cooks. Death of Dame Pugsley. Seizure of a Bristol Ketch, etc. 12. Anne ascends the Throne, is proclaimed in Bristol; her visit to the city, its cost. Queen Anne's house; her second visit. 13. St. Werburgh, the aristocratic parish. Sir William Lewis, Mayor; his hobby. Incidents. Terrible tempest. The Theatre presented as a nuisance. 14. John Locke. Defoe in Bristol. Local incidents. 15. The Battle of Blenheim; rejoicings and address on account of it. Captain Cary originates the idea of a Poor Law Union. 16. The first Brass Manufactory. Refusals to become Members of the Common Council. Robinson Crusoe. 17. James Holledge, Mayor. Doctor Sacheverell, Sir Abraham Elton, Mayor. The last Bristol Charter. Presents of wine. 18. "Traitor's bridge" built. Interesting city items. The South Sea Dock built, now known as Sea Mills. Poetical description of Bristol. 19. Anthony Swynmer, Mayor. Gossip of the Lawyer's Clerks. A Bristol Lawyer becomes Earl of Westmoreland. Sundries. 20. Sacheverell again. The War with France. Gift Sermons. Municipal Portraits. The Corporation's Petition in favour of the Slave Trade.



THREE days after the departure of James II., William, Prince of Orange, who had married Mary, the eldest daughter of that king, was, on 26th December, 1688, invited to take upon himself the administration of affairs in England. On January 22nd, 1689, when the Convention Parliament met, there were great differences of opinion; but they declared the throne vacant, and so

frittered away the time in disputes as to the succession, that William, who declined the appointment of regent, threatened he would leave the kingdom. Upon this the crown was offered to him and his wife, on the condition of their acceptance of the Declaration of Right; they consenting, the civil list was fixed at £700,000, and their majesties were proclaimed in London on February 13th and in Bristol on February 18th, 1689.

The strife, however, was by no means ended, for

Dundee in Scotland, the Lord-Deputy Tyrconnell in Ireland, each with a large following, as well as the great mass of the country clergy and the cavaliers in England, were Jacobites (as the partisans of James were now called) to the backbone. The former swept Mackay's regiments to death in the glen of Killiecrankie, but perished himself in the moment of victory; the Lord-Deputy called the Catholic Irish to arms under the flag "Now or Never," which he flaunted over Dublin castle, the plunder and massacre of Protestants was promised them for their reward; whilst the English Jacobites only lacked a leader, who possessed means and talent to make them formidable. William aimed at accomplishing three ecclesiastical changes; such a relaxation of the terms of conformity as should comprehend the chief Dissenters; the removal of religious tests; and the passing a Toleration Act. The ministers introduced a Comprehension Bill which would have dispensed with subscription to the articles and homilies, which were objected to by the Nonconformists, and the king strenuously supported the measure, but the attempt failed. In Bristol the opposition to it was very bitter, whilst Sir John Knight, one of the members for the city, was its uncompromising opponent in the House. Few, indeed, but the Presbyterians gave it a cordial support. The Independents, Baptists and Quakers were united, with but few exceptions; they could not accept a state-paid church, and many thoughtful politicians, although they favoured some national recognition of religion, were averse to giving an increase of power to a hierarchy which had almost invariably ranged itself on the side of arbitrary government.

On the other hand the High Churchmen and the Jacobites, both lay and clerical, would make no concession to schismatics. The king's attempt, on March 16th, to admit Dissenters to civil equality shared the fate of the Comprehension Bill. One hundred and thirty-nine years had to pass ere this act of simple justice was carried and the Test Act was repealed. The king, however, managed so as to pass a Toleration Act on May 14th, which, although not based on any broad abstract principle, yet so met the exigencies of the time, that very few Protestant Dissenters declined to avail themselves of its provisions.

2. On the 11th April, 1689, the king and queen were crowned. The mayor and corporation walked in procession on that day in Bristol; there is an item in the accounts of 10s. paid to a woman who strewed sweet herbs and flowers before them in their progress. The Cross in Market street was hung with red kersey on the occasion, and was long known by the appellation of the Red Cross in consequence. The Declaration of

Rights was made the Bill of Rights, and was passed on December 16th. By this Act the right of the people to depose an unworthy king and to set on the throne one of their own choice was established, and all claim of divine right, or of hereditary right independent of the law, was put an end to. The Jacobites who held office in church or state were required as public functionaries to take the oath of allegiance, and to a large extent they bowed to necessity. But Archbishop Sancroft, with a few other prelates, and a number of the higher clergy, refused to take the oath, treated all who did take it as schismatics, and when they were deprived of their benefices, &c., by Act of Parliament they proclaimed themselves (the non-jurors) to be the only true members of the Church of England. The state church suffered as much, nay more, by this schism in her body than she has done by all the assaults of those outside her pale.

Whigs and Tories had been united in effecting the Revolution, and in office, as ministers of the Crown, the former were by far the more numerous body in the House. Most injudiciously they now sought to punish the men who in the former reigns had made them suffer, and they refused to pass a Bill of General Indemnity which the king laid before them. So the Parliament was dissolved in February, 1690; and the king, under the title of "An Act of Grace" in his own name, issued a general pardon, and placed the administration in the hands of a coalition, with Danby, a Tory, at its head as lord-president.

3. On March 20th, 1690, a new Parliament assembled in which the Tories had a considerable majority, and on the 12th of that month James, with a convoy of twenty-five French men-of-war, had sailed for Ireland, where he landed on the 14th at Kinsale, and, at the head of an Irish and French force, marched against the Protestants in the north. William prepared to send troops thither. On 27th April two regiments came to Bristol to embark, but August was advanced before the English army attained any sufficient proportion for its work. The raw, undisciplined levies were difficult to handle, the more so as they were without pay, and having no legal existence were not liable to military punishments for military offences. Moreover, the power of billeting the soldiers in private houses had been abolished by law. Colonel Foukes' regiment had come to Bristol on April 10th to be shipped to Ireland. On being drawn up in College green the grenadiers refused to take up their arms until they had their pay; three shillings per man was then doled out to them as part of their arrears; still they were contumacious; an appeal to the civil law would have been a cause of delay, and probably inefficient, so the officers made a law with their swords,

cutting down several, and threatening to hang one of the ringleaders, whereupon the men submitted and were embarked, Colonel Talmarsh's regiment taking ship at the same time. This difficulty of enforcing discipline induced the Parliament, in December, to pass the Mutiny Act, by which the requisite powers were conferred upon the officers and provision was made for the pay of the troops. The Mutiny Act and the grant of Supply are still annual grants, which necessitate the assemblage of Parliament every year. Thus the greatest change in our constitution, which removed power from the irresponsible hand of the monarch to the responsible representatives of the people, was brought about in an indirect but perfectly efficient way.

At midnight on March 3rd, and again on October 7th, smart shocks of earthquakes were felt in Bristol.

Arthur Hart, merchant, was mayor in 1689, and John Bubb, mercer, and John Blackwell, vintner, were the sheriffs. To these succeeded Sir John Knight, who had been knighted when sheriff in 1681, and whose name will have become familiar to our readers. In the bitter contentions in Bristol, in 1688, he and Sir Robert Hart had been returned to the Convention Parliament by the sheriffs; but W. Powlett, the recorder, and Robert Yate, the unsuccessful candidates, petitioned against the return, on the ground "that the sheriffs had employed unjust means, by admitting men who had no right to poll and rejecting others who, being on the register,

would have polled for the petitioners."<sup>1</sup> On November 4th we find Sir John complaining, as a member of this House, that the Lord Brandon Gerrard, another member, had, at a committee on Saturday last, given him some threatening language. Lord Gerrard, not being in the House, the serjeant-at-arms was ordered to give him notice to attend in his place upon Thursday morning next to answer to the matter of this complaint. Knight

was an active member on many committees. In March, 1688, we find his name on a bill "for removing Papists ten miles from London and Westminster;" on another for preventing the export of wool; another "for abolishing hearth money as a source of revenue;" another for "enquiry into simony and promotions in the Church." On April 1st his name stands first on the committee for "repealing the Act for governing corporations." The House decided that no one be admitted to any place in the magistracy unless he have within twelve months before received the Sacrament according to the Church of England. In May, 1689, he took an active



*Houses in Peter Street.*

part in the committee which charged the late Lord Jeffreys' manors of Dolby and Broughton with repayment of £15,000 and interest, which had been extorted by that unjust judge from Edward Prideaux, of Ford abbey, Devon, under pretence that he had been cognisant of Monmouth's attempt and had rendered him assistance.

<sup>1</sup> House of Commons' Journal, X., 352.

4. On February 6th, 1690, as we have seen, William indignantly dissolved the Convention Parliament; but Sir Robert Hart and Sir John Knight were re-elected in March, 1690. Sir John being at that time mayor of the city, the House of Commons allowed him to return a *mandamus* directed to himself. Both members voted against William and Mary being chosen king and queen. During his mayoralty Newgate was re-built, and paid for by a tax on the inhabitants of sixpence in the pound. As the cost was £1,600, it follows that the rateable value of the city was only £64,000. The mayor also raised a wall around the Hotwell spring to keep out the tidal water of the river. In 1692 Knight presented a petition from the Master Wardens and Company of Pinmakers, Bristol, against the monopoly of the pinmakers of London. Sir John hated Popery and Dissenters, but he had not one grain of love for foreigners; he was a Jacobite at heart, although he would not become a non-juror.

1690. October 9th.—Sir John Knight, the mayor, “desired to report to the council on which days and how often it will be fit for the house to attend the Word [go to church], it being observed to be less frequent at their attendance, which occasions total neglect almost.” A choice specimen of civic grammar this. Though a shrewd man of business, he was unable to write a sensible note.

1684. “Sir John Knight presents his compliments to Sir Richard Crumpe, and have a hat which are not mine. If you has a hat which are not yourn, probably it are the missing one.”<sup>1</sup>

The dedication of *Kingston's Sermon* (published in 1682-3) to Thomas Eston, mayor, Sir John Knight, jun., Sir Robert Cann, Sir R. Yeamans, Sir R. Crump, Aldermen Hicks and Oliff, and Messrs. Hart and Comb, sheriffs, adds another proof of Sir John's uncompromising opposition to Popery. He was also an Englishman of the old school, with an immense hatred of foreigners; hence his opposition to the bill “for the naturalisation of such Protestants as shall take oaths to their majesties and the test against Popery.” This bill was bitterly opposed in the House, Sir John taking an active part and being one of the tellers in several divisions thereon. On the third reading, on January 4th, 1693, it was lost, the yeas being 101, the noes 142—majority, 31. It was against this bill that he is said to have made the rabid speech [given at 145-6 of our *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY*], which so delighted his party that they had it printed and circulated all over the country. We give a sample, which will more than suffice:—

<sup>1</sup> Kemy's MS.

Mr. Speaker,—This nation is a religious, just and jealous nation, who in some of their fits and zeal have not only quarrelled and fought for the same, but have murdered and deposed kings, nobles, bishops and priests for the sake of their religion and liberties, which they pretend to prove from the Bible. We are the religious representatives of this religious people; let us therefore learn instruction from the case before us, from that great book where we may be informed that St. Paul, being born free of heathen Rome, escaped a whipping, and valued and pleaded that privilege.

He continues in an irreverent, obscure, wandering strain for some length, and thus sarcastically concludes:—

Sir, I perceive some gentlemen are uneasy; perhaps I have offended them in supposing that they are religious representatives, or concluding that their religion is from the Bible. If it be that which displeaseth I beg their pardon, and promise not to offend again on that score, and conclude all with this motion:—“That the sergeant be commanded to open the doors, and let us first kick the bill out of the House and then foreigners out of the kingdom.”

In 1744, fifty years afterwards, the House, being unwilling to tolerate the presence of so disgraceful a memento of the past, ordered:—

That the said speech contained false and scandalous and seditious expressions and reflections, and that it be burnt by the hangman, the sergeant-at-arms to attend in the Palace yard to see this order executed.

We learn from the Archives that Sir John was in his old age reduced to great poverty, and that on December 15th, 1717, he petitioned the council—“That by the unnatural conduct of his only son he was reduced to great necessity and want, that he and his relations had been the chief officers of the city, and prayed the charitable assistance of the house.” Twenty pounds were unanimously voted him, and a similar amount in June, 1722. From this we should think it probable that he was related to Mr. John Knight, mayor in 1670. Sir John was a member of the Merchants' hall, and on his petition, previous to his application to that society, they, with their accustomed liberality, granted him a pension of £20. After Sir John's decease his daughter Ann petitioned the house, stating that “her father left her in a very poor and mean condition, and that she was unable to support herself by reason of an infirmity in her eyes, and was in great want.” Twelve pounds per annum was voted her.

5. It was but a vain attempt of Sir John and his friends to stem the tide; England was daily becoming more cosmopolitan, and in less than two years from the delivery of the speech we have quoted we find the head of a family, a French Protestant merchant, naturalised in Bristol, a man who took an active and intelligent part in civic affairs, and one of whose descendants became a large benefactress to the city.

1695. September 22nd.—Edward Arundel, Esq., mayor, solicited that “the freedom of this city be con-

ferred on Stephen Peloquin, merchant, a French Protestant, a denizen of this kingdom and an inhabitant of this city, it being a privilege allowed to the mayor for the time being. Carried unanimously." Many of the French refugees who escaped to this country on the revocation of the edict of Nantes settled in this city, under the Act passed for the naturalisation of foreigners. Fourteen years later we find on "May 4th, 1709,—The following French refugees produced certificates of their having received the sacrament in the French church of Bristol, under the hands of Jeremy Ticknell, minister here, and took the oaths and subscribed the declaration directed by law for the naturalisation of foreigners."

1709. July 7th.—Mr. Mayor laid before the House a letter he received from the Privy Council, dated 29th June:—

Whereas her majesty of her generous and seasonable bounty hath hitherto subsisted several thousand Germans of the Protestant religion, who, being oppressed and ruined by the great exactions of the French on the frontiers, and otherwise distressed on account of their religion, hath fled for refuge into this kingdom, and hath also out of a deep sense of their distressed condition ordered a general collection of the charitable benevolence of all her loving subjects within the whole kingdom of Great Britain for their present relief and settlement. To the end, therefore, that they may be the sooner put in a way of exercising their industry for the support of themselves and families here, and may become useful to the kingdom by their labour in their respective capacities, we have thought fit by her majesty's special command, and do heartily recommend it to you and the chief magistrates within your jurisdiction, to meet together and consider of the best ways and method for disposing of any number of the said distressed Protestants within your jurisdiction in such manner that they may be enabled by their labour and industry the better to contribute towards the support of themselves and families; and by your own example invite and encourage your neighbours to afford them all countenance and assistance as there shall be occasion, and of your proceedings herein from time to time to return an account to the board. And so not doubting of your more than ordinary care and zeal in so charitable a work, and so very acceptable to her majesty, we bid you heartily farewell.

From the Council at St. James's, the 29th day of June, 1709.

Your loving friends,

COWPER, C.	SOMERS, P. C.
DORCHESTER.	JAS. VERNON.
RADNOR.	DERBY.
J. TREVOR.	J. HOLT.

The consideration of this letter was left to a committee, which was "to inspect the present condition of the city and to make report unto the next House," resulting in a rather curt reply from Mr. Mayor:—

Bristol, 9th July, 1709.

On receipt of your lordships' of the 29th of the last month, I summoned the common council of this city to meet, which they did on Monday last, when I laid before them your letter, on reading which it was unanimously agreed that each member should inspect their several divisions and try how far we are able to comply with her majesty's most pious and generous intentions of

subsisting some of these distressed Protestants now fled to this kingdom for refuge, and that they should this day make their report. Accordingly this morning they met and read their several reports, the substance of which is:—That the limits of our county extending very little beyond the city walls, we have no such thing as husbandry within our jurisdiction; that we have no manufactories here, saving the making of pantaloons and woollen stuffs, which trade for three or four years past is so far decayed and lost that the great number of French refugees, and our own people who were employed therein, are by that means and the dearness of provisions grown so poor that many hundreds for want of employment have lately become chargeable; and that the trade of this city consisting wholly of merchandise, shop-keeping, and navigation, we are not capable of making any provision for these poor sufferers. I am heartily sorry we cannot better answer your lordships' demands, but though it is not at present in our power to find employment for them, yet every one of our body will not fail to encourage our fellow-citizens to contribute their utmost for their present relief.

I am, as in duty bound,

Your lordships' most obedient humble servant,

JAS. HOLLEDGE, Mayor.

To the Right Honourable Lords of Her Majesty's Privy Council.

The use of St. Mark's church as a place of worship was allowed the refugees until 1721, when it was fitted up especially for the use of the mayor and corporation. In 1726 they obtained a grant of land in the Hospital orchard for building a "place of worship." Also on petition praying for assistance, "finding their calculation of the expense very deficient," the corporation voted them £50, to be paid Mr. Lewis Casamajor. In 1727 the Society of Merchant Venturers voted their minister and churchwardens £50 towards furnishing their chapel, in consideration of which they were to provide "a good pew for the use of any member of the society who should desire to attend service there."

We now return to the local politics of 1689–90, and from the following letters, and remembering that the members for the city had strenuously opposed the conferring of the crown upon their majesties, and had opposed consistently but strongly the king's measures in the House of Commons, we shall be better able to understand the contemptuous treatment of the second city in the kingdom by William III. on his return from Ireland in September, 1690. *The Triall of Sir Thomas Earle* gives the following picture of the time:—"Much heats and contentions degraded the chamber at this period and engendered continual squabbings and burnings."

The committee appointed to enquire into the indignities and affronts offered to the whole government of the city, especially to Mr. Mayor, 2nd October, 1690, report that "Sir Thomas Earl had been the principal supporter thereof."

1st.—That the said Sir Thomas Earl, out of a malicious and evil mind, purposely intending to bring the mayor and other good citizens under their majesties' displeasure, did contrive and write

a letter unto the Earl of Shrewsbury, when principal secretary of state to their majesties, dated Bristol, 17th February, 1689 :—

Right Honble.—I did not presume to give your lordship any trouble upon the information sent you about the French pass found in the mate's or one of the men's chests of the *Ellinor*, because the confession of the parties made the whole truth appear for that neither the master nor myself were privy to it, but being advised that our mayor (Arthur Hart) would insinuate that the ship was bound to France with bulletts, I am obliged in all humility to assure yr lordship they are false suggestions, and that the ship with most of her lading is mine, and bound directly for Bilbao, and consigned to my own sons who are factors there, for whose sake I drive noe other trade; nor have I these thirty years sent any adventure to France. And all other endeavours having failed, Sir John Knight is turned affidavitman himself, and the mayor, who holds the same principalls, hath gott a lewd fellow to swear to something that I believe was taught him here, and if any regard he gives to such ridiculous information yr lordship will find trouble enough whilst this man is mayor, for their whole party being known to be most zealous Jacobites will endeavour to cover the same by aspersing those who they most mortally hate for their most timely appearing and faithful asserting the present Government. And the project was designed to baffle the election of members here. What I have to recommend your lordship is, that most of the goods are perishable; desiring your lordship's directions for their clearing, being still in the hands of the officers and much damified, I shall labour to approve myself yr lordship's most grateful and obedient servant.

"The committee, taking into consideration these gross foul charges laid against the mayor, did inform themselves of the reasons in agitating Sir Thomas Earl to write so scandalous a letter.

"That the 8th February, 1689, two custom-house officers had voluntary before the mayor deposed on oath to seizing a French pass which was found in the chest of the mate on board the ship *Ellinor*, who upon examination confessed to having been sent by Sir Thomas Earl to one Mr. William Storker (who shipped him as mate), from whom he received the French pass."

Another party "made information that, being in company with several seamen lately come from France, they declared that they saw two vessels with lead on account of merchandise for sale, and it was reported that the ships were sent thither by one Storker and Earl of Bristol."

In taking the information and committing Storker, the magistrates were publicly affronted by Sir Thomas Earl, "who averred the commitment was illegal, and refused to sign the same, although as an alderman he had assisted in taking the examination. Sir Thomas Earl, followed by a violent and tumultuous mob, rushed into the Tolzey and insolently menaced the mayor and aldermen for letting to bail one Moor, who had been committed for seditious words, which clamour of his was so much countenanced and abetted by many of those who came along with the said Sir Thomas Earl for that purpose that the mayor and aldermen were in great apprehension for their safety, and had that influence upon them that they were forced to comply and order the person to be again taken into custody against their judgment."

The committee further found that the French pass

could not influence the election for Parliament, for there was no advice at that time that Parliament was dissolved. The committee likewise find that—

Sir Thomas Earl and other members of the common councill in their military capacity as deputy-lieutenants did come into the councill house and did there demand the common councill books to be produced to the Right Honorable the Earl of Macclesfield, lord-lieutenant of this county, on purpose to bring an accusation against the maior, to *prie into the secrets of this citty*, and to reflect on the government thereof, &c., to arraign the proceedings of the maior and common councill before persons who had neither cognizance of nor judication in the matter contrary to their duty, the law, and oathes of common councill men.

Upon the whole matter the committee are of opinion that the insolencies and indignities offered to the maior and whole government of the citty, being of soe high a nature that they should decline coming to any detirmination therein, but refer itt to the consideration of the whole house to justify the maior and government of this citty by punishing of what is past and to ordaine bylaws for the prevention of the like for the future.

Sir Thomas Earl's answer was deferred to the 1st of October, when he produced "a paper in writing which he desired to be his answer to the charge that was put in against him." The question was put whether the answer in writing should be accepted, or whether Sir Thomas Earl should stand up and make his answer in his place. It was carried that the paper should not be accepted. The first article being read, he was asked "whether he writ a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury whereof the contents of the first article was a part."

Sir Thomas Earl, after having the question put to him several times, refused to answer unless the original letter was produced. To the second and third articles he made brief replies, and was then ordered to withdraw while the house entered into debate of the matter about him, after which the question was put whether he was guilty of each separate article, and a majority decided that he was guilty, there being only three negatives to the second article and four to the third, whereupon it was carried in the affirmative that he should be expelled and removed from being a member of the common council from henceforth. But the business was not terminated. Sir Thomas protested against the decision of a "nest of Jacobites." In November the new mayor (Sir John Knight) acquainted the house that he had been served with a *mandamus* in the case of Sir Thomas Earl, and spoke of "obtaining the advice of counsel to justify the course the chamber had taken." Mr. Yate, upon debate of this matter, did say, "the goe out of Sir Thomas Earle, and that what the house did then was an idle thing." Mr. Yate desired the pardon of the house for that rash saying, which was granted to him. The proceedings of the house to be justified. In the following February, however, Sir John Knight's tone had greatly moderated; he informed the house that he had

been served with a writ from the court of King's Bench, requiring "that Sir Thomas Earle, being formerly removed from the common council of this city, may be restored to the same place he was before." Mr. Mayor added, "that he knew not how to intermeddle therewith lest he might infringe the liberties of the House of Commons, of which he was a member, and leaves the chamber at liberty to do therein as they thought fit. Thereupon the chamber ordered Sir Thomas Earle to be restored in obedience to the writ, and that he might have notice and summons accordingly for the future."

Sir Thomas Earl was a merchant, apprenticed to Alderman Brown. He married Eleanor, daughter of Joseph Jackson. In 1681 he filled the civic dignity, when he was knighted by Charles II.; in the same year was elected M.P. for the city; March, 1691, took his seat as an alderman. In St. Werburgh's church were some obituary memorials of the family, with the following:—

Here also lyeth the body of Sir Thomas Earle, knt., sometime mayor and alderman of this city, who departed this life the 24th June, 1696. Aged 67 years.

Dame Eleanor Earle, widow of Sir Thomas Earle, aged 74, died 7th June, 1709.

Sir Thomas had two sons, Giles and Joseph; Giles was one of the lords of the treasury in 1739; Joseph was a merchant.

6. William, having by the battle of the Boyne, July 1st, 1690, crushed the hopes of James and extinguished the aspirations of his party, embarked at Waterford, September 5th, on his return to this kingdom. On the 6th, accompanied by Prince George of Denmark, he landed at Kingroad, and that night lodged at Kingsweston, the residence of Sir Robert Southwell, his majesty's principal secretary of state, one of the companions of his voyage; next day, being Sunday, multitudes of people went to see him; but the king, riding in one of the Duke of Beaufort's coaches (being obliged to come through Bristol, the only road to Badminton being over Durham down, thence St. Michael's hill and Steep street), passed through Bristol without stopping. The mayor, Mr. Arthur Hart, and the aldermen had received him at Frome gate, and they walked before him bareheaded and in their scarlet gowns until he left the city by Lawford's gate. Be it remembered that the great majority of the chamber at that time were Jacobite in their proclivities, and that the strife with Sir Thomas Earl, which had lasted six months, was at its height, and it was well known to the king that Earl and Sir Robert Southwell were also at variance, and our readers will at once see the unpleasant complication of affairs between the king and the corporation. There were, indeed, not a few

men who cared not to serve in the common council. Mr. Humphrey Corsley, refusing this very year, was disfranchised; whilst John Whiting was fined £300 for refusing to serve, and, not paying the money, was sent to Newgate, for which he brought an action against the chamber for false imprisonment. The matter was compromised eventually on his giving a release to bar all past and future suits. The disinclination to serve still continuing, in 1721 a committee was appointed to coerce defaulters into obedience under penalty, but it seems to have been ineffectual.

"I protest against all money paid to Parliament men," said Sir Robert Yate. This was in February, 1690-1; nevertheless Sir Richard Hart was paid the usual wages or salary paid to former members, viz., £98 13s. 4d. Sir John Knight received £94 6s. 8d., but on December 1st, 1691, it was ordered, "for the time to come no more wages be paid to any members of Parliament for this city out of the said chamber." On August 26th, 1695, it was moved, "whether the salary or wages of our members of Parliament for the time they have already served be paid out of this chamber; carried in the affirmative, that they shall be paid for the time they have already served, and then to cease being paid by the chamber."

We copy here some interesting notices from the Southwell papers. The humble petition of Edmund Reddiche, of Bristol, ironmonger, to the House of Lords, relative to an agreement with my Lord Stourton's servant for wine and brandy. Letters in Cardonnel's hand to Mr. Henley, describing Blathwaite's inconsolable grief for the loss of his wife, 1690; there were also twenty-three letters of Mr. Robert Henley, magistrate at Bristol, 1690. Henley was a decided Whig, and took part in Monmouth's rebellion, from the results of which he escaped as by a miracle. These letters are addressed to Sir Robert, as principal secretary of state attending his majesty in Ireland, and they detail many particulars of great interest in the annals of this momentous period of English history. One letter, June 21st, 1690, replies to Sir Robert's intimation of the safe landing of William at Carrickfergus. "'Tis here (Bristol) entertained with great joy by those that wish well to him and the Government who set the bells ringing, where they had the command of them. My neighbour said the next news we have will be that he has fought with his father." He sends particulars of the amount, &c., of the Customs at Bristol, and says fears are entertained in Bristol on account of the tidings of the appearance of the French fleet of 110 sail. The letter of June 28th says:—"In Gloucestershire the beacons near Painswick and several other places were cut down on Wednesday sen'night in

the night; Mr. Rogers and some Papists thereabouts were very insolent the next day where they met, and one parson here neglects to pray for his majesty's success in Ireland, yet enjoined to do so every Sunday." He sends also the shipments made for the forces in Ireland, contracts, allusions to, and names of persons in and about Bristol, notices of the conduct of Sir Robert's household at Kingsweston, &c. Also a letter of Major Butler, of Bristol, relative to the march of Brewer's regiment, December, 1691, and the names of ships, with particulars of their lading, which have been taken or are missing on the coast of Ireland and in the river Severn, belonging to Bristol. December, 1691, with letter, &c., signed by William Dains and Thomas Richardson, wardens of the commonalty of Merchant Adventurers of Bristol. Copy of a commission granted by James to a privateer, the *Sun* frigate, 1692, taken on the rescue of the *Lintle* of Bristol, brought into Padstow. Petitions of the Society of Merchant Adventurers and other trades in the city of Bristol. Extracts of some letters to Mr. Mason, of Bristol, about ships taken in 1693. Particulars of the Bristol shipping detained at Nantz. Various letters and papers relative to the shipping at Bristol. Amongst them we find one containing a curious notice of Captain Price, of whom there are many letters among the collection:—"The town empty and nothing worth notice, when in the morning betimes notice was brought me of Captain Price's arrival and of a great misfortune that befell him. Coming up to London bridge at high water, about one o'clock in the night, his boate run against one of the arches, and turning the other end against another of the arches, presently over-set, from which accident three of his men and two passengers that came over with him were drowned, and he was himself taken up at the third rising for dead. Ten thousand pounds' worth of gold was cast upon the arches, which was all saved, and I heare that the captain is like to do well. One told me that was with Mr. Burchett, one of the secretaries of the Admiralty, that he said hereupon, 'It was a pity that the captain was saved, for that he was a blockhead and good for nothing.'"

This Robert Henley was not the man who afterwards became Earl of Northington and lord chancellor, and of whom the following interesting story is told:—"In a trial at Bristol, he had to examine a witness on the opposite side named Reeve, a merchant of that city. Mr. Reeve, being offended with the lawyer's speech, sent for Mr. Henley, while dining at the 'White Hart,' to speak to a gentleman in an adjoining room, when he immediately locked the door, demanding instant satisfaction with swords or pistols, or an apology. Mr.

Henley pleaded that his language was only that in common use at the bar, and had not meant to give the least offence; but, if undesignedly he had offended him, he would beg his pardon before the other lawyers in the next room. No further notice was taken till after some years when Henley had become lord chancellor; he then wrote to Mr. Reeve, asking him to pay duty and freightage on a couple of pipes of Madeira, consigned to him on board a ship bound for that port. If he would do this, and cause it to be sent to the Grange, he would take the earliest opportunity of defraying all expenses and would be infinitely obliged. All was done as desired, and during the winter following Mr. Reeve dined in London with the lord chancellor and several of the nobility and gentry, when, with great good humour, his lordship related to all the whole story of his acquaintanceship with Reeve."<sup>1</sup> Henley was born in 1708; married an heiress in Bath; became member for that city in 1747; attorney-general, 1756; lord chancellor, 1757. He was son to Sir Arthur Henley, of Henley, Somerset.

7. In 1690, Alexander Mackenzie was ordered to stand in the pillory on Saturday next an hour, and to be fined ten marks for uttering sedition; Joseph Topp to stand in the pillory one hour on Saturday next, at eleven o'clock, and for the same space on the Wednesday following, for speaking seditious words. "Bristol bird's-eye" is not a thing of yesterday; from its intimate connection with the Colonies, Bristol carried on an extensive trade with them and with the West Indies, and tobacco had become an article of great demand. Sir John Duddleston was a large importer and manufacturer.

This year the Tolzey, adjoining the church in Thomas street, was finished. Newgate prison was rebuilt in 1691 [see illustration, I., 157].

One of the choicest legends treasured in our local histories appears to have had its origin about this time. On a spur of the high plateau known as Durdham down, on the south-west, projecting over the river, stands an ivy-covered stone tower (to which in modern days a handsome residence has been attached); it bears on its lintel the inscription, "I. Cook, 1693," and was probably built by J. Cook, merchant, sheriff in 1672. The story is as follows:—

On the summit of the hill beyond Sneyd park, just above the spot where the carboniferous system joins the old red sandstone, and the hill begins to drop away towards the Severn valley, there stands a round ivy-clad tower, conspicuous for its position, and forming the central point in a most exquisite circle of landscapes. The legend runs that the wife of Sir Maurice Cook, the owner of extensive estates in the neighbourhood, whilst walking one evening in the domain, she being then *enciente*, was accosted by a

<sup>1</sup> Tovey's Local Jottings.

strange-looking man, who pestered her for alms. She gave him a coin, saying, "That will buy you food for the present." He importuned her for a larger gift, professing to be an astrologer, to whom the heavens were as familiar as a horn-book, and able unerringly to read human destinies. His importunity, combined with her natural curiosity, prevailed; she gave him the money required, and asked him to predict the fate of her first but unborn child. "Note the precise moment when it enters the world, and soon after you shall see me again." Within a week the babe was born. The stranger duly appeared, learned the required facts, and next day presented the glad father with a scroll containing the following words:—

"Twenty times shall Avon's tide  
In chains of glistening ice be tied—  
Twenty times the woods of Leigh  
Shall wave their branches merrily,  
In Spring burst forth in mantle gay,  
And dance in Summer's scorching ray;  
Twenty times shall Autumn's frown  
Wither all their green to brown—  
And still the child of yesterday  
Shall laugh the happy hours away.  
That period past, another Sun  
Shall not his annual journey run,  
Before a silent secret foe  
Shall strike that boy a deadly blow.  
Such and sure his fate shall be,  
Seek not to change his destiny."

The father read it with a shudder. Men held astrology to be an unerring science, and how could he fight against fate? He, however, like a wise and loving husband, concealed the drift of the horoscope from his wife, and quieted her by asserting the fellow to have been a gipsy impostor.

As the child grew in years and healthful beauty, the father's anxieties increased with his passionate love of this which proved to be his only son; and before the lad reached his twentieth year Sir Maurice had caused to be constructed this strange tower, into which no one could enter save by permission of its tenant.

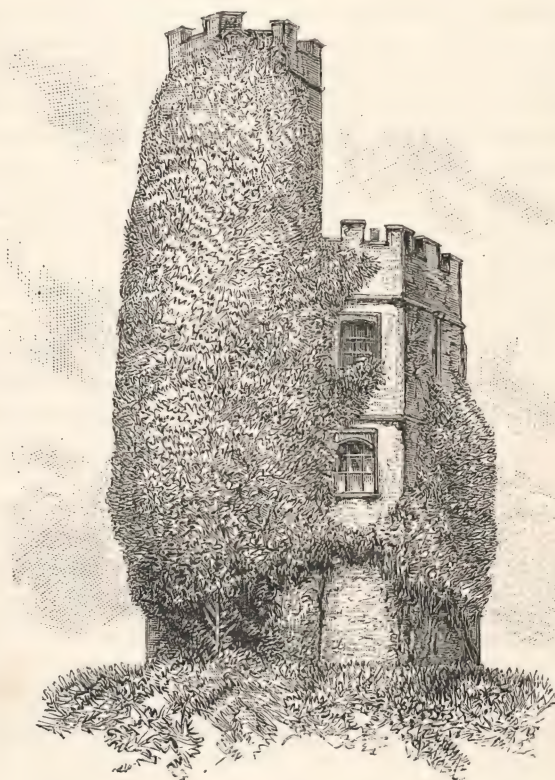
When the fatal year was about to begin the father showed his son the scroll, and entreated him to occupy the retreat (at which all beholders had wondered) until the year expired. The young man laughed at the prediction; said he wouldn't lose a year's liberty and freedom for all the astrologers in the universe, &c. But seeing his father's anxiety, he yielded, and took up his residence in his voluntary prison, which was made as secure as stone and iron would allow. His meals were drawn up by him in a basket; every luxury was supplied. His mother was long since dead, but there were not many moments of the day when either his sisters or his father were not within sight or call.

And so the months rolled on until the eve of the last day of the fatal year drew on with darkling shadows. Father and sisters joined him in a chorus of delighted anticipations of the morrow, and, ere they left, asked if there was anything more they could do for him. "Nothing," said he; "yet as the night feels chilly, and I have little fuel, send me up one more faggot. This is the last time that, like an old woman at the well, I shall have to dip and draw for my wants, thank God, for 'tis weary work to one's arm. Good night, father! Look at Mars, the star of my fate! See how he shines; all will be well." Sir Maurice looked round; at that moment a dark cloud obscured the planet, and the father shuddered at the omen.

He retired to his home. Sleep he could not; ever and anon he came to the window to be cheered by the bright flickering of the firelight from the tower window. The morning dawned;

father and daughters hastened to welcome their loved one. "Walter! Walter!" the sisters cried. "Answer! This is a cruel jest." Sir Maurice stood silent and unmoved, after the one command to the servants, "Fetch a ladder!" They did so; one of the men mounted and looked in at the window, then turned with beaming face, "Master is fast asleep!" "Come down, man, he's dead!" in a frenzy burst out Sir Maurice, as he rushed to and mounted the ladder. Dashing into the room, there lay his son, dead, with a serpent twined around his arm and his throat covered with blood. The reptile had crept from the faggot last sent to him, and had fulfilled the prophesy.

Such is the legend; we have summarised it from the earliest edition known to us—one published apparently very early in this century. There is doubtless as much



*Cook's Folly.*

of truth in it as is contained in most stories of the kind. The probability is that John Cook, who was sheriff of Bristol in 1673, built a strong and secure building for temporary resort in one of the most lovely sites in an exquisitely beautiful neighbourhood; that the singularity of its construction got for the building most naturally the name, "Cook's folly," and the rest of the story grew out of the wondering minds of those who could imagine no valid reason why a man should seclude himself from his fellows, or dream of the enjoyment that could find solace in Nature, apart from the servile, bargaining bustle of a great city.

We copy the following interesting items from the *House of Commons' Journal*:—

A petition of several merchants of the city of Bristoll, owners of the ship *Betty* frigate, was presented to the house and read, setting forth that, in 1693, the petitioners built the said ship, and furnished her with all warlike provisions, and obtained a commission from the Admiralty for making her a privateer. That afterwards her captain took a French ship loaden with fish, and sent the prize for Bristoll; but, by contrary winds, was forced into Cork, in Ireland, where she was stopped by Mr. Bedsford, agent for the prize office in England, under pretence of securing his majesty's share, though she was not arrived at the place of discharge, for which the petitioners' correspondent there offered unquestionable security upon her arrival at Bristoll, that she might have the convoy of the *England* frigate, then bound for Bristoll; but the said prize was stopped at Cork so long that the *England* frigate went away without her, and afterwards coming thence alone she was re-taken by the French, and so wholly lost to the petitioners, who applied themselves to the commissioners for prizes for reparation of their damages sustained by their detention, but can hitherto have no relief, and praying the consideration of the house in the premises.

Resolved,—“That the consideration of the said petition be referred to a committee, and that they do explain the matter, and report the same with their opinion therein to the house. Detention allowed to have been illegal.”

Also

A petition of several merchants of the city of Bristoll, owners of the ship *Danby* gally, was presented to the house and read, setting forth that the petitioners, in 1692, built the said vessel, and furnished her with all warlike provisions, and applied themselves to the Admiralty for a commission for her going a privateer, but were denied it; afterwards Horatio Townsend, lieutenant to the Marquis of Carmarthen, hired her into his majesty's service, and used her therein for several months, but the Navy Board denied any payment of her hire; that afterwards the petitioners sent the said gally to the Streights, on a trading voyage, and upon her arrival there made fresh application to the Admiralty for a privateer's commission, but were denied it because she was in a foreign port; whereupon they procured a commission from the Duke of Savoy to keep to themselves whatever they should take of the French king's subjects, and accordingly the said ship took several prizes in the Archipelago; but putting into Livorne port with her prizes was there stopped by Mr. Blackwell, the English consul, and agent for the prize office, for his majesty's fifth part, where they are still detained; that Captain Silcar, captain of his majesty's ship the *Turk's Tyger*, took by force from the commander of the petitioners' ship one of her prizes. That the petitioners have often applied themselves to the commissioners of the navy and prize office for damages, but can have no relief, which is to the great discouragement of privateering and loss of the petitioners, and praying the relief of the house in the premises.

Ordered,—“That the consideration of the said petition be referred to the committee to whom the petition of several merchants of the city of Bristoll, owners of the *Betty* gally, is referred, and that they do examine the matter thereof and report the same with their opinion therein to the house.”

In 1694 Frome gatehouse and gates were pulled down, St. James' poorhouse in Barr's street was built. Queen Mary died on December 28th of smallpox, in the sixth year of her reign, aged thirty-three. “She was

not buried until March 5th following, at which time ‘the high-cross was hung with mourning from top to bottom, and all the great bells in the city tolled three distinct hours, from nine to ten, from two to three, and from four to five o'clock.’

“‘At the assizes in August, 1695, two colliers were hanged for a murder committed by them a year ago on a stranger behind St. James' church going up the hill.’

“This year, 1695-6, began the great recoinage of silver money. The state of the silver coin for many years past had been miserably bad, being so reduced in size by clipping that some of it was only half its value, ‘sixteen shillings of it being weighed against one of King Charles's milled crowns and found wanting;’ and the guinea commonly passed for thirty and thirty-one shillings, although the legal value was twenty-one shillings and sixpence. ‘In June last year a great discovery was made here in Bristol of clippers and coiners of money, and some were committed to Newgate and some were sent to Gloucester. One Mrs. Scarlett in particular was condemned at the last August assizes to be burned for this offence, but was reprieved, and afterwards made her escape.’ These disorders in the coin occupied much of the attention of Parliament, for they produced very ill effects on all money transactions with foreign countries, particularly in the payment of the troops abroad, and produced serious discontents at home, much aggravated by the friends of the late king, who hated the present government. It was at last determined to recoin all the silver money, and that the work might proceed the faster, mints were set up in Chester, York, Norwich, Bristol and Exeter, besides those in London. ‘For this purpose the sugar-house behind St. Peter's church [now the hospital for the poor] was fitted up, and on the 12th of September, 1696, they began to coin, and then the old coin was not allowed to pass unless the greater part of the letters were legible, except sixpences, which were allowed to pass if not clipt in the innermost ring. The mint allowed five shillings and eightpence per ounce paid in new coin for old money and for plate, great quantities of which latter were brought in. The work went on briskly; our mint coined £2,000 some weeks, and other mints after the same rate, so that new money came about sooner than was expected, and the guinea soon became current at twenty-two shillings. They coined here during 1696 and 1697, and then left off, having coined £450,000, all which money has the letter B under the head; and then the house was purchased by the guardians of the poor, therein to employ the poor and youth of this city in spinning and weaving cotton;’ but the house is commonly called the Mint to this day. ‘In order to defray the expense of this coinage, a tax was laid on windows.’

“In the month of July were uncommon rains, which continued without ceasing from Thursday the 9th in the afternoon, until Sunday morning, causing so great a fresh in the rivers here that great quantities of hay were carried down and lost.”<sup>1</sup>

This scheme of calling in the old clipped and hampered money originated with the celebrated John Locke, of Wrington.

On February 5th, 1695, the first Bristol Water works company was formed under an Act of Parliament, Mr. Blake and Mr. Yates preparing the bill. The water was brought in pipes from the Avon at Hanham weir, where the ruins of the engine mill still exist, to a reservoir on

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 544-5.

Lawrence hill. The company purchased of the corporation the right, title and privilege of supplying the inhabitants of Bristol with fresh water for two hundred years upon payment to the chamber of Bristol every seventh year of the sum of £166 13s. 4d. The speculation soon failed, the freehold and leasehold lands of the company were sold, and ultimately the Bristol Dock company purchased Hanham mills, but not the right to supply the water.

March 9th, 1695.—The chamber petitioned for leave to make the Avon navigable to Bath—it would be good for trade, and breed up watermen for sailors, &c., &c.

“1695. William Bonny petitioned the House for liberty to have a printing-house in the city. After a long debate and consideration of the petition, it was the opinion of the House that the setting up of a printing-house within this city might be useful in several respects.”

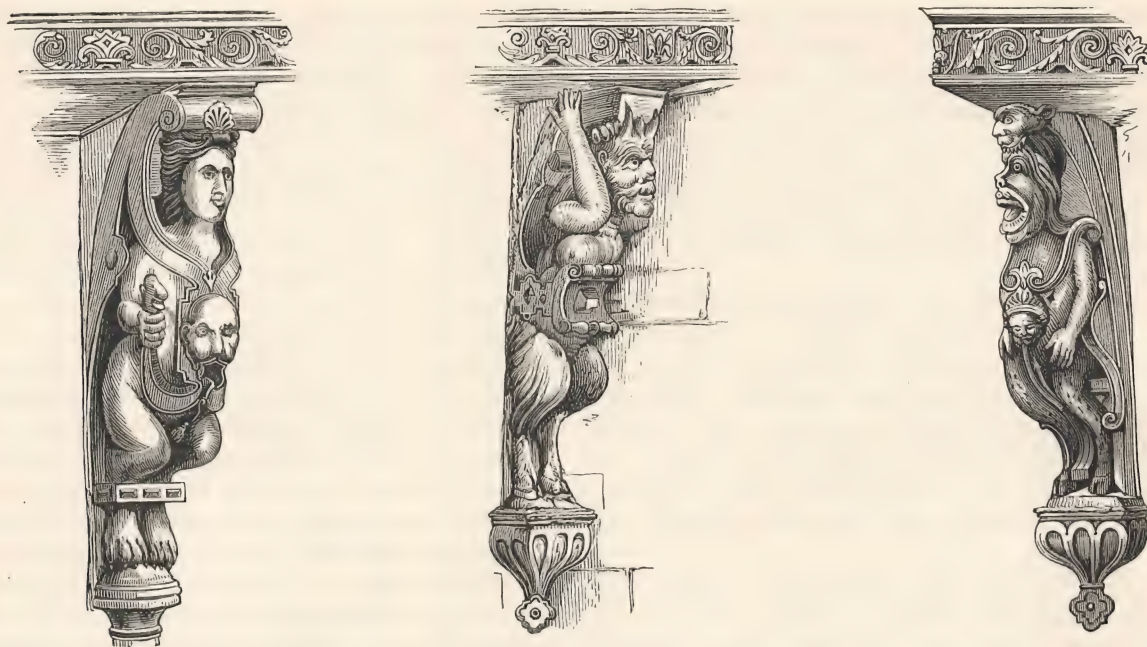
On January 5th in this year William Penn married Hannah, daughter of Thomas Callowhill, merchant, of Bristol, after whom Penn and Callowhill streets were named.

A tax on windows, at the rate of 4s. for ten, 8s. for twenty, was levied, in order to cover the deficiency in the clipped coinage; it was to continue seven years. The Corporation of the Poor was instituted under an Act of Parliament on the 12th of May, 1696. Their first meeting was held in the Guildhall, on May 19th. This year the Merchants built the western wing of their almshouse in King street. “The Hotwell house erected, with the pump raising the water 30 feet, at the cost of Sir Thomas Day (mayor in 1694), Robert Yate (mayor in 1693), Thomas Callowhill and other citizens; a lease having been granted for that purpose by the Society of Merchants, as lords of the manor, for ninety years, at £5 per annum. October 28th, 1696, a pamphlet entitled *An Account of the Proceedings of the Commons in relation to the recoinage of the clipped money, and falling the price of guineas*, was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman. The Land Bank, that had been established by Act of Parliament last year, and was to have raised two millions and a half, did not produce anything, which reduced the Government to very great straits. About this time bank notes were discounted at 20 per cent., and Government tallies at 40, 50, and 60 per cent., which was no small inducement to the court to listen to proposals of peace; nor were the French in a better condition, which made them equally pliable.”<sup>1</sup>

8. In 1694 a shrewd Scotchman, William Paterson, had founded the Bank of England, under a charter dated April 25th, which enabled the proprietors to

issue promissory notes, discount bills of exchange, to deal in bullion and foreign securities, and to act as pawnbrokers by lending money on goods as security; for this privilege they loaned on the security of a duty on tonnage £1,200,000 to the Government. A ring was formed by the Lombard street money-lenders, and desperate attempts were made to run the new bank; it was declared to be a scheme to lend money to the Government, at any moment and to any extent, without the consent of Parliament. This charge was met by the insertion of a clause by which their charter was to be forfeited if they ever acted in such a way without the consent of the Parliament. In 1696 Chamberlain and Briscoe started the scheme of a Land Bank, which was founded on the principle that because an estate was worth £20,000 at twenty years' purchase, it was worth that every twenty years, and could be immediately convertible at the same rate for any number of years. Unsound, but attractive to the landed gentry, who thus obtained great accommodation and a fanciful accession of wealth, it found favour with William as a means of furnishing money for his wars. The Bank of England had only loaned £1,200,000 at 8 per cent., but the Land Bank undertook to advance him £2,500,000 at 7 per cent. The bill was ratified, and Parliament adjourned on one and the same day. The last day appointed for the payment of clipped coin into the treasury was the 4th of May, 1696. As that time drew near there was a violent rush to pay in the old and get new coin, but although the mints at London, Bristol, York, Exeter and Norwich were working night and day, there was a great scarcity of currency; the notes of the Bank of England gave some relief, but there was not enough cash in circulation to carry on the business of the nation. Those who possessed the new milled money began to hoard it on the expectation of a rise in value; great distress ensued; the Jacobites made their game and fostered the discontent; the bubble Land Bank burst, its shareholders being all borrowers instead of investors; the Government demanded in vain from empty coffers the promised loan; and the Lombard street money-lenders, laying hands on all the paper of the Bank of England, made another run upon it, one goldsmith alone presenting £30,000 of its notes for cash. The notes presented by the “ring” the bank refused to cash, leaving the holders to their remedy at law, but they cashed those fairly presented by the public, who continued with some hesitancy to support them; whilst Montague, to relieve the tightness of the money market, invented the system of “exchequer bills,” promissory notes of from £5 to £100 value, bearing interest on the security of the annual taxes.

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 248.



Caryatides at the Mint.

These were received with avidity. In the very crisis of the struggle the king had to apply for a loan to pay his troops; he was granted one of £200,000. But to such extremity was the Threadneedle street concern reduced that they were compelled to withhold one-fourth of the value of their notes, endorsing them as three-fourths paid when received, and re-issuing them at one-fourth of their nominal value. Both the Government and the bank, however, stood loyally each by the other, the public faith increased as the new coinage flowed from the mints, and by the end of the year, to the chagrin of Jacobite and Jew, the distress abated, and revived commerce flowed once again in its wonted channels.

"After almost nine years' cruel and bloody war with France, a happy and honourable peace was concluded at Ryswick, on the 10th of September, 1697, which was proclaimed in London October 19th, and in Bristol on the 29th, by the sheriffs, at five distinct places, viz., at the High cross, St. Peter's cross, Temple cross, St. Thomas pipe, and the Kay pipe. They were accompanied to each place by the mayor and common council, together with the deputy-lieutenants, militia, constables, &c.; and at each proclamation were several volleys of small shot fired by the militia, who were answered by the cannon in the Marsh and on the Kay, there mounted for that purpose, with great acclamations, ringing of bells, waits playing, drums beating, trumpets sounding, colours flying, and conduits running with wine. There were few of our churches, if any, which had not on their towers and steeples some signal colours or flags, as also had the ships and the house-tops of several of the citizens, and the evening was concluded with bonfires and an *almost* universal illumination." From this last expression it is plain that the peace was not approved of by all in this city, and one of the calendars, mentioning an event in the last summer which seemed likely to retard the peace, adds,— "Which many people here did hope, but blessed be God it fell

out otherwise, although against their wills." And when news of the peace arrived here on September 16th, the same calendar adds, "Of which we had great joy and great sorrow."

A plentiful harvest in the year 1697. "Early in the spring of the year 1698, wheat was at eight and nine shillings per bushel, malt at four shillings and sixpence, and oats at two shillings; but in April it was cheaper; the best wheat was sold at seven shillings." "A very cold and backward season; on the 3rd of May it hailed and snowed very much all over England."<sup>1</sup>

1697. We have before us, on a sixpenny stamp, a license for Joseph Garnsy, of Chard, to work for Stephen Hohistan, a merchant taylor in Bristol, in which is stated that Garnsy, being a foreigner, at his instant importunity and request is admitted to work for the said Hohistan, the conditions being that he shall not privily receive any work in secret for his own profit, shall neither make, sell, nor cut to be made or sold, any manner of garment within the liberties, or take money or reward therefor (except the garments be made for his own body, or the bodies of his wife and children), and shall not during his abode in the city work at the trade of a taylor with any person or persons except as a journeyman, and with such persons only as are members free of the said society of Merchant Taylors; the license to be void if he does.

Witnesses,

JOHN COLLINGTON.

JOHN TUNLY.

ROBT. CAMBRIDGE.

9. There had been passed, in 1660, an Act of Parliament which prohibited the growth of tobacco in this country under a penalty of 40s. per rod. In 1689 the

<sup>1</sup> Seyer II., 545-6.

merchants of Bristol petitioned to be eased of the tax of threepence in the pound on tobacco. Ordered to be laid on the table.<sup>1</sup> In 1697 Dorothy Gray, widow, petitioned the House of Commons to the following effect:—

That her late husband, John Gray, being well acquainted with all manner of plants, in the year 1692 discovered nine several plantations of tobacco growing, containing 1,300 rods, near Bristol, which said plantations were planted by several rich merchants, viz., Mr. Pope, sheriff 1692, Mr. Sullock, Mr. Elton, sheriff 1702, mayor 1710, Mr. Brooks, Mr. Goodman, Mr. Benfield, Mr. Gate, Mr. Biddle, Mr. Lycense. That her husband gave information upon oath to the magistrates of Bristol, and also to his majesty's commissioners of customs of the said plantations, and caused the same to be rooted up and destroyed. That the land was measured by Mr. Weeks and Mr. Webb, and also by Byord and Payne, two custom-house officers. That in Trinity time the commissioners of customs ordered one Peregrine Bertie, a searcher, and one Hutchinson, their solicitor, to prosecute the planters, for which they have incurred a forfeit of £12 per rod to the king, the poor, and the prosecutor. Process issued, and the offenders' effects were seized. Gray was ordered to continue in London, which he did at great charges for several years. That, in September, 1697, a report was made, showing that the forfeitures amounted to £15,000. That Gray never had any share of the money, or reward for his service; that he was ruined in this service, and died without having received one penny for the same. That the said Dorothy Gray, his widow, had made many unavailing attempts to recover the share in the forfeitures due to her, but had been repeatedly put off and denied; that she had only received twenty pounds of the same, and that the king and the poor had been defrauded of their rights. She therefore prays the honourable House, &c. (We have been unable to discover any result.)

When the Mint ceased to coin in Bristol the building was, in 1697, bought by the guardians of the poor, as a place in which to employ paupers in spinning cotton; the price was £800. Previously the poor were housed in White hall, adjoining the Bridewell; the impotent poor were lodged in workhouses in St. Philip's, in the Castle, in Temple street, and in St. James' parish, also in divers other places. In 1698 the statues in the hall of St. Peter's hospital were bought for £70, and a mulberry tree was cut down in the garden, "because the boys are always climbing after the fruit." A building in St. Peter street, called the Watch-house (? part of the old Barbican), was taken down by the corporation of the poor, with the consent of the mayor and aldermen; it was supposed to have been an appendage to the Castle, as there was no nightly watch until 1755.<sup>2</sup>

10. In 1698 the High Cross was repaired, richly painted and gilded. St. James' church was also repaired at a cost of £600, and the *bulks* of the houses on the bridge were taken down. Queen square was commenced, and the first buildings of brick (the Tontine warehouses, we believe, on Broad quay) in the city were erected.

It had been the practice for the mayor and the com-

panies of the trades in their liveries to attend divine service at the Cathedral on the 29th May; but in 1696-7, on account of some difference between the corporation and the Cathedral authorities, the mayor, John Hine, grocer, and the crafts worshipped at Temple, and in 1697-8, John Bubb, mercer, being mayor, they all went to Redcliff church. In 1699 the Society of Merchants built the east wing, and re-built the old central part of their almshouse in King street. Between March and June most of the horses in the city suffered from what appears to have been glanders. In 1701 the Merchants re-built their hall, and the Merchant Taylors their almshouse, for which they chose a new site in Merchant street, before which date it stood in Marsh street. One MS. says Sir John Duddleston erected it. Sir John was deputy-governor in 1699; he became governor of the corporation of the poor in 1700.

On March 8th, 1702, William III. died, aged 52, having been thrown from his horse.<sup>1</sup> Although he saved the kingdom from tyranny and oppression, William was neither a lover of liberty nor of a mixed government. And to the camp his manner was lacking in courtesy and his notions were arbitrary; he disliked the discussions of a Free Parliament, and did his best to confine the business of the state to a small and manageable circle. His policy was not favourable to the interests of the country over which he reigned; he exhausted its resources, and introduced the principle of mortgaging its future taxation in order to accomplish his purposes.

Amongst the curiosities of this reign we note an Act (passed in 1700) to prohibit the printing or weaving of calicoes. A more sensible Act was one which compelled watch and clock makers to engrave their names upon their productions. Savery's (the first working) steam engine was erected in 1698. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was incorporated. Sir Isaac Newton was made master of the Mint, and an income-tax of four shillings in the pound was passed, in order to exclude the Pretender.

"At the great re-coinage, in the year 1696-7, when all the money made by the old hammered process was finally called in, Bristol was chosen for one of the five country mints which were set up in order to expedite the re-coinage, and to facilitate the distribution over the kingdom of the new money. Silver halfcrowns, shillings and sixpences, with the bust and arms of William III., were accordingly coined in this city during the years 1696 and 1697; and these coins are distinguished by the letter 'B' under the king's head.

"The halfcrowns, shillings and sixpences are of dif-

<sup>1</sup> House of Commons' Journal, XIII.

<sup>2</sup> H. and R. Smith's MSS.

<sup>1</sup> "The highest eulogium that can be passed on the Revolution, of which William was the head, is that it was our last."—*Macaulay*.

ferent sizes, but all of the following type:—*Obverse*, bust of the king to the right, in Roman armour and drapery, and with a laurel wreath round his head. The letter B, for Bristol, below the bust; legend, GVLIELMVS . III . DEI . GRA. *Reverse*, four shields arranged in the form of a cross, and each crowned. The upper shield bears the arms of England; the lower one those of France; on the right, Scotland; with Ireland on the left. The arms of Nassau in the centre of the coin. Legend, MAG . BR . FRA . ET . HIB . REX . 1696 (or 1697). The 1696 halfcrowns have the following inscription on the edge: DECVS . ET . TVTAMEN . ANNO . REGNI . OCTAVO. The halfcrowns of 1697 read NONO instead of OCTAVO. The edges of the shillings and sixpences are milled with oblique lines. Weights of the halfcrowns, shillings and sixpences, 232½, 92½ and 46½ grains respectively, and made of standard silver as at present coined.<sup>1</sup>

"The Rev. Rogers Ruding, in his *Annals of the Coinage*, states that 'the weight of hammered money and wrought plate imported into this mint, for re-coining, amounted to 146,977 lb.; which, at £3 2s. the pound weight, was coined into £463,728 14s.'<sup>2</sup> Page 213, vol. ii., 3rd edit.

"On the 15th August, 1696, the mayor and aldermen issued a notice, to the effect that the officers of the mint would pay 5s. 8d., in lawful money, for every ounce of clipped money or wrought plate brought to them. The following is an exact copy of the original printed broad sheet, from that in the British Museum :

"*Civitas Bristoll.*—By the Right Worshipful the MAYOR and ALDERMEN. THESE are to give Notice, That the Right Honourable the LORDS of His MAJESTY'S Treasury, have been pleas'd to Send Down for the Benefit of This CITY, and the Counties Adjacent, One Thousand Weight of Silver, Value Three Thousand Pounds, and Upwards, to the Mint here, to be Coyn'd into the Lawful Coyn of this Kingdom; and to be put in the Hand of some Able and Sufficient Person in this CITY, to Exchange such Old Clipp'd Sterling Money, as any Person will bring in, on the Encouragement or Allowance of Five Shillings and Two Pence an Ounce, and Six Pence an Ounce by way of Recompence; And the Officers of the Mint have Directions to Keep an Account of the Deficiency thereof, and also to Pay the like Allowance of Five Shillings and Two Pence an Ounce, and Six Pence Recompence, for such Wrought Plate as shall be brought in, Pursuant to the Late Act of Parliament, as soon as such Plate shall be Melted, Essay'd, and Reduced to Sterling: Which Five Shillings and Two Pence, and Six Pence an Ounce, as well for Clipp'd Sterling Money, as for Wrought Plate, is to be Immediately Paid down. Dated in Bristol, this Fifteenth Day of August, One Thousand Six Hundred Ninety and Six.

"In the subsequent year a petition of the mayor and commonalty of this city, presented to the House of Commons on the 30th December, 1697, stated that there

<sup>1</sup> Mr. William Brice exhibited a fine set of the Bristol half-crown, shilling and sixpence, all dated 1696, at the evening meeting of the Congress, 8th of August, 1874.

<sup>2</sup> Should not this amount be £455,628 14s.?

would, by computation, in a month's time be in the city at least £150,000 of old hammered money, brought to the fair from Wales and other places; and prayed that the Mint might be continued some time longer for the coining of that money, in order to prevent the inconvenience of sending it to the Mint at the Tower. (*Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. xii., p. 18.)

"Among the Exchequer documents in the Public Record office, London, *Queen's Remembrancer's Miscellanies, Mint*, 599-29, 9th William III., are two printed forms, filled up in manuscript, 'witnessing payments made by Alexander How, deputy master and worker of his majesty's mint at Bristol, to Nicholas Baker, being the nett produce of two separate quantities of hammered silver money which had been by the said Nicholas brought in to be coined, dates May and June, 1697.'

"The first paper is numbered 33, dated 12th May, 1697, and is signed by 'Alexr. How,' who states that he paid £8,759 5s., for 30,915 ounces (at 5s. 8d. per ounce) of old hammered coin, brought by Nicholas Baker to the Mint, to be there coined on the 6th February, 1697. This document informs us that the above amount brought into the Mint only made £7,728 15s. in new milled money; and that the cost of melting, refining, coining, &c., was £257 12s. 6d., and the remaining loss or deficiency £772 17s. 6d., thus making the total loss to the Government £1,030 10s. out of £8,759 5s.

"The second paper is No. 63, 8th June, 1697, and witnesses the payment of £60 0s. 2½d. by How to Baker for 211 oz. 16 dwts. of hammered silver money.

"The above-mentioned silver coinage of William III. was the last authorised coinage at Bristol."<sup>1</sup>

11. In 1700, "there being a confederacy among the cooks now in this city, it is ordered that in case any able cooks come from London that the mayor and aldermen have liberty to admit them into the freedom of the city."

1701. The corporation of the poor, in July, purchased, in three lumps, Mr. Page's estate for £1,600.

James II. died at St. Germain, on September 16th, 1701. "Jeffrey's death was hastened whilst in confinement by drinking brandy. As recently as 1820 the place of his interment in London was discovered, when the populace, still alive to his villanies, treated his remains with every indignity."<sup>2</sup> On November 17th Robert Tucker was put in the pillory, from nine to twelve, with the word "cheat" in capital letters suspended from his neck, "with other words chosen by the town clerk affixed to his hat."

"Mrs. Pugsley died August 4th, 1700, aged eighty. Her funeral was according to her directions, and was

<sup>1</sup> Henfrey, 365-8.

<sup>2</sup> H. and R. Smith.

'punctually performed to the admiration and in the view of ten thousand spectators.' Her body was borne uncoffined on a litter, with a sheet for shroud, preceded by a fiddler playing a sprightly air, and two damsels strewing sweet herbs and flowers, while the bells of St. Nicholas church rung a merry peal. Thus it was carried to a grave in a field adjoining Nine-tree hill. Dame Pugsley was supposed to be the widow of a young soldier killed at the siege of Bristol, 1645, and buried with military honours on Nine-tree hill. His widow wore mourning all her life, and desired to be borne to her grave with demonstrations of joy at their happy reunion. Mother Pugsley's well is within recent memory. It consisted of two stone basins, one of which contained 'an infallible remedy for the eyes,' whilst the other was especially renowned for making tea. She built a hut over the spot where her husband fell and was buried, which gave her name to the field and well. At her death she bequeathed money for a sixpenny loaf and a ninepenny loaf at Easter, and a twopenny loaf on Twelfth-day, to each of the sixteen women inhabiting St. Nicholas' almshouse. The vulgar supposed her to have been a witch, and they trampled upon her grave. A skull, thought to have been her husband's, was dug up; it had a bullet hole just above the temple."<sup>1</sup>

We add a few more extracts from the Southwell MSS. An abstract of the Acts of William and Mary, 1695, for the erection of hospitals and workhouses within the city of Bristol, and for the better employment of the poor thereof. Many curious and interesting papers relative to the seizure of the *Postillion* ketch, of Bristol. This vessel with its freight entered Cork harbour, purporting to come from Bilbao, but in fact came from Rochelle, which Captain Waller, deputy vice-admiral of Munster, hearing of, seized, and the whole was condemned for the king by the Admiralty Court of London, but before the sentence could be transmitted the Irish Revenue Commissioners obtained an order from the Lords Justices for the ketch to be delivered to them; and although it was fully adjudicated at London, yet they persisted it should have been tried in the Exchequer Court of Ireland, where only two-thirds would have been given for the king, an allegation which gave rise to a contest at law that lasted from August, 1693, to June, 1697. In connection with this case are numerous letters of Captain Waller, Sir Charles Hedges (Secretary of State), Thomas Bedford, Sir R. Cox (Chancellor of Ireland), R. Collinge, Sir R. Southwell, and many others. An account of the strange effects of thunder and lightning upon a ship called the *Panther*, of Bristol, at Cadiz, in 1701. There are also

<sup>1</sup> H. and R. Smith.

enumerated letters of Major Robert Yate, Bristol, 1702; Richard Bailey, 1703; Joshua Franklyn, 1711; Thomas Edwards, 1711; Sir William Davis, 1716, all of whom were Bristol men.

12. On the death of William III., Anne, the youngest daughter of James II., ascended the throne, Lord Godolphin being in power; the National debt amounted to £16,394,702, bearing interest of £1,300,000 per annum, Bristol was still the second city in the kingdom, and we find in the return of seamen and ships made this year that she possessed 165 ships and 2,400 seamen, whilst Liverpool only returned 102 ships and 1,100 seamen.

On March 12th, Anne "was proclaimed in Bristol by the sheriffs with great solemnity; April 23rd she was crowned with the usual ceremonies, and on that same day her coronation was celebrated in this city in a very triumphant and extraordinary manner as follows:—The mayor and aldermen, in their scarlet gowns, with the rest of the common council and many of the chief citizens went to the college to hear a sermon, before whom marched the militia, bravely armed; after them followed the hospital and mint boys in their blue gowns and coats, with bonnets on their heads, very delightful to behold. Then came the several companies of tradesmen, with their proper colours and badges, in comely order. Then followed twenty-four maidens, dressed in night-rails and white hoods, with fans in their hands, being led by a comely young woman, dressed in close white apparel, wearing a wig, hat and feather, carrying in her hand a half-pike, as their captain. Then followed the mayor and magistrates as before mentioned, having divers trumpets sounding before them, and the constables of every ward with their staves of office, attending to suppress all disorders which might happen by the extraordinary concourse of people, not only of citizens but of country people round about, who came to be spectators. After the common council, at a convenient distance, followed the mint-maids, dressed in blue, attended by their overseers; then the hospital-maids, clad in their red apparel, with very clean and white linen nightcaps, each carrying in her hand a sprig of holly and box gilded. After them followed eight young men in holland shirts, with knots of ribbon on their shoulders with this inscription, 'God save the Queen,' carrying in their hands naked swords, and wearing in their hats coronets of gilded laurel, preceded by two drummers. After them followed twenty-four damsels in white sarsnet scarfs and hoods, wearing in their dresses and on their bosoms knots of ribbon, white, green and red, each of them with a gilt bow and arrow in her hand. Next to them followed several citizens' daughters of chief note, sumptuously apparelled, wearing knots also of

the above-mentioned colours, and branches of laurel in their bosom, with this motto, 'God save Queen Anne'; the two last of them supported a crown richly adorned. Then came Madam Mayoress, attended by the magistrates' wives very splendidly appparelled, having the city music sweetly playing before them. The battlements of the churches were hung with scarlet cloth, and the towers had flags and streamers, and the crosses were dressed with the same furniture. All the conduits and gates and church

porches were adorned with flowers and gilded branches, curiously wrought into a variety of figures, particularly St. Stephen's porch and St. John's gate; over the arch of the former was this motto, 'God save Queen Anne,' curiously worked with a variety of small flowers on a bed [*al'* bank] of camomile; over that were the arms of England neatly framed with the like odoriferous materials, and a crown above worked also with flowers; on each side was a mitre worked in the same manner: the charge of adorning this porch was said to be £30. St. John's

gate was curiously adorned with flowers and branches of gilded laurel on both sides; also over the middle of the arch, on both sides the gate, was set a crown of mitres, and underneath each crown hung a pentagon, the one facing Broad street bearing the inscription *Deus Regina Ecclesia*, and that which faced Christmas street the words *Dux Foemina Facti*. The houses in the chief part of the city were splendidly adorned with arras and costly drapery of several devices; and in almost every place the street was decked with branches and gilded sprigs, sweet flowers, crowns and garlands, many of

which were valuable. The ships also were not without their signals of joy, having their wast cloths, streamers and auncients displayed. Ringing of bells, discharging of great ordnance with many vollies of small shot were not wanting, and in divers parts of the city wine freely ran for any, that could catch it. And toward the evening of the day appeared in the streets a company of young men in their holland shirts, distinct from the aforesaid former company, carrying also in one hand naked swords,

and in the other leading as many young women, appparelled in white waistcoats and red petticoats, wearing their night head dress and large straw hats. Also suddenly came a multitude of the more robust people, bearing aloft the effigy of the pope, represented by an old man sitting in a chair, having a long beard, and very white straight locks, wearing on his head a triple crown, holding in his right hand a crosier staff, having a scarlet mantle on his shoulders fringed with seeming white fur, his vestment and breeches being of white linen. Before him were



House at Barton Hill in which Queen Anne rested.

borne divers crosses and implements by his attendants and officers, many of whom wore vizards of ghastly aspect. Likewise was rung by a certain officer a small tinkling bell, to give notice of his approach. And at last to close the solemnity the night was, as it were, turned into day by the numerous lights in the windows of almost every house, and the great bonfires in the streets, wherein at last the pope and all his trinkets were consumed."<sup>1</sup>

War against France was declared, in London, on

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 548-50.

May 4th; it was made a matter of great rejoicing when proclaimed in Bristol on the 18th, the mayor, aldermen and sheriffs in scarlet forming a procession, preceded by the martial music of the militia and the officers in parade dress with their swords drawn.

"On the 28th of August, 1702, Queen Anne came to Bath; and on the following Thursday, 1st September, her majesty, accompanied by Prince George, came hither, attended by divers of the nobility, and was met on the road by a great number of the principal citizens on horseback, and received at Lawford's gate by the mayor and aldermen with the accustomed ceremonies. The mayor alighted off his horse and made a very loyal speech, expressing the great satisfaction of the city in the honour of her majesty and his royal highness's presence; after which he delivered the keys of the city gates to her majesty, which she immediately returned, and then the sword in like manner. He then mounted his horse and conducted her majesty through the Old Market, one side of which was guarded by those citizens on horseback who had met her majesty, among whom were about sixty (*alii* one hundred) of such as were or had been commanders of ships, who were distinguished from the rest by knots of red ribbon in their hats, led up by Captain Price with trumpets; the other side of the Old Market was guarded by a great number of citizens on foot, under the command of Major Wade. There were a great many scaffolds on both sides, which, as well as the windows of the houses, were filled with persons of the best fashion, as were likewise those of the other streets through which her majesty passed, all adorned with carpets and tapestry. The city music was placed on the Market-house (in the middle of Wine street); a triumphal arch was erected at St. Nicholas' gate, adorned with greens and flowers, with a flag on the top. After the sea-captains mentioned above followed twelve coaches belonging to the nobility and gentry, drawn by six horses each. Then came her majesty, having great part of her guards before her coach and part of them following it; she was clothed in purple, being her mourning apparel for the late King William, also her coaches and the trappings of her horses were black, and so likewise were those of the nobility who were with the queen. In her coach rode her husband, Prince George, and two ladies of honour; then came eighteen ministers of this city, riding bare-headed; and after them the common council in their gowns, followed by the mayor and aldermen, who were bravely mounted, having on their scarlet gowns, and all riding bare-headed, the mayor being hindmost, next to the queen's coach, carrying in his hand the pearl sword. In this manner was her majesty conducted to Sir Thomas Day's great house at the Bridge

end. Before dinner she was pleased to admit Mrs. Mayoress and other ladies and gentlewomen to the honour of kissing her hand, and to confer the honour of knighthood on John Hawkins, esq., mayor. The aldermen, sheriffs, common council, and other principal citizens and gentlemen of the neighbouring country had also the honour to kiss her hand. While her majesty, his royal highness, and the whole court were splendidly entertained at dinner, one hundred cannon mounted in the Marsh for that purpose, and all the cannon from the ships at the quays were fired, and the bells were ringing all the time. Her majesty's guards were dismissed and sent to the quarters appointed for them, where they were entertained at the city's charge, her majesty being guarded by the citizens in arms. All the churches and towers were adorned with flags, the ships in the port hung out their flags and pendants and fired their guns incessantly, and everyone strove to give demonstrations of their joy for her majesty's presence and of their duty and loyalty to her; after which her majesty and the prince returned in the evening to Bath, where, on the 6th, a proclamation was signed for proroguing the Parliament, which was to have met on the 8th of October, to the 20th of the same month."<sup>1</sup>

The cost of the queen's visit was £466 4s. 7d., in fifty-nine disbursements, amongst which are the following:—

	£	s.	d.
City music in Wine street ... ..	1	0	0
Sergeants and drums... ..	5	0	0
Charcoal ... ..	2	11	0
Cloth at High Cross ... ..	0	3	10
Loan of pewter plates and cups ... ..	12	12	0
Paid for glasses ... ..	6	14	0
Beer from the mayor's brewery ... ..	11	15	0
Decorating the banqueting hall with flowers ... ..	1	4	0
Paid for queen's picture ... ..	24	15	0
Sir Thos. Day for apartments... ..	22	19	0
Grocer ... ..	2	1	1
Confectioners ... ..	16	0	0
Trumpeters... ..	5	0	0
Firing guns ... ..	1	4	8
Powder ... ..	10	5	0
Alderman Blackwell and Co., vintners, for wine ... ..	110	0	0
Butchers' meat ... ..	16	14	0
Cyder ... ..	0	11	0
To entertaining the guards at White Hart, White Horse, White and Red Lions, and The Bell ... ..	40	7	6
Baker ... ..	0	10	6
Apothecary... ..	0	2	4

Doomed to speedy demolition, but at present standing in an advanced stage of decay, is an old mansion on Barton hill, which belonged to the father of Sir John Hawkins, the mayor at the time of Anne's visit; it bears the date on the ivy-clad doorway of 1658, and on the mantle-piece of the chief room are the initials T.E. Tra-

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 551-2.

dition avers that this is Queen Anne's house, and as it lies but a little way out of the direct route from Bath by which her majesty travelled, it is reasonable enough to suppose that after her dusty ride from that city she did halt here to rest awhile, and that this is the spot where the citizens met her and conducted her to the civic reception and public entry at Lawford's gate. Nearly opposite to this mansion there stood another, the country house of Sir Thomas Day, at whose town house the queen dined; the only relic of this building left is, we believe, the chimney-piece (in what is now the "Rhubarb" tavern), which bears the initials T.A., 1672.

The next year the queen, accompanied by her husband, again visited Bath. Mr. Lewis, the mayor of Bristol, with the aldermen and town clerk, waited upon her majesty, when she was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood upon his worship. The items of expense are somewhat curious:—"Expenses: The mayor, £1 5s. 8d.; 2s. to a serjeant to wait upon the mayor, and 20s. to Joseph Jones for his journey to Bath with forty guineas." It was upon this occasion that "twelve persons afflicted with the king's evil were sent by the corporation of the poor to Bath to be touched by the queen; a surgeon (probably the above Joseph Jones) attended them."<sup>1</sup> The belief was then general that there was a healing efficacy for this grievous disease in the touch of a crowned sovereign. The gracious act was accompanied by a royal gift of coin, called "a touch piece," one of which, given by this queen to a member of the Catcott family, now lies before us.

13. St. Werburgh's parish is but a small one in the very heart of the city, but from a rate made in 1702 for cleansing, paving, and lighting the streets, for which the said parish was assessed at £11 5s., we find that it contained the houses of many families of distinction:—Abraham Elton, John Knight, Alderman Blackwell, Robert Yate, M.P., Sir John Duddleston, Peter Sanders, Sheriff Higgins, Lady Hayman, Lady Earl, Madame Yate, Madame Scroope; the churchwardens were John Bartlett and James Fisher. Sir William Hayman died this year, aged 78. Sir William Lewis did not reside in the city, and when he visited his soap-boiling manufactory he was "much discommoded at the noise in the streets." He is described, "for selfish ends seeking his own gain and his own comfortable lodgement, attempting to interrupt the traffic of the city, by which traffic its hospitals and adornments do increase and its name do spread to foreign ports." He complained to the council, and, in 1707, proposed "that the great noise made by trucks in the city by

means of the iron materials used about them is a great annoyance to the inhabitants thereof; and thereupon the question being put whether trucks to be used in this city for the future should be made of wood only, or not, excepting nails and the banding of the wheels, it passed in the affirmative. And it was accordingly ordered that whoever should use trucks made in any other manner should forfeit three shillings and fourpence, to be levied by distress and sale of the offender's goods. It was also ordered that public notice be given by the bellman with all speed." The following year his hobby is again before the council. "The conveniency and inconveniency of cart wheels and other wheels for carrying of dung and other heavy carriages in the streets of this city, having iron bandage or great iron spikes driven or put into them, be referred to a committee appointed about the river to consider of."

"Mr. Benjamin Perrot and Mr. Richard Warren being presented by the grand jury for making use of iron-bound wheels to their carts, that warrants be issued against them to be bound over to answer the said offences against the next sessions."

In Redcliff church, on the pavement near the eastern window, is the following:—

Here lyeth the body of Sir William Lewis, knight and alderman of this city, who departed this life the 23rd May, 1712, aged 56 years, 7 months.

Sir William possessed considerable property, which he bequeathed principally to his widow, who survived him until 1722. He gave his son £500, "in token not of my love," and £1,000 when he attained the age of 22 years.

In 1703 two copies of the *Red Book of Orders* were ordered to be made, one written on vellum, the other on paper, which were delivered to Sir William Lewis, the mayor.

Queen Elizabeth's hospital (the Gaunts) and Foster's almshouse were both commenced to be re-built in 1702. Queen Anne's Bounty, for the augmentation of poor livings in the Church, was instituted in 1704.

On January 17th the queen, in answer to a presentment of the grand jury, decreed an order for the regulation of playhouses, prohibiting them to act anything contrary to religion and good manners. The acting of plays in Bristol was prohibited, and the theatre in Tucker street was purchased by the Presbyterians and converted into a meeting-house. The names of the grand jury who signed the presentment of the Bristol stage were Walter Chapman, Daniel Hickman, Edward Thurston, John Adderley, William Galbraith, Thomas Cordell, Thomas Yate, Stephen Peloquin, Richard Taylor, jun., James Stewart, John Scott, Jeremiah

<sup>1</sup> H. and R. Smith's MSS.

Pearce. The council-house in Broad street was partially re-built and faced with freestone. The number of alehouses in the city was limited to 220. In a pen and ink drawing of Redcliff church of this date, by Henry Blondel, a mulberry tree in the western part of the yard, with its arms supported by seven props, is shown; the church-yard was fenced in by a thickset hedge, and was entered from the Bedminster side through a common field gate. Outside this gate, on Redcliff hill, the stocks for the punishment of the unruly were fixed.

14. The immortal Newton published his treatise on Optics in 1704; it had been delayed thirty years because of his reluctance to engage in controversy. In that year died John Locke, of Wrington, aged 72. He was the ablest supporter of the doctrine of a "negative community," viz., that lands, &c., were originally the property of none, but that whoever first reduces them by use and by labour makes them his own. Others held, and still hold, the doctrine of a "positive community," viz., that every man has a right to an equal distributive share of the earth's surface, productions, &c., of which, whatever distribution may have been made, either provisionally or by usurpation, he cannot justly be deprived.

We have already given some particulars of Defoe's residence in Bristol. The following will not be without interest to those who have—as who has not?—found in his *Robinson Crusoe* one of the finest prose epics that the world has yet seen. Defoe, when in Bristol and in communication with Alexander Selkirk, used the "Star" inn, Cock and Bottle lane. Defoe, with all his talent, was ever in difficulty; witness, for instance, the following notice:—

St. James', January 10th, 1704.

Whereas Daniel Defoe, alias Daniel De Fooe, is charged with writing a scandalous and seditious pamphlet, entitled *The Shortest Way with Dissenters*. He is a middle-sized, spare man, about 46 years old, of a brown complexion, but wears a wig; a hooked nose, a straight chin, gray eyes, and a mole near his mouth. A reward of £50 is offered for his apprehension.

He was discovered in his hiding place, and, as a punishment, was stood three times in the pillory in London for his offence. He then wrote an ode on the pillory, concluding with the line, "That fools look out, and knaves look on." Defoe wrote, including pamphlets, 210 works. His *Robinson Crusoe* was, after many refusals, first published in the *London Post*; it began in the 125th number, and closed in the 289th. The publisher made £1,000 profit by it, and in forty years it went through forty



From an old Print.

editions; yet Defoe died, in 1731, not only poor, but insolvent.<sup>1</sup>

The pillory was still a Bristol institution of the age:

1704. Mary James, for a cheat, to stand in the pillory for half-an-hour, viz., St. Thomas' market, High Cross, Wine street, Quay pipe, Redcliff hill and Temple pipe.

The barbarous practice of whipping a thief through the streets, tied to a cart or the tail of a horse, was in full practice in 1705. On April 15th in that year Thomas Davis, for stealing a cheese, was stripped to the waist, tied to a cart's tail, and flogged from All Saints' lane to the "White Horse" in Redcliff street, the sentence runs, "till his body be bloody, thence to Newgate, an officer to carry the cheese by his side;" also "Maria Pritchard, for a cheat, in taking three yards of dowlas from Mr. Rishton in the name of Alderman Swymmer, to be stripped naked to the waist on Friday morning

<sup>1</sup> For further particulars as to Defoe's residence in Bristol, see our *Eccles. Hist.*, 137.

next, and whipped from the Tolzey, down one side of High street and up the other, between the hours of twelve and one o'clock." In another part of the MS. we find that "the keeper of Newgate was fined £5 for not having his irons for burning ready." This relates, doubtless, to another barbarous punishment, that of branding with a hot iron on the hand, or on other parts of the body, for certain offences.

On February 19th, 1704, John Stretch, watchmaker, was made free of the city, on condition of his presenting a watch and dial plate to be set up in the Tolzey, he engaging to keep the same in repair during his stay in the city. The other watchmakers petitioned against him, for which the chamber termed them "saucy and impudent, reflecting on the rights of the house."

The following items of account are not without interest:—

	£	s.
1704. March 6th.—For wainscoting the great room in the council-house ... ..	50	0
1705. August 20th.—Robert Powell, for the marble chimney-piece for the great room ... ..	7	0
For drawing, gilding and painting the four coats of arms upon the new cloth ... ..	14	0
For gilding and painting the carved coat of arms, and the two figures of Prudence and Justice, and the frame for the sword ... ..	4	10
For 126 yards of paint-work for the great room ...		

15. Francis Whitechurch, soapmaker, was mayor in 1704. There were great rejoicings in Bristol for the victory at Blenheim on August 28th in that year.

The streets were in a flame with bonfires, which did blaze in all void places in the middle where four streets did meet, and before Mr. Mayor's was one; and the High Cross, that had been newly dight, where the greatest bonfire was, was soe tarnished and blackened by the smoak and blistered by the flames that it was grievous to behold! But nothing could surpass the brilliancy of the windows, illuminated with so many candles that it were vain to keep count; but at the Tolzey, where was wont to be the fairest sight, was none, all was dark, it being taken down to be built anew. However, there was a goodly show at some great houses, gay with oil lamps of divers colours, that could not be kept enlightened by reason of a lively wind that blew them out. And by reason that the mayor's house had no lamps of divers colours, he not being exceeding liberal. It is said he did save out of his office, giving no hospitality; moreover, he had a sour and lofty look, which made him much disliked by the people, who, when they saw the candles were soe far between, called for more lights, which not being put the windows were stoned, and much more mischief would have been had not the constables took some of the foremost of the mob, whom they clapt in the Bridewell, hard by, whereupon the rest made away and came not back again. But there was much swaggering and boastfulness in the streets that evening, and the constables and watchmen and mayor's officers had soe discomfort, and could take no rest till the city was stilled.

A congratulatory address was presented to the queen:—"The humble address of your majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs and common council of your majesty's city of Bristol. As the glorious victory which it pleased God to

give your majesty's troops and those of your allies at Blenheim has struck our enemies with terror and confusion, so has it given us and all other your majesty's subjects the highest admiration and greatest pleasure to congratulate the advantages we all enjoy under your majesty's government, but now especially for your majesty's magnanimity in commanding your army among so many difficulties in so remote a country, and your wisdom in judging rightly both of the emergency and happy consequences of that march. Nor is your majesty's sagacity less discerned in your choice of the Duke of Marlborough to be captain and general of your forces, to whose conduct and personal gallantry, inspired by the command and assisted by the blessings attending so pious a queen, no small share of the glorious success of that day is justly owing. We therefore, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, do on this occasion, which adds so much glory to your majesty's great name, honour to your general, and so loudly proclaim the good discipline and carriage of your officers and soldiers, and affords so many benefits and pleasing prospects to all your subjects, humbly crave leave to lay this our congratulatory address at your royal feet, heartily beseeching Almighty God every day, more and more, to crown your majesty with success, and to bless your confederates and all your subjects with your majesty's very long reign."

The year 1705 was distinguished by strong political and religious dissensions. The greatest excitement prevailed throughout the country when the queen dissolved the high Tory House of Commons. After a violent opposition, a majority of Whigs was returned to Parliament. For Bristol the former members, Sir William Daines and Robert Yate, were returned. In the municipal election the choice fell upon Nathaniel Day, soap-boiler; the sheriffs were Morgan Smith and Nathaniel Webb. John Cary, familiarly known from the lane of houses which he built, and which is to this day called Captain Cary's lane, died this year. His name deserves a place in our country's annals, for he was the first man in England to originate the plan of uniting the different parishes, so that one common rate should be raised to relieve the destitute poor. The first attempt to form a union for this purpose was at his suggestion in 1695. The following year an Act of Parliament was obtained for that purpose. He was a merchant, the son of Thomas Cary, vicar of St. Philip's. His brother, William, was vicar of Temple in 1700, of St. Philip 1723. Captain Cary published a standard work, *A Discourse on Trade*, a copy of which is in the City Library, which he dedicated to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. It was republished after Cary's decease by his brother, at the request of his majesty's ministers, and was reprinted in 1745, together with *An Essay towards Settling a National Credit*, and *An Account of the Proceedings of the Corporation of the Poor*.

16. The first brass made in England was at Baptist mills in 1705; the workmen were brought from Holland. Many of the pits on Durdham down, and on some of the Somerset hills, show whence the calamine

was procured for its manufacture. Copper also was first made in England by Sir Simon Clark, whose assayists, Messrs. Coster and Wayne, established a copper manufactory near Bristol, in conjunction with Sir Abraham Elton, Bart. In 1706 a penthouse was built on the Back against St. Nicholas church-yard. It appears to have been like the Tolzey, and was called The Walk.

On August 10th, at the general quarter session, another grand jury presented, "Mr. Power and his Company for acting stage plays within the liberties of the city;" this was in the building now known as Salem chapel, St. Augustine's place. The theatre at Jacob's wells then became the place of retreat for the drama. On October 28th Prince George, the husband of the queen, died of asthma and dropsy at the age of 55 years.

The union of Scotland and England was completed in 1707-8, and the first Parliament of Great Britain assembled on October 23rd; the old members were again returned for Bristol. Mr. Hungerford and Mr. Liversedge were arrested by order of the mayor for refusing to serve as common council men, which the house approved, and thanked the mayor for maintaining the honour and dignity of the city. It seems that these gentlemen had had twelve months to consider the matter, but they declared that they could not conscientiously take the oaths, and they declined to perjure themselves. Suits were brought against them in Hilary term, 1710. The corporation endeavoured to claim a retrospective power in the new chamber of that year; but litigation ensued, until wearied out Mr. Hungerford, in 1717, paid the fine £200 and costs £40; but Mr. Liversedge still fought the matter, and obtained a rule of the Court of King's Bench to have the cause tried in the county of Somerset. The last entry in the Archives on the subject is dated August, 1723: "The committee formed, in 1717, for the prosecution of Mr. Richard Liversedge being dead or removed, and Mr. Liversedge being also dead or removed, the mayor moved that the prosecution be stayed, which was carried in the affirmative by all."

"On the 9th of September, 1707, the moon being nine days past the full, it was observed that the first tide of flood, which according to its usual custom should have been at Bristol about eleven o'clock, came in about eight, and flowed about a foot at the Gibb, and then ebbed; and afterwards on the same morning it came in again at its customary time, viz., about eleven, and flowed as usual; so that it flowed and ebbed twice within twelve hours.'

"This winter, 1708-9, was very long and severe; and beside many hard frosts there were four considerable falls of snow; and the wind being generally E.

and N.E. blew off the snow from the wheat and exposed it to the frost, which injured it greatly and caused our husbandmen to fear a scarcity; and the merchants having exported much to Flanders for the army and to other places, wheat advanced by degrees from about 4s. a bushel to 8s. or 9s. before the winter was over, and the poor murmured much. On the 21st of May, 1709, the colliers of Kingswood, about 200 men, came into the city, and being joined by other poor caused a great consternation, and the militia was raised; but having received a promise that wheat should be sold on Monday next at 6s. 8d. they dispersed. Some of the colliers however staid behind, and for some threatening words were seized and secured in the council-house; of which the rest being informed they returned, and there was some bustle between them and the militia. Two or three of the mob were wounded; but some of the sash windows of the council-house, lately made, were broken, through which the colliers made their escape.

"Great Britain being at war with France and Spain, many privateers were fitted out in Bristol. August 2nd, 1708, two famous ships of this kind, called the *Duke* and *Duchess*, commanded by Captain Woodes Rogers, sailed from hence to the Pacific ocean, and did great damage to the Spanish trade and colonies there, with great profit to the owners, some of whom were of the sect of the Quakers. They took among many a Spanish prize called the *Marquiss*, of which Rogers writes thus:—"We found in the *Marquiss* near 500 bales of pope's bulls, sixteen reams in a bale: as this took up abundance of room in the ship, we threw most of them overboard to make room for better goods, except what we kept to burn the pitch of our ships' bottoms when we careened them. These bulls are imposed on the people, and sold by the clergy from 3 rials to 50 pieces of eight each, according to the ability of the purchaser." Captain Rogers published an exact journal of the voyage, well written in a plain style, and very interesting.'" <sup>1</sup>

"In 1709 the bank or island called the Green bank, on the river From, above the great tower, was walled in, and the quay thereby greatly enlarged, and two ships were built thereon. The College green railed in, and the walks laid out with young trees. Redcliff church repaired, by means of a brief for £5,000. The chamber contributed £200. The custom house, Queen square, commenced building.'" <sup>2</sup>

17. James Holledge, who was mayor in 1708, was a merchant; the next year he was chosen chamberlain, which office he held for thirty years. He made no profit out of his office, for a few months later we find

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 558-9.

<sup>2</sup> Evans, 253.

him petitioning the chamber for "relief to support himself and wife in their old age, he having been reduced to poverty from advances made to his son and others, and by other misfortunes." The corporation voted him an annuity of £50, which he received until his death in 1742; his widow had £25 per annum allowed her. In 1759 his daughter, Elizabeth Stringer, solicited assistance, and was allowed £15 per annum.

Dr. Sacheverell preached his celebrated Jacobite sermon at St. Paul's on November 5th, 1709, for which he was impeached on January 13th, 1710, and suspended for three years on March 23rd. In it and in his speeches he endeavoured to bring odium upon the moderate men in his own church, as well as upon the Dissenters; the queen patronised his views, and gave him the living of St. Andrew's, Holborn, London. The mob favoured the High Church party, and dreadful riots ensued, many chapels being attacked and destroyed, and on this popular tide the Tories came into office in September; they were the Liberals of the age, and were supported by the Roman Catholics, and (strange anomaly) attempted to abolish protecting duties, to free commerce from its restrictions, and to establish triennial Parliaments—all of which were opposed by the Whigs, who went for the conservation of the old principles of trade, septennial parliaments, and No Popery! Edward Colston and Thomas Earl were returned.

On July 24th, 1710, the queen granted a new charter to this city, wherein she confirmed all former privileges, and renounced the powers, which her predecessors had so wantonly exercised, of removing the mayor and other officers of the municipality at their pleasure, and appointing creatures of their own; she also granted that officers duly elected by the burgesses should not need as heretofore the approval of the sovereign.

This charter, after reciting the queen's motives, &c., confirms previous letters patent, making Bristol a city and county by itself, nominates a mayor, a recorder and eleven other aldermen, of whom the recorder is to be the first; two sheriffs and nineteen common councilmen, who are to continue in office on good behaviour; the whole council to consist of forty-two persons, besides the mayor. The town clerk, steward of the sheriff's court, and two coroners, are also by it appointed, and seven vacancies, caused by *the contemptuous refusal* to serve of certain burgesses who had been elected, are ordered to be filled up by "the mayor and present common council;" power is given to make and enforce penalties, ordinances for governing the city, &c. On death or removal of an alderman, the mayor and aldermen to elect his successor out of the common council. All vacancies to be filled by the council. The recorder to be a barrister of five years' standing. The town clerk and the steward of the sheriff's court to be barristers of three years' standing. All members of the common council to continue in office as "long as they behave themselves well in the same." The mayor, recorder, and aldermen, to be justices of the peace, and three of them to be justices of oyer and terminer, and gaol delivery. Fines, forfeitures, &c.,

granted to the mayor, burgesses, and commonalty, without account; they are to hold four sessions of the peace yearly, and to have same power as other justices. They are to take oath for the due execution of their office, *but the royal approbation is to be no longer required before they enter upon office*, neither are they in future to be removable by the crown. The common council to have power to alter time and place of present markets, and to hold future markets where they choose; also to make by-laws to regulate them. Confirmation of all previous liberties winds up this valuable charter, for which a fine of twenty marks sterling was paid into the queen's hanaper.

24th July, 9 Anna Reg., i.e., 1710.

Sir Abraham Elton, bart., was the first mayor after this charter was signed.

When, through the instrumentality of the recorder, Mr. Justice Eyre, the foregoing charter was obtained for the city, there was ordered:—

12th July.—Twelve dozen of sherry to be sent to the Marquis of Dorchester; the same to the lord chancellor (Lord Cowper); the same to Sir James Montague, her majesty's attorney general: thanks voted the lord chancellor for his services; the same to the Marquis of Dorchester; the same to Sir James Montague: the thanks to be communicated in such a manner as to Mr. Justice Eyre shall render the same most acceptable.

The recorder had also the thanks of the house, and he was voted a present of fifty guineas instead, "to be laid out in the purchase of a pair of coach horses, to be presented to him for his acceptance as a testimony, though a very small one, of the attachment of this house hath of his favour." In answer to which he writes:—"I prefer your excellent sherry." It may be inferred from the following that his preference was indulged:—

August 10th.—Paid Col. Yate, being what he expended in wine for the recorder over and above the fifty guineas, the gift of the house to him, £4 12s.

We have before noticed the custom in Bristol of presenting wines, sugar, &c., to notable personages; it was one of ancient date. We here give a few instances of these gifts during the latter half of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries. In 1644, when Bristol was in the hands of the Royalists, there was a present of wine sent to Bath to Oliver St. John, the king's solicitor-general:—

	£	s.	d.
1 tierce of claret ... ..	3	0	0
22 gals. canary ... ..	4	8	0
Cask for ditto ... ..	0	5	0
Excise, 25/-, portorage, 6d. ... ..	1	5	6
Chamberlain's horse hire, &c. ... ..	1	0	0
Carriage to Bath ... ..	0	10	0
	£10	8	6

In 1648-9, on his return from Ireland, Cromwell was presented with a butt of sack, £20. June 17th, 1658, John Blackwell, for wine sent to Lord Richard Cromwell, at Bath, £72 10s. 3d. To the recorder (Mr. Doddridge), three dozen bottles of wine and two

sugar loaves. Also on June 28th, 1658, paid to John Backwell, for wine sent to the Lord Richard Cromwell, at Bath, and spent at Mr. Aldworth's, and given to the recorder, £72 10s. 3d. To Richard Challoner, for 103lb of fine loaf sugar sent to the Lord Richard Cromwell, at Bath, and also for a cask, £8 15s. 6d. In 1669, sack, claret, and wt. wine were sent to Lord Arlington, at Bath. 1688, May 23rd.—The mayor acquainted the house of the arrival of the Princess Anne of Denmark at Bath; the mayor and others to proceed on Friday next to Bath to congratulate her on her arrival, and either to invite her highness and the prince hither, or make them some present in the name of the city; the deputation report they had met with a gracious reception, but that their highnesses intended not to go abroad, and cannot visit the city. (Anne and her husband were keeping quiet and away from court; she had declined to become a convert.) There was sent to Bath a hhd. of sack and two hhds. of claret; price of forwarding to Bath, £3 8s.!! Their highnesses departed suddenly from Bath, so that the sugar had to be sent after them to London, at a cost of 16s. In 1683, Sir Lyonel Jenkyns, secretary of state, was presented with wine to the amount of £37 9s. 11d.; forty dozen of marked bottles and four large crates are charged to the city, £6 14s. John Romsey waited upon him with the present; for his expenses to Bath he claimed 20s. In 1670 the corporation presented Robert Aldworth, their town clerk, as a token of respect, with a butt of Spanish and a tun of French wine. In 1671, Sir Robt. Atkins and his wife being in Bristol, a present of wine was made to them. The annual salary of the lord high steward was not an extravagant one. His grace the Duke of Ormond accepted the office in 1661, but was not paid for his services until 1672, when, instead of the eleven years' salary, the corporation sent him a butt of the best sherry, and half a tun of French wine, bought in London at a cost altogether of £50. James Butler, however, was too keen to be done out of £5 of his dues; he did not like London wine to be substituted for Bristol Milk. "Nothing better could be obtained," wrote his secretary, "but his grace trusted the substitute would not be hazarded again." So we find the following orders in 1699: John Backwell was paid for wine sent to the Duke of Ormond, £30. In 1701, for wine for the duke, £28. In 1703, a butt of wine to be presented to our high steward for his constant care of our trade, and for granting convoys to our ships touching at Ireland, he being lord lieutenant. 1706, August 15th.—A pipe of sherry to be given to the Duke of Ormond, high steward of the city, he having on all occasions been very useful, £59. In 1708, wine sent to the Duke of Ormond, £39 17s. In 1711, May 9th, the duke being on his way to Ireland, it is ordered that a butt of sherry be presented to his grace from this city, £59 10s. 3d. 1713, December.—Ordered that five gross of sherry be presented to the Duke of Ormond, and one gross to Edward Southwell, Esq.—(a gross of sherry had been sent to this gentleman in 1709). In February, 1714, Mr. Alderman Yates read a letter to the house which he had received from Mr. Southwell, which stated that the duke was much pleased with the sherry, that he esteemed that which had been sent to himself as a great favour, and he was ready on all occasions to be serviceable to the city, "with which account the house was well pleased." There are other accounts of these wine payments for favours, or bribes for those that were anticipated. 1703, November 10th.—The Society Merchant Venturers voted that a present of wine be made to Ed. Southwell, Esq., for his services to this society, the quantity to be such as the master and wardens shall see fit. 1711.—Wine sent to Captain Earl, £14 8s. 1712.—Wine sent to Ed. Colston, £16 18s. 6d.; also a present of a gross of sherry to each of the members, and a gross to Mr. Secretary Burchell. 1714.—Twenty dozen of sherry sent to London to Col. Earl, to be disposed of by him for the good of the city. 1717.—A butt of

sherry to be presented to Sir Wm. Daines and Joseph Earl, Esq., the members for the city. In 1721, Sir George Byng being in Bristol, a present of wine was ordered to be made to him for his services to our trade in the Mediterranean, and that Col. Earl, Col. Yate, and John Beecher (the mayor) do wait upon him with the thanks of the hall (Merchant Venturers) for his services.

18. In 1711 a stone bridge was built over the Frome at Earl's Mead at the charge of Nathaniel Wade, steward of the sheriff's court, who owned considerable property in the locality now known as Wade and Great Ann streets, &c. In this work he was assisted by Abraham Hook and others. From Wade's antecedents this bridge is still known as Traitor's bridge. On September 3rd Dr. Robinson, bishop of Bristol, was made lord privy seal in the stead of the Duke of Newcastle, deceased. The bishop was one of the plenipotentiaries appointed to execute the treaty of Utrecht. His motto in Runic characters is still preserved in the Cathedral. [See our ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, 75.]

Mr. Samuel Jacobs' *purpre stare*<sup>1</sup> was, by order of the mayor and aldermen, pulled down in May, 1711. "The like order for removing the *purpre stare* by Mr. S. Prigg, in Corn street, in his late built house there, and all others of the like kind that Mr. Mayor, &c., shall see necessary." Nathaniel Wade, barrister, was this year steward of the Sheriff's court.

15th August, 1712.—The committee appointed 12th December, 1711, to treat with persons touching the removal of the roperies, pitch and tar-houses from Queen square report that they had agreed with the Society of Merchants for their right and interest in the Rope-walk; and further, the Society of Merchants had agreed that any members of the common council for the time being shall have leave to make any public feast or entertainment in the Merchants' hall, and also to make use of the other rooms built, or to be built, as conveniences thereto. Mr. Town Clerk was ordered to take care that the Society of Merchants' covenant for the loan of the Merchants' hall be according to the report; and also Mr. Town Clerk to take care the Society of Merchants in the first place convey the ropery to the mayor, burghesses and commonalty before the lease be granted.

To serve a temporary purpose (the signing of a peace with France), the Tories, for the first time in English history, created twelve new peers, and by so doing secured a majority in the House of Lords, they having already a predominance in the Commons. The property qualification for members of Parliament was at this time fixed at £600 per annum for counties and £300 in land for boroughs. The dock at Sea Mills was begun to be built by a company this year; its object was to accom-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Johnson, 427, 1824 edition, gives "purprise, a close or enclosure."

moderate the anticipated trade from the South Seas (Law's enormous *fiasco*, known as the South Sea bubble, was projected in the previous year). This year the Rev. William Goldwyn, A.M., master of the Grammar school, published his poetical description of Bristol:—

"Beyond the bridge a second city grows,  
And thousand scenes of wealth and beauty shows;  
There lies the spacious street<sup>a</sup> where London wares  
Display the tawdry pageantry of fairs;  
Temptations offer'd to the virgins there  
To choose a marriage dress of modish air.  
Observe the flippant sparks in smartness nurs'd,  
With *Fleet street* style, and *Ludgate* language versed,  
O'er glossy silks, in glossy words explain,  
And, like the tongue-pad lawyers, talk for gain.  
As here the showy toys the eye delight,  
Next Nature's pride presents a finer sight,  
Lo! Florio's happy spot<sup>b</sup> in verdant dress,  
Trees, modell'd forms, and flowery sweets express;  
Methinks I feel the jessamine and rose  
A fragrant breath in rich perfume disclose;  
The orange plant indulged with warmest rays,  
High flavoured scents, and golden fruit displays;  
Here pruning art redundant beauty crops,  
And shapes the spiral yews in conic tops,  
Whilst silver hollies wider compass spread,  
And guard, with native spears, a globar head."

<sup>a</sup> Temple street.

<sup>b</sup> Avon street, Great gardens, &c.

19. Anthony Swymmer, mayor in 1713, was the son of Alderman William Swymmer, who was arraigned before Judge Jeffreys for kidnapping. Anthony defrauded the revenue by planting tobacco contrary to Act of Parliament. He was apprenticed to his father. In 1704 he had served the office of sheriff. When mayor he is described as "not being given to hospitality, save at his neighbour's expense, and although he had of publick monies for the same, he gave no entertainments, which did provoke much heats and stir up strife and injured the ancient reputation of the city for hospitality, but being very rich and influential he was in no wise let. Two years afterwards, when alderman and governor of the corporation of the poor, there was much bruit and fame abroad that he had given £50 to St. Peter's hospital. But the people were incredulous, as he was known for a hard man, and shook their heads and said 'twas the monies of the city." He was also governor of Queen Elizabeth's hospital. His death is recorded thus:—

Thursday, ye 18th June, 1719, about twelve o'clock, Anthony Swymmer, esq., one of ye aldermen of this citty, was seized on ye Tolzey with the appopletick fit, and tooke into Mr. Wall's, ye bookseller's shop, where he was presently let blood, and in some little time carried to Sir William Daine's house, where ye alderman dyed about three or four hours after. He was buried on Monday evening, the 22nd, at St. Augustine's. Ye prayers was read, but ye church was not hang'd with black. All ye council invited, ye Hospital boys attended, but I think did not singe along ye streets as usuall. Tis said he dyed worth about forty thousand pounds. Ye funeral sermond was preach'd by ye reverend vicar of St.

Augustine from part of ye 6th verse of St. Mark, but whether eulogistick of ye character of ye deceased or other wise I could not comprehend.

He lived in a large house on St. Augustine's back, nearly opposite Colston's Great-house. About the year 1730 this house was occupied by Mr. Fane, who married Elizabeth Swymmer, daughter of the above-named merchant. Mr. Fane, who was the great grandson of Sir Francis Fane, was an attorney and clerk to the Society of Merchants. At this period there lived in the Great-house in College green, next door but one to St. Augustine's church, Mr. Jarrett Smith, who was also an attorney, and who became Sir Jarrett Smith, of Ashton court. The clerks of both these gentlemen frequented the "Prince Frederick" tavern in Lewin's mead. Smith's *clientèle* were amongst the gentry, Fane's amongst the vulgar herd, which often was the cause of sneers and chaff from clerks of the green. On one such occasion a clerk of Fane's replied to the jeers, "Your master! A Smith indeed! Why, only let twelve persons die, and our master will be Earl of Westmoreland." Such is the instability and uncertainty of human life, the unlikely event did occur, and Mr. Fane succeeded his cousin in 1762 and became Earl of Westmoreland. He inherited, however, little more than the title. His son eloped with the daughter of a rich London banker and became wealthy. The earl kept up the old residence in Bristol until his death, 12th November, 1771. Lady Westmoreland continued to reside in her ancestral home until her decease, 12th November, 1782. It then became the residence of James Harford, who was a Quaker. Mrs. Mary Harford separated the west wing, making it an occasional residence; the body of the house she let, in 1827, to Mr. Stone, auctioneer, who used it as a public saleroom. The large cellars facing the Quay were let to a French brandy distillery company. During the erection of the new Custom-house the above building was rented by Government.

On May 19th the peace of Utrecht, signed on March 30th, was proclaimed in Bristol by the sheriffs with great rejoicings, such as bell-ringing, bonfires and illuminations. The "Prodigal Son" was one of the principal inns. "Mr. John Gray this year founded the Charity school for girls on the western side of Temple street. This school was originally instituted on Temple back, to which Mrs. Mary Gray had given £50 in 1699."<sup>1</sup>

"September 7th, 1713, the election for members of Parliament began here. The candidates were Sir William Daines, Colonel Joseph Earle and Thomas Edwards, jun. The High party, as they were called, supported Earle and Edwards; the Low party and Dissenters voted

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 255.

for Earle and Daines; Colonel Earle being approved by both parties as a moderate man, although certainly of the Low party. This election was carried on with great violence, so that the ruder sort of people went to blows and broke one another's heads, behaving themselves very unlike considerate men, so that the election broke up on Tuesday following. Edwards and Earle were returned as members; but the calendar from whence this account is taken, being written by one of the Low party, asserts that the matter was unfairly determined, and that their party was the more numerous, and that not half of those who had a right had given their votes. This is the first time that the calendars mention anything particular concerning these elections."<sup>1</sup> This election cost £2,257 9s. 7d.

20. The suspension of Sacheverell, in 1720, for three years, brought the Commons into great contempt; never, perhaps, had a greater storm gathered around a more insignificant personage. Townsend, in his *Memoirs*, originated a phrase that has become a proverb. When speaking of this blatant ecclesiastic, he says:—"He had risen like a rocket, and he fell like its stick; he had been used as a torch or a firebrand, the means of sudden brilliancy, and when the conflagration was over men cast him aside with no more regard than a piece of blackened wood."

During the greater part of Anne's reign a fierce war

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 560.

with France was carried on, and the victories of Ramillies and Blenheim were won by that great general, Marlborough. This war was consistently opposed by the Jacobites, who had now amalgamated with the Tories, but was heartily supported by the Whigs, on whose side were ranged as pamphleteers Addison and Steele, whilst Swift and others wrote in opposition. It is a humiliating fact that throughout this reign the minis-

ters of this great nation depended for existence on the favour of a mistress of the robes (Duchess of Marlborough) or a bedchamber woman (Mrs. Masham).

The spirit that before the Reformation led to bequests for chantries, masses and lights to be kept burning before the altar had, whether as a meagre atonement for sins committed, or as a means of benefiting future generations, its correlative in gift sermons to be preached in certain churches on different anniversaries. Money was in

some cases provided to pay for a dinner on the said sermon day; and we believe that whilst many spiritual exhortations, which had not this addendum, have disappeared and the money been misappropriated, the dinner sermon is carefully kept up to the present time.

The following list, extending over a century, which we quote from Tovey, shows that "bequests for gift sermons commenced as early as 1536, when the great religious mutation was agitating the land; also, if the penalty for non-attendance had been inflicted, the mem-



bers of the corporate body would have almost daily paid 6s. 8d., or almost daily walked piously to church, but they did neither the one nor the other.

## GIFT SERMONS.

## ST. JAMES.

1536. William Sage, 20s., for two sermons yearly, for ever.  
Mr. Pierce, 20s., sermon 5th November, ditto.  
1678. Mary Walter, 10s., first Sunday after 9th November.  
1713. Stephen Chapman, sen., 20s., Good Friday.  
1715. Rev. Stephen Chapman, 20s., 30th January.  
1718. Michael Pope, 20s., Sunday after Michaelmas.  
1720. George Packer, 21s., 28th January.  
1723. Ann Merrick, £200—interest thereof to be paid the minister for reading prayers in the church once every day, for ever.  
1730. John Haythorne, 20s., Christmas day.

## ALL SAINTS.

	£	s.	d.
January 30th, the martyrdom of King Charles I., by Mr. John Cook...	0	10	0
February 2, the Purification, by Dr. White ...	2	10	0
First Sunday in Lent, by Roger Hurte ...	0	10	0
May 1st, St. Philip and Jacob, Dr. White ...	2	10	0
Sunday after St. James' day, by Alderman Richard Cole	0	10	0
Sunday before September 15th, by ditto ...	0	10	0
November 1st, All Saints' day, Dr. White ...	2	10	0
November 17th, Queen Elizabeth's accession, by Mr. Peter Millard ...	0	10	0
November 30th, St. Andrew's, Mr. Samuel Bayly ...	0	12	0
December 28th, Innocents' day, Dr. White ...	2	10	0
For reading prayers every Monday and Tuesday, by Mr. Robert Colston, son of William Colston, esq. ...	6	0	0

## SAINT WERBURGH.

1622. Jany. 6. } Dr. Thomas White gave lands of £10 per annum for  
March 25. } four sermons in this church for ever.  
June 29. }  
Dec. 27. }

1624.

- May 6. } Humphrey Brown gave an estate at Elberton of £7  
May 22. } per annum for reading prayers at six o'clock mornings,  
June 24. } at St. Werburgh's, and £2 for four sermons there.  
July 1. }

1661. Joseph Jackson gave £200, the interest thereof for promoting divine worship in this church.  
Edward Colston gave £160, to erect a new altar-piece.

## CHRIST CHURCH.

1636. Henry Yate 20s., and 60s. for the poor.  
1661. Francis Gleed 20s., and 40s. for the poor.  
1708. Sir William Clutterbuck 20s., 10s. to the clerk, and 20s. to the poor in bread.

## SAINT JOHN.

- Mr. William Griffin, 10s., St. John's day.  
Mrs. Elizabeth Colston, widow, 10s., New Year's day.  
Mr. Thomas Edwards, 20s., two sermons, St. Thomas's day, Good Friday.

## SAINT MARY-LE-PORT.

1782. Thomas Smith, £400—40s. to the clerk and sexton, and the remainder of the interest to the rector for reading prayers twice a week.

## SAINT STEPHEN.

1678. Mr. John Miner, mariner, gave the moiety of six tenements, a stable and two gardens, for a sermon to be preached in St. Stephen's church the first Friday in every month.

## SAINT PETER.

- Mr. Christopher Kedgwine gave 10s. a year.  
Mr. Thomas Clements gave a house for two sermons yearly, and the rest to the poor.  
Mrs. Elizabeth Spurt, 20s., sermon 29th June.  
Mrs. Mary Davis, 10s., sermon 17th July.  
Samuel Wallis, alderman, 20s., sermon on the day of electing governor, &c.  
James Birch, £60, for a sermon and dinner for the vestry on the 10th December.  
Rev. Hugh Waterman, 20s., for a sermon second Sunday in August.

## ST. NICHOLAS.

- Mrs. Elizabeth Hall, first Sunday in every month, £6.  
William Chaloner, January 9th, or Sunday after, 10s.  
Sir Thomas Langton, Good Friday, 20s.  
Sir William Cann, knt., 1693, April 23rd, 40s.  
William Burrows, May 3rd, 20s.  
Alderman William Tucker, Sunday after Trinity, 6s. 8d.  
George Snow, Sunday before 24th June, 6s. 8d.  
Roger Hurte, 24th June, 6s. 8d.  
August 6th, Mr. William Evans, 10s.  
Mr. Michael Deyos, August 3rd, 13s. 4d.  
October 28th, November 7th, John Whitson, esq., 20s.  
First Sunday in Lent, to be preached at Horfield, gift of Alderman John Langton, 12s.  
Derrick Popley, first Sunday in Lent, 10s.

## ST. PHILIP AND JACOB.

- Thomas or Abraham Clements, esq., 10s., sermon, 1st January.  
Elizabeth Smith, sermon, 4th January.  
Eight Sundays in the year, Mr. Cox's.  
Christopher Blackbourne, 10s. each for two sermons, one Ash Wednesday and the other Good Friday.  
May 1st, Sir Abraham Elton's bart., 20s.  
May 9th, Mr. James Smith's.  
Mrs. Dionis Gibbes, 20s., sermon, 28th September.

## TEMPLE.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Alderman Kitchen ...	0	10	0	Mrs. Mary Gray ...	0	6	8
George Hudson ...	0	10	0	George Knight... ..	0	12	6
George White ...	1	5	0	John Hudson ... ..	1	0	0
T. Warren, sen. ...				John Barker, alder-			
Dr. White, two ser-				man, 13 sermons in			
mons ... ..				the year, first Sun-			
John Gray... ..				day in the month...	4	6	8

## ST. THOMAS.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Mr. C. Woodward ...	0	10	0	George Hellier ... ..	0	10	0
George Benson... ..				Robert Rogers, ald...			
Sir Robt. Rogers, knt.				John Pope... ..	0	10	0
Mrs. E. Woodward...	0	10	0	Matthew Warren ...	0	10	0
Mrs. Julian Shuter...				George Longman ...	1	0	0
Mr. T. Holbin ... ..	0	10	0	Christopher Brimsden	0	10	0

## REDCLIFF.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Ann Edson ... ..	0	13	0	Joseph Bullock ... ..	1	0	0
G. Gibbs, five sermons	3	0	0	Christmas day & Eas-			
William James... ..	0	13	0	ter Sunday, the ves-			
Sir Robert Yeamans	0	7	4	try to the minister	2	10	0

1713. "The mayor and common council for this city, for the better instruction of the people in their duty to

God and advancing religion and piety in this city, very many years past ordered that one sermon at the charge of the mayor, burgesses and council should be preached on Tuesday every week, by some learned divine of this city to be appointed by the common council, which sermon has obtained the name of the Tuesday lecture, being vacant by the death of Dr. Read, the same is ordered to be continued. Two petitions were read, one from the Rev. John Frankland, D.D., rector of St. Stephens, the other from Dr. Read, Master of Arts, who officiated in the church of St. Stephen since the death of Dr. Read. Dr. John Frankland chosen by a majority of voices."<sup>1</sup>

The municipal portrait gallery at the time of the death of Anne contained the following pictures:—"The earliest are those of Robert and Nicholas Thorne, the benefactors to the Grammar school. Robert bears a remarkable likeness to his king, bluff Henry VIII. Nicholas has an ascetic, miserable look. They were painted when Holbein was in the zenith of his reputation by some mediocre imitator of that great master. The execution is in the lowest possible style of art; they bear date 1536 and 1542. Those of Mr. Thomas White, a native of Coventry, who settled here as a merchant, and who became a benefactor to the city, and of Sir Thomas White are of about the same period; they have all the stiffness without the execution of Holbein. Next in date is the portrait of Mr. Robert Kitchin; then that of Dr. White, founder of Temple hospital; Aldermen Whitson, Harrington, Gibbs and Lane are of the 17th century; Edward Colston is of the early 18th, and a picture of much higher pretension as a work of art.

<sup>1</sup> Tovey's Local Jottings.

Of royal personages there were only Charles I. and II. and William and Mary (James had disappeared like a palimpsest, to re-appear in the 19th century); King William's knees are a curiosity in drawing. The portraits of the Earl of Portland, Lord Burleigh, Robert Cecil and the Earl of Dorset are very interesting. As a work of art, a fine full-length portrait of the Earl of Pembroke, lord high treasurer, an indubitable Vandyke, has most pretension and most value."<sup>1</sup>

Jeffreys did not stamp out the practice of kidnapping. "There is not," writes a local annalist in the reign of Queen Anne, "a brick in the city but what is cemented with the blood of a slave. Sumptuous mansions, luxurious living, liveried menials, were the produce of the wealth made from the sufferings and groans of the slaves bought and sold by the Bristol merchants. From the first cargo of human flesh sent to Ireland until the abolishing of the abhorrent traffic, they traded largely in the living commodity. In their child-like simplicity they could not feel the iniquity of the merchandise, but they could feel it lucrative; advancing it as a reason for certain privileges."

February, 1713. The humble petition of the mayor, aldermen and common council of the city of Bristol sheweth:—



*The Earl of Pembroke, from painting by Vandyke.*

That the chief dependence of the inhabitants of this city for their subsistence is on trade, the greatest part whereof is to her majesty's plantations and colonies in America and the coast of Africa, which employs great numbers of handycraftsmen in building and fitting out ships, and in the making and manufactures of wool, iron, tin, copper, brass, &c., a considerable part whereof is exported to the coast of Africa for buying of negroes, which trades are the great support of our people at home and foundation of our trade abroad. And we shall ever pray, &c.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tovey's Local Jottings.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*



## CHAPTER XVI.

### ➤ THE HANOVERIAN ERA.—GEORGE I. AND II. ◀

1. Accession of George I. The Mob on Coronation day. Trial of the Rioters. 2. Henry Walter, Mayor. Rumoured approach of the Pretender. Anecdote of Walter. The first Drawbridge erected. 3. Coroners held in contempt. Death of the Mayor. Ceremonies consequent thereon. Order of precedence for the Companies. 4. Sir Abraham Elton returned to Parliament. Great Flood in Broadmead. 5. Local incidents. Wood's Coinage. Death of George I. 6. Accession of George II. Coronation rejoicings. Visit of Princess Amelia. Importations of Grain, etc. 7. Fatal Riot. New Corn Market. Re-arrangement of Fairs, etc. 8. Statue of King William III. 9. Opposition to the Excise Bill, etc. Visit of the Prince of Orange. 10. Advent of Whitefield and the Wesleys; effects of their Preaching; their first Chapel. Bristol sends Wesleyans to America. The Methodist Ministry originated in Bristol. Chapels, etc. 11. Elbridge founds the Infirmary. Roger North on Bristol and its Funerals. 12. Local items. Pope's visit to and description of Bristol. 13. Civic occurrences of interest. 14. Roque's Map of the City. Incidents of the age. Savage, the Poet. Curious discovery. The Pretender, etc. 15. Attack on the Turnpikes. A fine Aurora Borealis. Local incidents. 16. New style of Calendar. The Colliers' Riot. 17. Interesting details. King Square laid out. Hogarth's Paintings. Simmons, the Artist. 18. Capture of a French Man-of-War in the Bristol Channel. Bristol Bridge re-built. 19. Park Street and College Street built. Death of George II. Statistics of Population in Bristol for half a century.



At a meeting of the common council, August 31st, 1714, the mayor, Anthony Swymmer, moved an address to his majesty George I. on his accession to the throne, which was ordered to be presented by the recorder, Sir Robert Eyre. The king and his son landed at Greenwich on Saturday, September 18th; and the corporation of Bristol, having previously had notice to that effect, ordered that the day should be celebrated in this city with the utmost pomp and splendour. "That it be left to the mayor and aldermen to see that it be performed accordingly; that

Mr. Sheriff Beecher, Mr. Whitehead, the mayor-elect, and Mr. Hicks be desired to attend the Dean of Bristol and to acquaint him with this order, and that if he think fit to have a solemn service and a sermon at the Cathedral that day the mayor and common council will be in their places in the most solemn manner." The shops were all shut, there was a general holiday, bells rang from the churches, Brandon hill shook under repeated volleys of cannon, and the whole city was illuminated at night. The cost of the proclamation was £48 4s. 4d.; the total expense, £83 14s. 6d.

That there was a strong Jacobite party in the city,

who, biding their time, merely bowed to the popular cry, and swam with the stream only to change its direction, is shown by subsequent events. Bristol, centrally situated, and the commercial emporium of the west of England, has been for ages the resort of the roughs and wastrels of the adjoining counties, as well as of the southern parts of Wales and Ireland. Coming hither ostensibly in search of work, these men, in periods of depression of trade, or in times of great political excitement, have, by the violence of their conduct, many times brought disgrace upon the fair fame of this great city, so that a "Bristol mob" is a cognomen for all that is ruffianly and destructive.

By certain well-known means the wealthy Jacobites of the city (amongst whom, the evidence proved, were many members of the Loyal Society) secured the services of the roughest class. The Whigs and the Dissenters were for the greater part shopkeepers and tradesmen, with a sprinkling of wealthy merchants. On the evening of October 20th, the coronation day, there was a collation and ball in the large room of the Custom-house, Queen square. The windows of the houses in the city were illuminated, and bonfires were prepared in different places. These signs of rejoicing attracted large crowds, but left other portions of the city at the mercy of a comparatively few, but evil-disposed, persons. A rumour had got abroad that Mr. Stephens, a baker in Tucker street (well known as a prominent Whig, but whose popularity was not heightened by the fact that he was collector of the king's taxes), had in his possession an effigy of Dr. Sacheverell, which he was about to publicly burn. The cry, "Down with the Whigs and Sacheverell for ever!" soon gathered a mob, at first of no great dimensions; they, about six o'clock in the evening, attacked the house, assaulted Mrs. Stephens, who stood in her doorway resisting their entrance with a broomstick, struck out the eye of a woman named Baker, and then marched off, with a threat of returning later in the evening. Preparation was made to receive them. Mr. Stephens' son was captain of a West India-man, and he gathered his friends to defend the house. True to their promise, the rioters at night returned and filled the narrow crooked street. The inmates tried every means to pacify them. The mayor sent the constables to keep the peace; they searched the house and assured the mob that there was no effigy, still nothing would satisfy them but mischief. They smashed in the windows, stole twenty pounds in money, drank all the liquor they could find and carried off the plate, to the cry of "Down with the Roundheads, Sacheverell and O——, and d——n all foreigners." One of the rioters struck Captain Stephens with a pole and knocked

him down; he seized a sword and wounded a cooper, warning the rioters that he and his friends had firearms, with which they were resolved to defend the house. The inmates drew the kneading trough across the passage, and intrenched behind it and from a secure position on the stairs they kept the mob at bay. Three times a blunderbuss was fired, but as only one young man, John Gunning, a watchmaker's apprentice, was hurt by shot, and he, it is said, was assisting Mr. Stephens, it is clear the defenders must have intended not to kill, but simply to frighten their assailants.

Meanwhile a shoemaker, Henry Thomas, a good Quaker, interposing, besought the mob to retire, but he was thrown down, trampled upon, and so injured that he died the next day. Gunning also died a few days afterwards, but the cooper recovered. Then the magistrates arrived on the scene, took the names of many persons, and succeeded in dispersing the mob. The Presbyterian meeting-house was next door to Stephens' house: this they attempted, but being told that there were parties within armed with muskets they desisted. They also assailed the house of the under-sheriff, Mr. Whiting, on Temple back; he had won their ill-will by a recent prosecution of "a notorious rogue who had been guilty of perjury." Whiting was forewarned, and had laid in a stock of wine and liquors, which he distributed amongst them with fair words, taking note the meanwhile and making a list of the ringleaders. They also visited the house of Mr. Jeffery, a distiller, who was a prominent Dissenter; they smashed his windows and were satisfied. The like fate befell the house of a button-maker, who was said to have made the buttons for the coat put upon the effigy of Sacheverell. They seem to have been a perambulating body; there were three, if not four, attacks on Stephens' house, but finally they set off to finish the night with an assault on the dancers at the Custom-house ball. Here they reckoned without their host. The gentlemen, aided by the officers of the Customs and their own servants, sallied out against them, and the miserable wretches fled in all directions.

Sixteen men, who are described as being the scum of the rabble, were taken into custody; others who were implicated fled from the city. On Friday, the 22nd, the mayor, Henry Whitehead, issued a proclamation, offering £50 reward for the discovery of the murderers of Henry Thomas, but this was without effect. A special commission was sent down from London to try the rioters, consisting of Mr. Justice Powis, Mr. Justice Tracey and Baron Price, with whom came, as counsel for the Crown, Mr. Serjeant Cheshire, Mr. Lutwich, K.C., and Mr. Cowper. They left London on

November 22nd, attended by proper officers, making a kind of semi-state procession through their route, in order to give greater weight to their proceedings. Two hundred of the principal citizens met them on horseback as they came by the new road from Bath, they being the first persons of consequence who had travelled by that route. The members of the Loyal Society decided also to join the cavalcade; they formed the first part of the procession as it entered the city. Avoiding Temple street, because of the narrow neck of Tucker street, through which the cavalcade must have passed, the Tories led the way by the usual route of Thomas street, which the Whigs observing, they continued on through Portwall lane to Redcliff street, thus keeping the judges to themselves. At Bristol bridge the Tories, in their chagrin, met them with cries of "Down with the Roundheads!" "No Jeffreys, no western assizes!" and such was the confusion and so dense the multitude that the judges were one hour passing the three-quarters of a mile which led to their lodgings.

On Friday the grand jury found true bills against the following, who were indicted for a riot, and on another count for murder and burglary:—John Wilmot, tailor, Redcliff; John Bullock, weaver, Temple; Thomas Ittery, sugar-baker, St. James; John Pine, barber, St. Philip and Jacob; Gabriel Belcher, saddler, St. John; John Harding, shoemaker, St. Philip and Jacob; and Evan Howell, gardener, of Blackborton, Oxford. Harding was acquitted for lack of evidence; the other six were, after the jury had been locked up from 10 p.m. to midnight, acquitted of the murder and burglary, but found guilty of the riot.

There was great confusion in the court on the first day of the trial. The one side held that this rising, with intent to pull down houses, was a levying of war against the king and high treason at common law (25 Edward III). On the other hand it was contended (1st Mary, c. 12) that there was no treason in the case. One of the members of the Loyal Society (Hart, a magistrate and well-known non-juror, who unsuccessfully opposed Elton and Earl in 1722) thrust himself forward in support of the prisoners, for which Colonel Earl in open court told him that he was one of the ringleaders of the mob, and he was obliged to stand down, whilst another of their friends for contempt of court was held to bail.<sup>1</sup>

On Monday, Edward Hughes, cooper, St. Mary-leport, was found not guilty of the murder of Henry Thomas; and a lad, Francis Painter, was found guilty of stealing to the value of tenpence in the house of Mr. Stephens. (At that time stealing from a dwelling-

house to the amount of one shilling was a capital offence.) The same night a gang of riotous fellows went to the mayor's house, but beyond creating a tumult in the street they did nothing. On the Tuesday the before-named Edward Hughes and Francis Painter were a second time indicted, together with Richard Coltery, shoemaker, St. James, Hugh Berry, peruke-maker, All Saints, and John Jones, glover, of St. Thomas, for a riot. A *nolle prosequi* was entered against Hughes and Painter; the other three were found guilty. On Wednesday the scene shifted, and Francis Stephens was tried on two indictments, the first for stabbing a cooper's apprentice, the second for the murder of John Gunning, by shooting him with a leaden ball. He was found not guilty on both indictments, the judges ruling that the law justified the action. Lastly, William Shewell was tried and found guilty of rioting, it being proved that he encouraged the mob by shouting, with an oath, "Down with the house!" The prisoners were fined twenty nobles each, sentenced to be imprisoned three months, and to give security for good behaviour for twelve months. Joel Crooker and Jacob Brittain were bound over to appear at the Gloucester assize for bribing the king's evidence. The man who was held to bail for vilifying the jury in court had his trial postponed until the next gaol delivery; William Thomas and Samuel Stacey, who had absconded, were apprehended on their return, five weeks after the trial, on a charge of abetting and encouraging the riot, but in each of these cases the prosecution was dropped, the Government being unwilling to use severity at so critical a juncture of the nation's history.

One of the saddest things that the historian has to record is the depth of degradation to which party strife reduces men, otherwise estimable and intelligent. That some of the Jacobites instigated the mob to ruffianly violence is too true; but the fact did not justify the virulent language of the Whig narrators, or entitle one of them to try and bespatter the reputation of such a man as Edward Colston, by a dirty insinuation that "he has shown how much he prefers good works to purity of life by laying out some thousands of pounds in building hospitals here, whilst he himself lived very much at his ease with a Tory, though of a different sex, at M——ke." The baseness of this accusation will strike our readers who remember that Colston was seventy-eight years old, and that up to within a short period of this date his sister had lived with and kept house for him.

The Tory party greatly damaged their cause by their excesses in different parts of the kingdom; it was a blunder which Bolingbroke and his colleagues made to

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 568.

divert the attention of their followers from practical politics to a dream of the restoration of the Stuarts. Rowdyism was not palatable to the landed gentry; the clergy had no desire to be supported on one side by such a rabble and on the other by a Roman Catholic king; and the bursting of the South Sea bubble, in which the Tory ministers were implicated, increased the difficulties of the trading classes and opened the way for a reaction in favour of the Whigs.

A new Parliament was summoned, which met March 1714-15. The candidates were Sir William Daines, *knt.* and Col. Joseph Earle, on the Whig side, and Thomas Edwards and Philip Freke, *esqrs.*, of the Tory party. "At the close of the poll there appeared a majority for the two latter, who were carried about the Cross according to custom; but in the meantime the sheriffs returned the two former." One of the Calendars is of the same mind. "This year the sheriffs, Whitehead and Taylor, made a false return of members to serve in Parliament for this city. Their villainy was exclaimed against much." What the Whigs said in their defence does not appear. Freke and Edwards petitioned, probably to no purpose. This Parliament, in April, 1716, voted itself Septennial, and that all future Parliaments should be such likewise.

In August, 1715, began the rebellion in Scotland; and in many parts of England were shown strong proofs of attachment to the exiled family of Stuart, and of disaffection to the house of Hanover. The Jacobites (as the friends of the Stuarts were called) "had certainly formed a plan to get possession of Bristol, where they had many friends; of which as soon as the Government had notice, they ordered the Earl of Berkeley, lord-lieutenant of the counties of Gloucester and Bristol, to repair hither, where he arrived on the day when the mayor was sworn into office [*al.*, on the day of election]. He brought with him Brigadier-General Stanwix's regiment of foot; and about the beginning of October, Col. Chudleigh's regiment of foot marched into Bristol and joined Lumley's regiment of horse and the two battalions of Stanwix and Pococke, which were here already. The Earl of Berkeley with unwearied application and diligence took all necessary measures for the security of the city." On Sunday, October 2, the discovery was made of a design to seize the city for the Pretender; whereupon the militia was raised, and the gates were kept shut and guarded, and cannon planted at some of them, and the city kept in manner of a garrison for several months. "Many of the citizens, who were thought to be in the interest of the Pretender, were sent to the Marshalsea, among whom was Mr. Hart, a merchant, charged with having collected great quantities of warlike stores for the use of the conspirators. At Bath the Jacobites had formed a large magazine of war for the use of the insurrection, which it was intended should immediately be made in Somersetshire, headed by Sir William Wyndham; information of all which being obtained, the Lord Windsor's regiment of horse and Rich's dragoons went to Bath, under the command of Major-General Wade, who there seized of the rebels 200 horses, ten chests of fire-arms, a hoghead full of basket-hilted swords, another full of cartouches, three pieces of cannon, one mortar, and molds to cast cannon which had been hidden under ground; and, October 7, Sir Wm. Wyndham was committed to the Tower." Although they were thus disappointed, yet they conceived another design against this city, being informed about the middle of January, 1715-16, that the late Duke of Ormond intended to land in the West of England; whereupon the Government thought fit to re-

inforce the city with Pococke's regiment of foot, and some other regular troops; and the loyal citizens formed two voluntary troops of horse. Nor were these precautions needless, "for in the night between the 14th and 15th of January, 1715-16, a waggon laden with goods for Bristol fair being by accident set on fire at Hounslow, there was discovered in it great quantities of fire-arms and ammunition lying under the goods: whereupon the same were seized by a trooper of the Duke of Argyle's royal regiment of guards."<sup>1</sup>

Henry Walter, who was the mayor in this year, lived at the corner of High and Nicholas streets. He was buried in the Mayor's chapel, where there is a mural tablet to his memory.

He was succeeded in business by his apprentice, Llewellyn, whose family sold the house, in 1825, to the corporation; it was the last of the open shops. Nearly opposite was the other principal woollen draper's, that of Mr. Matthew Brickdale, *sen.*, whose son afterwards became M.P. for the city, and who was at this time an apprentice to his father. Llewellyn and young Brickdale had to sweep the street in front of the shops to the kennel in the centre, and in wet weather they, for a joke, used to combine and divert the stream to the narrow portal of St. Nicholas' gate, just below their shops, greatly to the discomfort of benighted pedestrians. Walter was a Whig, and it was of him that the anecdote should be related that has been often told of the younger Brickdale. Mr. Walter was never known to be out of temper. Two of his fellow-citizens wagered—one of them that he would put him in a passion, the other that it was impossible. They called on him at a moment when he was giving a dinner to his brethren of the corporation at his house. They wanted to see a particular cloth which he would not allow anyone to serve but himself, and, asking for this, the worthy mayor was called down. They kept him talking and hesitating as to their choice for a full half-hour, without producing the slightest symptom of impatience at their tediousness, when, as a final experiment, the adverse wagerer threw down a shilling upon the shop counter, saying, "There, Mr. Walter, cut me off a shilling's worth, that's all I shall want for the present." Without a change of look or tone, he laid the shilling upon the cloth and carefully cut a piece of the same size and shape. "There," said he, "is exactly a shilling's worth. Good morning t'ye. I know not when I have gotten a shilling so easily." This story was related by Mr. Llewellyn.<sup>2</sup>

October 20th.—The mayor acquainted the house that the king had sent the lord-lieut., Earl Berkeley, to take care of the city and secure it against his majesty's enemies; and his lordship having required several things which occasioned an immediate expense, and his not having time to call a meeting to advise them, was forced to order the same.

The thanks of the house voted him for the care he took in the safety of the city, and that all expensess soe laid out, and the entertainment of our lord-lieut. during his stay amongst us, together with any other charges for the defence of the city, should be borne by the city.

Christopher Shuter, *esq.*, for entertaining the lord-lieutenant ... .. £45 17s.

The sherry giving offence, not being genuine "Bristol Milk," the next bill was:—

	£	s.	d.
Entertaining the lord-lieutenant .. .. .	68	15	3
Capt. Paul, for making batteries, and persons to attend them .. .. .	11	6	8

<sup>1</sup> Seyer II., 571-3.

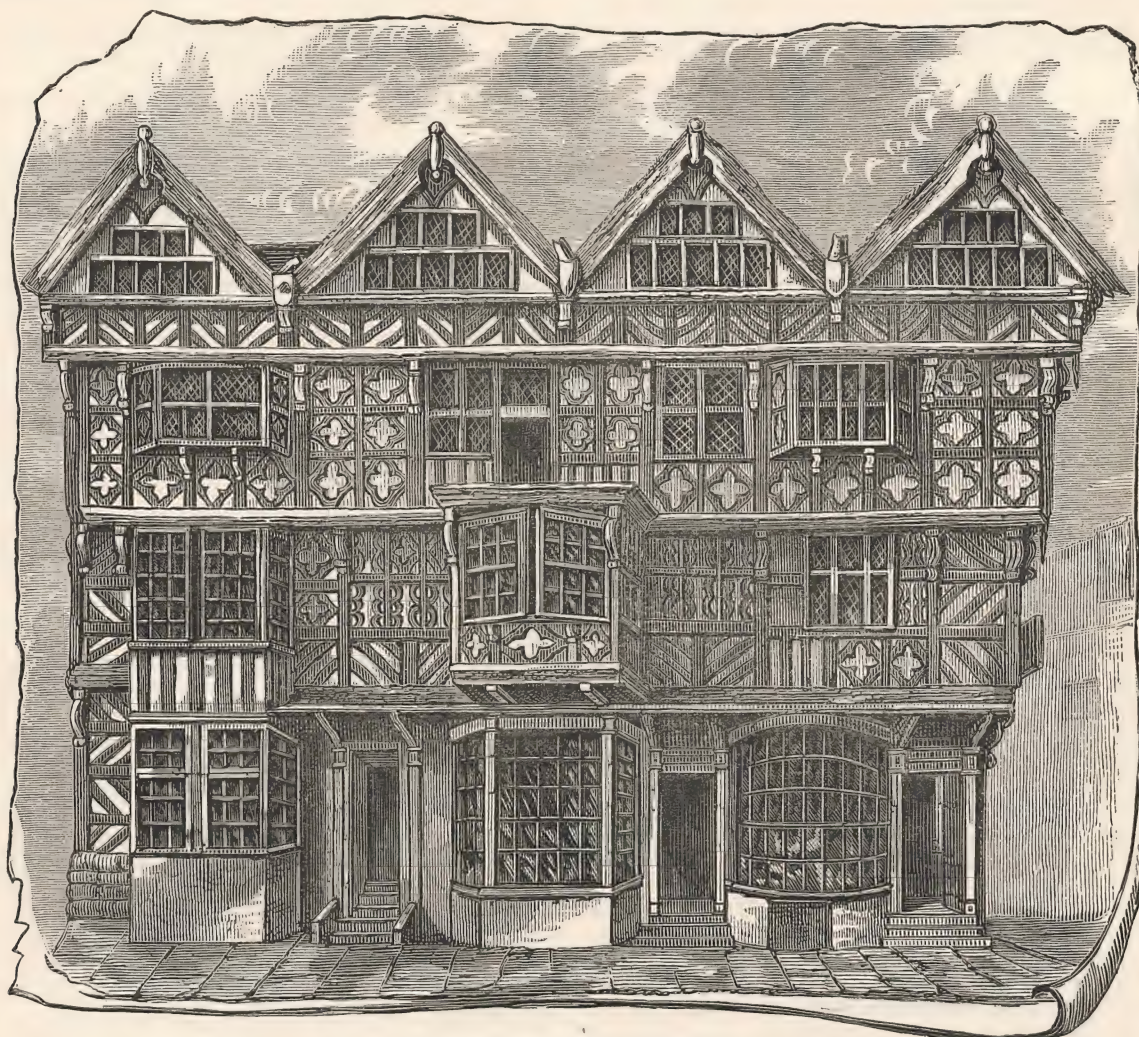
<sup>2</sup> H. and R. Smith.

The general muster was in College green. There were bulwarks on Redcliff backs, a guard at Redcliff gate, and another at the Guildhall.

December 14th.—The Earl of Berkeley having ordered the whole regiment of militia to be in arms, consisting of ten companies, and to be on duty till the 12th inst., and the captain of each company having been at a considerable expense in paying the sergeants and drummers of their respective companies, it was

ners, two trumpets and two standards, and two new coats for the trumpeters belonging to the troops, be provided at the city charges, and that the said trumpeters be added to the city musick, with salaries, all of which is referred to the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs."

Paid Seth Partridge, for trumpets ... ..	£	s.	d.
" " four trumpeters' coats ... ..	21	17	6
" " cloth for do. ... ..	34	10	0
" " cloth for do. ... ..	34	14	0



*Houses in Wine Street, from an old drawing.*

ordered that the sum of ten guineas be paid to each captain. £107 16s. was paid.

January 11th, 1716.—General Wade [not to be confounded with Nathaniel Wade, esq., sometime deputy town-clerk], commander of his majesty's forces in the West of England, having reviewed two of the king's regiments of foot yesterday, it was ordered that all expenses of the general's entertainment be paid by the chamber. Paid, £20 3s. 8d.

It was then resolved:—"In time of our late danger, with the consent of Earl Berkeley, our lord-lieutenant, to form themselves into two troops of horse, a thing both for the honour and security of the city, it is ordered for their encouragement that two ban-

The first drawbridge was thrown over the Frome branch of the Floating harbour in 1714-15. It had two arches of stone, and cost the city £1,066 6s. 1d. Until this was built all traffic to Clifton, and the north and western suburbs of Bristol, had to be carried on *via* Christmas street, Frome bridge, and St. Augustine's back, or Host street and Trenchard street. The only access to the new bridge was by two narrow lanes out of Marsh street, or along the quays. Clare street was not made until 1770. The first newspaper published

in Bristol—*Farley's Bristol Journal*—appeared in January, 1715. At the September assize, in 1715, Mark Goddard sued James Harris and John Cox for damages sustained by rioting at the election in 1713, and recovered £187 16s. St. James' barton, which was commenced in 1707, was completed this year.

About the latter end of November began a frost, which continued with small intermissions until about the 8th of February. It was very severe, and during its continuance there were several considerable falls of snow. In all the parishes of the city were collections made for the poor, who were incapable of working by reason of the frost: and the mayor and common council gave £100 out of the chamber for their relief.

The appearance of the *Aurora Borealis*, probably after a long intermission, is thus noticed in one of the calendars:—"Tuesday, March 6, 1716, in the evening about seven o'clock, it being dark nights, the moon in her last quarter, appeared in the heavens a light, or as some call it, a *Meteor*, chiefly in the north and north-west parts of the sky. It was like the dawning of the morning, from which many bright streams shot forth several ways with a quick motion. It continued most part of the night."<sup>1</sup>

This summer the almshouse in Temple street, the gift of Mr. Alderman George Stevens, linen draper (mayor 1706-7), was built; it was to accommodate twelve poor persons. On December 26th, about 3 p.m., a fire broke out in Wine street, at the house of Mr. Plomer, mercer, near the High Cross; it burnt seven hours, and there being a brisk gale, several houses were consumed and the city was greatly endangered. The poor of the city worked so well at the fire that the mayor, Mr. John Day, ordered them gratuities to the amount of £36, with which the chamber was well satisfied.

November 15th.—Bishop Smalridge, of Bristol, was removed from his post of lord almoner for refusing to sign a declaration testifying his abhorrence of rebellion.<sup>2</sup>

3. The office of coroner does not appear, at this time, to have been held in much esteem.

December 13th.—It being taken notice of in this house that by means of the meanness of the persons who of late filled the office of coroner for the city, the said office was become contemptible, Mr. Henry Fane and Mr. Samuel Foss were nominated by Colonel Yate as proper persons to be chosen into the offices of coroners for this city, now vacant by the death of Martin Helm and James Millard, gentlemen. Carried unanimously.

Messrs. Fane and Foss were both of them attorneys; they did not care to become the instruments of raising the office from the "contempt" into which "gentlemen" had brought it, but excused themselves on the ground that their employment as attorneys required frequent and unexpected absences from the city, and that they could not undertake duties which necessitated the presence of one of them at least in the city or within call at all times. Their excuse was allowed in February,

<sup>1</sup> Seyer II., 573-4.

<sup>2</sup> H. and R. Smith.

1716. The real and personal property assessed for the poor in the parish of St. Stephen amounted to £744 17s. 7d.

In 1716 the reversion of the house called the Great Tower, on the Quay, "which was anciently built so far out as to extend very near to the Quay side, and is a hindrance to the landing merchandise in this port," was bought for £253. The lease of the tenant, Mrs. Kay, was bought for £150; the costs of surrender were £1 2s. 9d., and of pulling down the tower £39 14s. 9d. The tower occupied the spot which is now the opening into Baldwin street; it abutted on the site of the Draw-bridge.

In the *Bristol Memorialist*, 65-8, may be read a long account of the pretended cure of one Christopher Lovell of the "king's evil," by the touch of the Pretender at Avignon, to which place the man was sent by some of the Jacobites of Bristol. The sea voyage did the man good, but the disease broke out with increased virulence after his return to this city.

In 1718 the corporation of the poor gave up the work-house, Whitehall, to the city. The dome was completed to the church of All Saints, after a wearisome delay through want of means. The fish market in High street was at this time removed to the open triangular piece of ground on the north side of St. Stephen's church, and the conduit which stood there was removed to the site on the Quay which it now occupies. The ground was levelled, raised and railed around, and the market was held here until 1770-1, when St. Stephen street was built on its site. The last bit of the Quay wall, 200 feet in length, up to Gib Taylor, was finished; thence it was carried eastward 280 feet during this year. Slips also were made for the ferry to Redcliff back, at Treen Mills (Bathurst basin), and at Gib Taylor on both sides of the river.

John Day, the mayor, died of apoplexy on the 20th of June, 1718; he was seized with the fit at ten in the evening and died at two next morning. Upon the news spreading, the aldermen met in the Council-house to preserve the peace of the government of the city until a new mayor was appointed. Out of courtesy to the deceased's family, they resolved not to fill the office until after his interment, but adjourned from day to day until Monday, when, having received notice that the funeral was to be that afternoon, they all agreed to attend it. Day was buried in St. Werburgh's church, on the 23rd of June, at three in the afternoon. The funeral was attended by the aldermen, sheriffs and common council, with their officers, two hundred and fifty-eight persons, all men of note, besides bearers, officers, six ministers, and fifty-two coaches. Day had served as sheriff, mas-

ter of the Merchant Venturers' Society, and governor of the corporation of the poor. He was a frugal man in private, but when occasion arose he was generous and liberal in his public character. The town clerk, Nathaniel Wade, barrister, in pronouncing his eulogium on the 26th in the Council chamber, reminded the house "that the honour of the city subsists in the person of the mayor, who within the boundaries of the city is superior to and presides over our lord-lieutenant and every other subject, and also the supreme authority which runs through every branch of the government of this city subsists in his person." The sheriffs, Messrs. Nash and Price, were then ordered to proceed to the late mayor's residence in Guinea street (it bears the date, 1718, on the front) to condole with his widow and to fetch the insignia of his office, which they did, returning with "the mayor's sword with the scabbard, presented to him by the present sheriffs, the sword of state, commonly called the pearl sword, the Sunday sword, and the mourning sword, the two charters and boxes, the Red Book of Ordinances, both parts of the seal of the Statute of Merchants, the mayor's pocket seal of office, the keys belonging to the mayor as claviger, and otherwise of the great chest of the Tolzey, wherein the city seal and iron casket are kept." The house then, following precedent, elected Thomas Clement, shipwright, as mayor, to whom Nicholas Hicks, the last mayor then living, administered the oaths in the usual form; the insignia were then delivered to the new mayor, he was attended by the members in black gowns to the Tolzey, and the ceremonial was complete.

November 3rd, 1719.

CITY OF } WHEREAS differences have arisen between some  
BRISTOL. } of the Incorporated Companies of this City on account of precedence, and that the allegations of the contending parties have been fully heard. It is this day determined by the mayor and aldermen, that on all Solemnities when the said Companies are to walk in Procession before the Mayor the following order shall be observed, of which all persons shall take notice:—

- 1st. Next before the Mayor the Company of Merchant Taylors.
- 2nd. Next before the Company of Merchant Taylors the Company of Weavers.
- 3rd. Next before the Weavers the Company of Chyrurgeons.
- 4th. " " Chyrurgeons " Smiths.
- 5th. " " Smiths " Hoopers.
- 6th. " " Hoopers " Whitawers.
- 7th. " " Whitawers " Dyers.
- 8th. " " Dyers " Joyners.
- 9th. " " Joyners " Wire Drawers.
- 10th. " " Wire Drawers " Cordwainers.
- 11th. " " Cordwainers " Tanners.
- 12th. " " Tanners " Butchers.
- 13th. " " Butchers " Bakers.
- 14th. " " Bakers " Inn-Holders.
- 15th. " " Inn-Holders " Sadlers.

- 16th. Next before the Sadlers the Company of Hatters.
- 17th. " " Hatters " Turners.
- 18th. " " Turners " Tobacco Pipe Makers.
- 19th. " " Tobacco Pipe Makers " Carpenters.
- 20th. " " Carpenters " Halliers.
- 21st. " " Halliers " Porters.
- 22nd. " " Porters " Tylers.
- 23rd. " " Tylers " Masons.

In 1719 the court-room at St. Peter's hospital was rented by the proprietors of the Bristol Fire Office and the General Insurance Company, each of whom paid £4 per annum rental.<sup>1</sup>

4. On the 6th of December, Abraham Elton, sen., merchant, was created a baronet. This gentleman, in conjunction with Joseph Earl, was returned to Parliament for the city in 1722, after a sharply contested election; the successful candidates were both of them Whigs. The Tory candidate, William Hart, sen., petitioned against their return, but in vain. May, 1719, was very wet, and the Frome overflowed its banks, so that Earl's mead was several feet under water on the 17th and 18th of that month. Broadmead and Merchant street were inundated, and the flood reached as high as the wall on which the ducking-stool was placed. This, it will be remembered, was on the edge of the mill-pond in Castle ditch, at the junction of Lower Castle and Ellbroad streets. During the previous year Edward Mountjoy, the mayor, had sentenced a woman to be ducked; but at the expiration of his year of office she, by her husband, brought an action against him, before Sir Peter King, at the Guildhall, and recovered damages. (We have been unable to verify this statement of Evans'; probably the offence was not one for which the above punishment had been legally specified.)

Strange's almshouse, below St. John's steps, and Simon de Burton's almshouse, Long row, were both rebuilt in 1721; the Quay wall was continued upward from the end of King street; Bridewell was re-built at a cost of £1,053 3s.; and an Act was obtained to build an Exchange.

5. In 1720 it was ordered that the wives of the members of the common council be invited annually to the dinner on the 10th of November; and, in 1721, John Beecher, the mayor, thought it would be more devout and proper that the yeomen attending the ladies to church should wear black gowns instead of their present cloaks (of scarlet, we presume). Dr. Chauncey was presented by the chamber with a piece of plate, value twenty guineas, for his attendance on and care of the prisoners in Newgate, by which he had prevented, with the blessing of God, the spread of a malignant distemper that had broken out in that prison.

<sup>1</sup> H. and R. Smith.

*Old Houses in Broadmead.*

In 1721 the corporation resolved to have a place of worship of their own:—

Being duly grateful to Almighty God for the prosperity of the city in general, and of this ancient corporation in particular, they desire to magnify His name by fitting up St. Mark's church for their constant and perpetual use, where God might be worshipped and His praises sung.

In 1722 Robert Eyre, eldest son of Sir Robert Eyre, one of the judges of the court of King's Bench and recorder of Bristol, was presented with the freedom of the city. Stoke's croft school and almshouse, founded by Abraham Hook, merchant (sheriff in 1706), and others of the society of Protestant Dissenters worshipping in Lewin's mead, who gave the ground for the buildings and subscribed £4,200 for its erection and support. A gunpowder magazine at Tower Harratz was built this year by the corporation. On June 18th, Mr. Jones, a

writing master, was made free, gratis, he being a diligent, ingenious man, who had invented and published divers treatises for the improvement of persons in arithmetic and merchants' accounts.

1722. Mrs. Elizabeth Blanchard died, who had founded an almshouse at the north-east end of Milk street for five poor women, being Baptists of the society meeting in the Pithay, which in 1815 removed to Old King street. The head of the Back, on the Avon, from the conduit to the first slip (the Henroost slip, from a public-house opposite), was widened. The wharf "under the bank," north side of the Froom, was erected for the landing of timber.

1724. The plan for completing the navigation to Bath began to be put in execution, by dividing the estimated expense into thirty-two shares, for which subscriptions were obtained. September 7th, died Sir William Daines, alderman of Bristol, and several times its representative in Parliament. He was succeeded by James Dunning, esq.

1725. The conduit on the Back was rebuilt.<sup>1</sup>

William Wood, who was, Seyer thought, a Bristol man, and who certainly had an estate at Northwood, Winterbourne, in 1723 obtained a patent to coin half-pence and farthings for Ireland to the amount of £100,000. This money was coined in Bristol to the weight of upwards of 59 tons. A senseless clamour was, however, raised against its circulation in Ireland. The press was led by the satiric pen of Dean Swift, who, bitterly opposed to the Whig government, had no scruples

as to the means he employed to bring their measures into disrepute. Writing under the pseudonym of "The Draper," Swift's attack on Wood's coinage became most popular. The excitable Irish people, already

*Wood's Halfpenny.*

disaffected towards the house of Hanover, rose tumultuously in divers parts, and the patent had to be withdrawn. Wood was compensated with a pension of

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 260.

£3,000. It was asserted that Wood's profits would have been over 150 per cent.; that the Irish were not in want of copper coins; that if they had been, the patent had been surreptitiously obtained, and that the coins were light and not of the intrinsic value promised; and finally, that the coinage of money was a royal prerogative that ought not to be entrusted to a subject. These complaints were investigated by the lords of the Privy Council, who found that the coins were of good value, the copper being of the best quality, the pieces heavier than the patent required, and that the attorney-general, the solicitor-general and Sir Isaac Newton, the master of the Mint, had been consulted as to the patent and had assisted in drawing it up, and lastly, that Ireland had never had so good a coinage; to which we add, after comparing the English coins of the same year, many of which, as well as those of Wood, are now before us, dredged up from our Floating harbour, that the Bristol money is both heavier and of better quality, as well as of far superior workmanship and finish, in fact they were not equalled until, in 1797 and 1799, the coinage was again entrusted to private hands (at the celebrated Soho mint).

In 1726 Macklin performed at the Theatre, Jacob's wells. Queen square, which was begun in 1708, was completed this year.

The wharf continued on the Back, south of Queen square, for 180 feet forward. The cost was £488 12s. 7d. The street opened, and the Market-house (now the Cheese market), between Wine street and St. Maryport street, commenced erecting for the sale of corn; and in the following year the old Market-house, in the centre of Wine street, was taken down.

1727. June 11th, the king died of paralysis, at Osnaburgh, on his progress to Hanover, aged sixty-seven. Succeeded by his eldest son.<sup>1</sup>

George I. was a man of more virtues than accomplishments. Lord Mahon says we are to consider the era of the Georges as equal to that of the Antonines at Rome. It was a period combining happiness and glory, a period of kind rulers and a prosperous people; but this prosperity, unlike the period of the Antonines, did not depend on the character of a single man. Its foundations were laid on ancient and free institutions, which, good from the first, were gradually improving. Bristol shared in the increased glory and wealth of this reign, but the sovereign never visited the city. Neither was he a favourite with the English people; his heart was in Hanover. With truthful criticism, which under a Tudor would have cost him his head, Lord Chesterfield remarked:—"England is too big for him. The best way to dispose of the Pretender is to make him Elector of Hanover, for the English would never go thither

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 260-61.

again for a king." Sir John Vanbrugh, the great architect, flourished in this reign; he built the mansion at Kingsweston, which is one of the simplest and best of his erections, and is admired by many for the arcade that connects all the chimneys. His general style was massive and ponderous; hence the witticism of the epigram on his death and burial:—

"Lay heavy on him earth, for he  
Laid many a heavy load on thee."

6. On the 11th June, 1727, George II. succeeded to the throne, at the age of forty-three years and seven months. He was proclaimed in London on Wednesday, the 14th, and in Bristol on Saturday, the 17th June; Peter Day, merchant, being mayor, and Ezekiel Longman, mercer, and Henry Combe, jun., merchant, being sheriffs.

The house met at the Council-house in black, the High Cross being hung with black cloth. The mayor, aldermen, and council, the militia officers and constables, with leading citizens, marched in procession round the Cross, the sword-bearer carrying the mourning sword. They then returned to the council-house and arrayed themselves in scarlet, the High Cross being meanwhile re-draped in scarlet. The procession being re-formed, visited the High cross, St. Peter's pump, Temple, Thomas and the Quay conduits, at each of which places the sheriffs read the proclamation, amidst the braying of trumpets and the acclamations of the citizens. The pearl sword and cap of maintenance were worn by the sword-bearer; the city music and arms of the militia were in attendance, and the several conduits were run with wine for the populace.<sup>1</sup>

About the latter end of February, 1726-7, a petition was sent to Parliament complaining of the badness of the roads around the city, and praying relief and provision for keeping them in good repair. In consequence of this an Act of Parliament, 13 George I., 1727, was obtained, and on the 26th of June toll-houses with gates were erected outside the city bounds at Lawford's gate, Totterdown, and Ashton. For a short period the tolls were collected, but the country people and the colliers were violently opposed to the measure; great disturbances ensued, and the gates were soon cut down and demolished, chiefly by the colliers, who would not suffer coal to be brought here, whereupon the mayor had the city supplied from Swansea, which when the colliers perceived they brought their coals as usual. Soldiers assisted at the gates to take the toll; but the next night, after the soldiers were withdrawn, the gates were all cut down a second time by persons disguised in women's apparel and high-crowned hats.

In 1735 the "Roads" commissioners taken out of Somerset and Gloucestershire disagreeing with the commissioners taken out of the city of Bristol, the mutiny and insolence of the peasantry in the neighbourhood prevailed over the force of the statute, and the roads, as bad as most in England, remain unrepaired to this day."<sup>2</sup>

On Tuesday, July 18th, 1727, at 4 p.m., there was a great earthquake in Bristol and in the West of England. I was very sensible of it at the Red lodge by the shaking of me as I lay in my bed, being fully awaked some time before. All the house shook. [Seyer gives the date as the 19th, and describes it at II., 577.]

August 19th.—A baker and his wife, living outside Law-

<sup>1</sup> Old MS.

<sup>2</sup> Oldmixon, III., 804.

ford's gate, were found guilty of forging writings, for which they were put in the pillory for an hour, and fined 20s. each, being very poor. Also one of Somersetshire for the like offence was put in the pillory and was fined forty pounds.

October 11th, Wednesday.—George II. and Queen Caroline were crowned. The council in scarlet met the mayor at the Council house, and in their coaches attended him to the mayor's chapel, where Dr. Creswick preached from 2 Samuel xxiii. 3:—"He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in ye fear of ye Lord." The incorporated companies waited on the mayor. Brigadier Kirke's regiment paraded on College green, and marched thence to Corn street, where they lined the way between the two Tolzeys whilst the procession passed through. The Blue boys had a loaf, cheese, and a cup of ale each at the mayor's house. The mayor gave a dinner, and in the evening entertained the officers of the regiments, &c., at the Council-house; this was followed by a ball and supper at the Merchants' hall. The soldiers fired volleys in the street; the guns from Brandon hill fired four times each forty-four rounds, being the number of years of his majesty's age, viz., one round early in the morning, the second when the corporation came to ye chapel, the third at their return, and the fourth in the evening. Also the guns from the Marsh, and ships at the Key, the city musick playing, the bells ringing, &c., &c. The High Cross was hung with scarlet, and several of the church towers were hung with scarlet cloth, as well as ships' colours from their tops. There was also a large bonfire on Brandon hill.<sup>1</sup>

Nov. 16th, 1727, Alderman Hicks died. November 29th, Robert Earl was elected alderman, and sworn in December 11th. On the 27th December the navigation to Bath was completed, and the first barge was sent to that city, laden with deals, lead, and meal. The Parliament having been dissolved by proclamation in August, there was an election in Bristol, the candidates being Abraham Elton, jun., and John Scrope, who were returned, and Joseph Earl and William Hart. One MS. states that Mr. Hart, who was a leading capitalist in the clothing trade, sold his election. In 1728 Scrope distinguished himself in the House of Commons by showing that the revenue from the civil list which was settled on the king did not amount to £800,000, and he proposed that it should be increased by £115,000 arrears, which after warm debate was carried. Great complaints were made during this year of the cruelties practised by the Spaniards in the West Indies, who, on various pretexts, seized English ships and most barbarously treated their crews. Captain Jenkins, of Bristol, appeared at the bar of the House, and the feeling against Spain was intensified by his evidence, which was supported by petitions from Bristol, Liverpool, and London.

In May, Bristol was gladdened by a visit from the Princess Amelia, who was received with great pomp. Sir A. Elton, bart., M.P. for the city, and Mr. Sheriff Bayley, waited upon her royal highness at Bath, on the 5th of May, with an address, and invited her to honour the city of Bristol with a visit. She determined to

accede to their request, and to come by water, which she did on Thursday, the 9th of May. The house met in their scarlet robes at the Council-house at ten a.m., and, accompanied by many gentlemen, went to the house of Edward Bucklers, in Temple street, who had invited them to refresh themselves before her royal highness's landing. Thence they proceeded to the Slip, on Temple back, where a handsome stage covered with scarlet had been erected, which had a guard of honour from Lord Tyrawley's regiment. The procession was as follows:—

Water bailiff, with silver oar, in his boat; the Earl marshal (Lord Sussex), Lord Glenorchy, and Dr. Tessire, her royal highness's physician; Her Royal Highness, in a wherry, attended by the Countess of Pomfret, Duchess of Rutland, and Lady Frances Manners. Her royal highness was received on landing by the mayor and corporation, and the procession on land was in the following order:—Two gentlemen ushers and Dr. Tessire in one of her royal highness's coaches, constables, city musick, mayor's and sheriff's and the city officers, corporation, gentlemen of the city, Lords Sussex and Glenorchy, sword-bearer with cap of maintenance, mayor (bareheaded), Her Royal Highness in Sedan chair, Countess Pomfret, Duchess of Rutland, and Lady Manners, in one of her royal highness's coaches. The route was by Counterslip, through Tucker street to Temple cross, ye right hand of Temple street, through ye Long row into Thomas street, over the Bridge, through High street, leaving the High cross on ye left hand, down Corn street, through Small street, along ye Key, by ye Merchants' hall, by ye Custom house, where ye collector and officers stood ranged under the piazzas of the same; thence they went to Mr. Alderman Day's house, a guard of Lord Tyrawley's regiment attending.

The corporation formed a lane of approach, through which the princess entered into the hall and was carried up stairs. The town clerk read the following address:—

The mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and common council of this city humbly crave leave to congratulate your royal highness upon your arrival here, heartily wishing you a long life, health and happiness. They are truly sensible of the great obligation that you have laid upon them, and do rejoice to see a princess of ye blood royal, a daughter of the most illustrious house of Hanover, honour the city with her presence.

To which her royal highness was pleased to return a handsome answer. The gentlemen of the corporation had the honour to kiss her royal highness's hand. (The sword-bearer had his cap of maintenance on and the sword in his hand when he kissed hands.) Then the mayor, aldermen, &c., went to the Merchants' hall, after which the Dean of Bristol and the clergy had the honour of kissing hands; then followed the officers of the regiment. In the afternoon her royal highness in her coach, attended by the Countess of Pomfret, Lord Sussex, Lord Glenorchy, Mr. Southwell and other gentlemen, in coaches, "proceeded through Queen square to ye Gibb, and at ye end of ye Key was shown where the rivers Avon and Frome met, and that part which brings ye ships to ye Key, &c. She then went over the Drawbridge to St. Austin's, round College green, and

<sup>1</sup> H. Muggleworth's MS.

back to ye Merchants' hall, where she was pleased to receive madam the mayoress and the ladies of the corporation and city, who kissed hands, the mayoress bringing her to the stair-foot, and the mayor and sword-bearer to her coach, amidst complimentary speeches, expressive of her royal highness's gratification at the manner in which she had been received, which she would certainly express to her royal father." She then went to Alderman Day's, where she dined in private, two other tables being provided for her suite, and another, in another house, for her servants. Dinner over, the mayor and corporation in their scarlet robes waited on her royal highness in their coaches to take boat at the Slip a little after four o'clock, when she departed amid loud acclamations from the crowds of people on the banks. The evening finished with an entertainment at the Merchants' hall and a ball. At her landing a salute of twenty-one great guns from the river bank at Tower Harrazz; the ways were lined with crowds of people; there was another salute from the guns in Queen square and the ships on the Quay, which were bedecked with flags; the churches were adorned with scarlet cloth, as were the High Cross and the Council-house. The fronts of the houses were gay with carpets, scarlet cloths, boughs, &c., and their doors, windows, and roofs, were crowded with spectators, who with loud huzzas proclaimed their joy.

"The following February Sir A. Elton died, and was buried in St. Philip's church with great pomp; the scabbard of the great sword, and the wearing sword as baronet, were placed upon his coffin."<sup>1</sup> On February 21st, Peter Day was elected alderman in his stead, but he was not sworn in until July 20th.

The anniversary of the king's accession to the throne was celebrated in Bristol on June 11th with great rejoicings.

Lord Tyrawley's regiment, newly clothed, fired salutes in Queen square, and the evening was concluded with an entertainment of wine at the council house, at the expense of the city.<sup>2</sup>

Saturday, July 20th, Sir R. Eyre, lord chief justice, resigned the recordership of Bristol; dated 13th inst. Monday, July 22nd, the Hon. John Scrope, esq., unanimously elected recorder. The same day Mr. Thomas Daniel was elected coroner, in the room of Mr. William Dickason, deceased. Thursday, August 29th, the Hon. John Scrope, esq., was elected a member of the common council, and doubts having arisen as to the legality of his election to the recordership—on the ground that Sir Robert Eyre had not, with his resignation of the office of recorder, resigned that of common councilman for

<sup>1</sup> H. and R. Smith.

<sup>2</sup> H. Muggleworth's MS.

the city—John Scrope, esq., was re-elected recorder on this day.

The picture of George II., now in the Council-house, was purchased this year.

In 1727–8 there was a great dearth throughout England, and grain was imported between January 1st and September 28th into Bristol in one hundred and six ships, amounting to 55,819 quarters, at a cost of £18,530 2s. 3d. This was followed by a further importation before March, 1729, in ninety-three ships, of 37,108 quarters, at a cost of £7,554. The greater part was imported from the Baltic and the Mediterranean, but New York and Philadelphia sent nine ships with wheat.

On June 25th, 1729, the Rev. Alexander Stopford Catcott was appointed reader in Mr. Mayor's chapel, at a salary of £20.

This year ye rails, floor and altar-piece at Mr. Mayor's chapel was made and sett up.

7. In 1729 John Price, merchant, was mayor, and Henry Lloyd and Abraham Elton, jun., merchant, sheriffs. At the close of the civic year, September 29th, whilst the corporation was at church preparatory to the swearing in of the new mayor, Samuel Stokes, soap boiler, a body of weavers, who demanded higher wages, and had riotously assembled in Kingswood that morning at seven o'clock, marched on the house of Stephen Feachem, a large manufacturer in Castle ditch, which they threatened to break into, level to the ground, and murder its owner, unless he would raise their pay from 7s. to 8s. per piece. The house was defended by Feachem and a few of his friends; in the street in front of the house there were twenty soldiers and two sergeants of Lord Deloraine's regiment. The sheriffs, Lloyd and Elton, hastened to the spot, and, backed by Tyrawley's whole regiment, they read the Riot Act. The rioters, still refusing to disperse, were fired upon; seven were killed, and many others wounded; others were seized and committed to Newgate, but at the ensuing session they were discharged, as no one appeared to prosecute them. The sergeant in command of the detachment in front of the house was amongst those killed by the fire of his comrades whilst endeavouring to persuade the mob to retire.

In Vol. I., 282–3, of this work, we have recorded some curious items connected with the building of a corn market, the sinking a well, and erecting a pump in the centre of Wine street. In July, 1726, a house in Wine street was bought of Mrs. Elizabeth Stratton, widow, for £700, and it was ordered that the old corn market in Wine street should be pulled down. The house then "made an agreement with the feoffees of Trinity chapel

for the late 'Swan' inn, in St. Mary-le-port street, and the tenements thereunto adjoining, by paying a fee-farm rent for the same, and that the said buildings be pulled down and a convenient place for a corn market built on part of the said ground, and that the remainder thereof be built upon in such manner and at such times as the said committee shall think proper, and that they also shall have power to demolish the house lately bought of Mrs. Elizabeth Stratton, in Wine street, at such times as they shall think fit." Payments were made for this alteration, which made a new communication between Wine and Mary-le-port streets, in "1726-7 £500, in 1727-8 £700, on account of building the new corn market and other buildings," but no particulars are mentioned.

At a meeting of the common council, the 24th July, 1730, the petition of several burghesses and free traders of this city, setting forth the great inconvenience and grievance they

were under in regard to the two fairs held and kept here, and praying such relief therein as this house should think most proper, was read to the house.

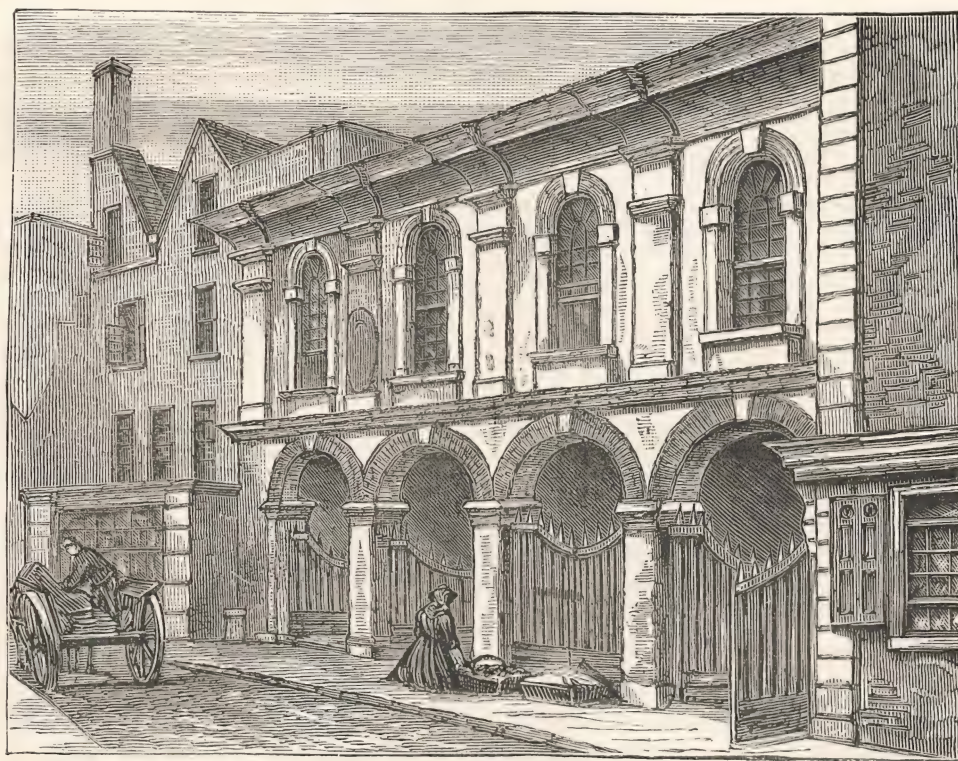
At a meeting of the common council, 27th February, 1731, it was decided that the times of holding the said two fairs shall be changed and settled as follows, viz. :—That the summer fair, now commonly called St. James' fair, shall always and for ever hereafter begin, be held and kept in the usual and accustomed place within this city on the first day of September yearly, unless it shall happen on a Sunday, and then to begin on the second day of the said month; and that the winter fair, now commonly called St. Paul's fair, shall always and for ever hereafter begin, be held and kept in the usual and accustomed place in this city on the first day of March yearly, unless it shall happen on a Sunday, and then to begin on the second day of the said month of March; and the times of holding each fair be limited to eight clear selling

days, and no more; and we do recommend it to the house to take proper and effectual measures, that the times of holding the said two fairs may be so attended and settled as aforesaid, if this house shall think fitt.

It was further decided that the standings comonly erected in Wine street in this city, for sale of goods and merchandises at the fair comonly called St. James' fair, are comon nusances, and do much interrupt and hinder people passing the said street during the said fair, and ought not to be suffered to be erected there again, and in regard all profit and advantage of such standings have time out of mind been granted to the sheriffs of this city (for the time being taking the fee-farm). It was ordered that in lieu thereof the said fair shall be held yearly in Broadmead, in the parish of St. James' in this city, the same number of standings being allowed for sale of goods and merchandizes as have hitherto been usually

and customarily erected in Wine street at the time of the said fair.

In June, 1730, an Act of Parliament was obtained for the regulation of brokers in this city. On Tuesday, the first of September, the Hon. John Scrope came to Bristol to sit as judge of Oyer and Ter-



Corn Market, afterwards the Cheese Market.

miner; he was met by a great number of gentlemen on horseback, and forty or fifty coaches, to "shew ye respect to him as our recorder, and especially for the service he had done ye city in Parliament in respect to the *African trade*." On Thursday, October 1st, the Hon. Arthur Onslow, speaker of the House of Commons, visited Bristol, and was received with great ceremony at Temple gate by the mayor and corporation, who showed him the Tolzey, Council-house, and entertained him to dinner at Mr. Alderman Day's great house, where the bishop and dean of Bristol were also guests.

On June 19th, the sum of £200 was voted for the relief of the inhabitants of Blandford, sufferers by fire;

also £100 for the relief of the inhabitants of Tiverton, who had suffered severely by a great fire. On Wednesday, July 14th, William Cann was elected town clerk on the death of Henry Blaake.

In 1730, Redcliff gate was re-built, and another Turnpike Act was passed, under which colliers were exempted from payment of toll; the gates, however, shared the fate of their predecessors, and were soon cut down. Dr. Robert Booth, dean of Bristol, died on August 8th, and on the 21st Dr. Samuel Creswick kissed the king's hand on his appointment to the office.

8. Edward Foy, merchant, was mayor in 1730, and Edward Buckler, maltster, and William Barnsdale, merchant, were the sheriffs.

In the latter part of this year (1730) a set of villains made a practice of sending threatening letters to several persons, some thrown into shops, and others dropped in the streets, demanding money, from some eight guineas, from others ten, &c., to be left in certain places which they appointed, and threatening to murder them, burn their houses or otherwise ruin them, if they did not comply with their demands. And this was commonly practiced in various parts of the kingdom, besides Bristol. The Tories attributed the blame to the ministry, who as Whigs were unwilling to enact laws sufficiently coercive. Mr. Clements, ship builder, and other gentlemen, had such letters sent to them during the winter. Mr. George Packer, living at the yard next to Mr. Clement's dock, below Trinity street, in the way to the Sea banks, had several letters of this kind sent to him, to which he paid no attention; and on Saturday, October 10th, at the dead of night, his house was burned to the ground. And still after this Mr. Packer had other letters, telling him that although he had escaped the fire, by which they intended to destroy him, yet they would have his life if he did not put the money where they ordered. The city was so alarmed by these villainies that a double watch was appointed until six o'clock in the morning. One Mr. Power, an attorney, lately from Dublin, a person of very gentlemanly appearance, was much suspected of being concerned in these enormities, and was on that suspicion committed to Newgate. On his trial he proved an *alibi* by the evidence of two ladies, in whose company he was sitting till twelve o'clock.<sup>1</sup>

Packer's house adjoined his dock, and great fears were entertained lest the fire should reach a ship that lay there, which would have endangered all the shipping at the quay and a great part of the city, the wind being strong from the east, the tide being out, and the ships aground; it being also in the dead of the night, and no people or water near to extinguish the fire.<sup>2</sup>

In 1731 there was a great drought; cattle had to be driven miles to water, the grass was burned up, and hay, which fetched £4 per ton, had to be brought from the north and west. This year Arthur Taylor, distiller, was mayor; he resided in the house now occupied by Messrs. Franklyn, Morgan, and Davey, on the Welsh back. Edward Cooper, merchant, and William Barnes, sugar baker, were sheriffs. With this year H. Muggleworth's handwriting ceases in the MS. (the worthy sword-bearer being dead). Although the MS. is continued to

<sup>1</sup> Seyer II., 578-9.

<sup>2</sup> H. Muggleworth's MS.

1785, it is a mere record of the names of the mayors and sheriffs, without giving their occupation.

This year it was proposed in the chamber to erect a statue to George II.; this was negatived, but another was passed:—

December 8th, 1731, at a meeting of the common council, "a memorial, subscribed by a great number of gentlemen, setting forth that the memorialists, with many of the inhabitants, were willing at their own charge to erect a public statue to the memory of our great and glorious deliverer, the late King William III., praying the house to appoint a proper place to erect it," &c. The house decided upon Queen square, then the focus of merchant aristocracy, and "cheerfully" contributed £500; and £300 were given by the Merchants' hall "towards erecting in Queen square a fine equestrian statue in brass," &c.

1732, May 6th.—At a meeting of the common council, Alderman Beecher returned thanks to this house from the subscribers to the memorial for erecting a public equestrian statue of his late majesty, King William III., for the gracious donation of this house," &c.

1736, September 25th.—At a meeting of the common council, "Mr. Mayor acquainted the house that the publick statue in Queen square was finished in the handsomest manner, and that there was the sum of £769 10s. 3d. deficit."

December 3rd.—It was carried that £500 more be subscribed. Rysbrach, the sculptor, was paid £1,800; of this £1,000 was contributed by the corporation, and £300 by the Society of Merchants, leaving but little for the citizens.

From *Free Briton*, August 16th, 1733:—"It ought to be had in everlasting remembrance," says Mr. Walsingham, "that when the common council of London refused even to read a petition to erect a statue at the expense of the petitioners in honour of King William III., the city of Bristol of their own free will raised a statue, at their common charge, with a magnificence worthy of his fame and of their affection to his memory. The statue, sculptured by Mr. Rysbrach with infinite application and success, is worthy of public attention, not only as regards the memory of King William, but it is a work of genius, and will do honour to this nation. Methinks I see the spirit of antiquity sublimely expressed in every stroke. It was thus that senates dedicated statues to their gods and patriots; their private genius bore its part in private love."

It is accounted one of the finest equestrian statues in Europe; it was modelled by Rysbrach, but the operative artist was Van Oost.<sup>1</sup>

Queen square, which was commenced on the visit of Queen Anne in 1702, and was named after her, was not completed until 1726. It was in 1710 planted with cross rows of lime trees, but these were cut down in 1776.

In 1731 Mr. James Purnell was elected coroner on the death of Mr. Daniels. Hay markets were appointed to be held at the end of Broadmead and Temple cross, for hay coming by land; at the head of the quay called "Timber key," on St. Augustine's back, and at the lower end of the quay, by the graving dock, for hay coming by water. The market days were on Tuesdays and Fridays. On December 8th Mr. James Holledge, the chamberlain, was presented with 150 guineas, as a free gift for his

<sup>1</sup> Tovey's Local Jottings.

good services to the city. It was ordered that Thomas Lewis and Co., common players at the Theatre, St. Augustine's back, be presented as a nuisance.

On May 6th, 1732, it was ordered that £100 be paid to the churchwardens of St. Stephen's church, as a free gift from the house towards repairing and beautifying the church and tower of St. Stephen's. Also that the mayor and surveyors of the city lands do carry on the Quay wall from the ferry at Redcliff back to a place called the Graving place. On June 11th, George II. and her majesty Queen Caroline, having honoured the city by sitting for their portraits, it was ordered that their pictures be set up in the Council chamber.

On Sunday, November 5th, the house declined to go to the Cathedral; but the mayor, attended by the corporation and the incorporated companies, went to the Mayor's chapel and heard a sermon by Mr. Smith.

On Monday, 10th January, 1733, the house resolved that if any excise be laid upon customable merchandise and home-manufactured goods, to send a resolution to their members to oppose the same in Parliament by all legal and dutiful methods. This year the great crane near Gib Taylor was erected by Mr. Padmore, and the Mud dock was completed at the expense of the Society of Merchant Venturers.

9. Walpole sought by a system of indirect taxation to free the land from all burdens. He contended that smuggling and fraud diminished the revenue immensely. The gross average amount of the Customs' tax on tobacco, for instance, was £750,000, the net produce only amounted to £160,000; he therefore proposed to transfer this revenue to the Excise, to establish bonded

warehouses for wines and tobacco, and to collect the duty from the inland dealers. His plan, he argued, would, without increasing the cost to the consumer, enable him to dispense altogether with the land tax, would make London a free port, and give to it the trade of the world. An unprecedented agitation set in against this scheme. It was argued in the House of Commons that already the sea-coast towns were looked upon as belonging to the Crown, the influence of its officers in

them being so great that not a member could be elected to Parliament who was not their nominee, and that under this scheme the Excise would extend the influence of the Crown to all the towns and corporations of England. Bristol was thoroughly aroused; it discarded Scrope, the Treasury nominee, who only polled 1866 votes, whilst Sir Abraham Elton had 2,420, and Thomas Coster 2,071. The idea of London monopolising the trade which had been the chief cause of Bristol's prosperity was odious. The popular ferment throughout the kingdom compelled Walpole to withdraw the measure.

In August this year the High Cross, which stood at the junction of Wine, High, Broad and Corn streets, was taken down and deposited in the Guildhall. It was worn and fretted through age, and was considered to be unsafe; an additional and weighty reason for its removal was the space which it occupied, impeding the greatly increased vehicular traffic in the centre of the city.

February 21st, 1734, William Henry Nassau, Prince of Orange, came to this city, pursuant to an invitation presented to him at Bath by Mr. Pope and Mr. Glisson, the sheriffs. He came to England in November last, in order to espouse the Princess Royal,



*Statue of William III. in Queen Square.*

but being taken ill he went to Bath for the recovery of his health. When he visited Bristol he was met on the road two miles from the city by the mayor and sheriffs, and a vast crowd of people with orange cockades, and conducted to the Council-house, where Wm. Cann, Esq., the town clerk, addressed him in a speech, to which the prince returned a very obliging answer. This ceremony being ended, the whole body attended him to his lodgings at Alderman Peter Day's, in Queen square, and from thence to the Merchants' hall, where a very elegant entertainment was provided for him. After dinner he went to the Hotwells, where he tasted the water, and on his return the quay and the rivers, &c., were shown to him; and then about seven o'clock he returned to the hall, where he supped; and after supper there was a ball, where were assembled at least five hundred gentlemen and ladies. His highness opened the ball by a minuet with Sheriff Pope's lady. He slept that night at Alderman Day's. On the next day he received the compliments of the clergy, and taking his leave of the magistrates, he returned to Bath. Soon after he went to London, and on March 14th he married Ann, Princess Royal of England, our king's eldest daughter.

On the 8th of January, 1734-5, arose in the morning a great wind, not much unequal to that in November, 1703, as long as it continued. It blew down four large trees in St. James' churchyard, it rent the great bar of iron which supported the weathercock on St. Nicholas' steeple; it ripped and folded up the lead of Temple church as if it had been paper, it blew down many chimneys, untiled many houses, and did great damage to several ships which lay in Kingroad.<sup>1</sup>

10. In 1734 Buck's well-known views of the city, from Brandon hill and Pile hill, were published. This year the Methodists began to create a stir in Bristol and Kingswood. Before John Wesley and George Whitefield, by their Christ-like work, humanised this locality, there was scarcely an assize at Gloucester but a Kingswood man was left for execution for horse or sheep stealing, or still graver felonies. The relatives were generally allowed to carry away the body of the convict, which, on taking home, they usually exposed, nearly naked, by the roadside, with a plate on the breast, for the contributions of the passers-by, ostensibly in order to bury their dead. Such was the brutalised state of the people that they often levied this hideous blackmail (for such it was, few daring to refuse to contribute) long after the necessary sum had been raised, when they spent the overplus in a drunken orgie.

"Never," says a shrewd modern historian, "never had religion seemed at a lower ebb" than in the earlier part of the reign of George II. The Church had sunk into political insignificance. The bishops, who were political nominees of the Whig minister, were powerless for good, owing to the Tory proclivities of their clergy. Pluralities abounded; the wealthy and learned of the priesthood were absentees, but the bulk of the clergy, ignorant, indolent, poor, and without social consideration, "the most remiss in their labours in private, and the least severe in their lives." Walpole had sus-

pended the sittings of Convocation, and religion in the higher ranks of society had become a by-word and a mockery. Nor did Nonconformity fare better; its professors had declined in number, whilst a great wave of Arianism had swept over their churches and benumbed their vital energy. Drunkenness and obscene language were not considered to be disgraceful; chastity was sneered at as unfashionable, and seduction was openly taught (see Lord Chesterfield in his letters to his son) as being part of a political education. The poor, reduced to pauperism, were ignorant and brutal, being left without education, or moral or religious training. The criminal class, undeterred by the frequency of capital punishment, and the ruthless character of the laws, which inflicted the same penalty for a shop robbery of more than one shilling, or the cutting down a young tree, as it did for a sanguinary murder, made men reckless. Drunkenness had fearfully increased, owing to the introduction of gin-shops, some of which invited "a man to get drunk for a penny, dead drunk for twopence." In short, the pictures of Hogarth, instead of being caricatures, fall immeasurably short of a faithful portraiture of the manners and customs of the age. Such was the condition of affairs throughout the land when a religious revival began, which in a few years changed the whole aspect of English society; it infused life and activity into our churches, both established and sectarian, purified our manners and literature, carried the gospel of love to the peasant as freely as to the peer, swept away piecemeal our Draconic legislature, cleansed the Augean prison styes and made them habitable, reared hospitals and infirmaries, popularised education, rested not until it had struck off the shackles of the slave, and everywhere proclaimed the common brotherhood of the human race, and the grand law that true love to God is best shown by love to one's fellow-man.

The men who began this new epoch for our country and for the world were of the middle class of society. George Whitefield, the son of an inn-keeper at Gloucester, a servitor of Pembroke college, John Wesley, Fellow of Lincoln college, and his brother Charles, a student of Christ church, Oxford, were the leaders of the movement. Whitefield was emphatically the preacher; his impassioned earnestness carried all before it; it wrung the gold out of the pocket of the calm philosophic Franklin, won the admiration of that cynical sneerer at all good, Horace Walpole, and washed white furrows down the grimy faces of twenty thousand colliers at a time in the meadows at Kingswood. The enthusiasm of these preachers closed the pulpits of the churches one after another against them; they heeded not, but took to the churchyards, the streets, the fields;

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 579-80.

they were mobbed at the instigation of squire and clergy, ducked in horseponds, stoned, bespattered with filth and their lives endangered, still they persevered. Charles Wesley, by the sweetness and simplicity of his hymns, threw a new and exquisite feature into the movement; whilst John Wesley, fitted to be a ruler of men by his power of command, his faculty for organisation, his cool judgment, literary talent, industry, patience, piety and earnestness, consolidated the scattered forces into one great body, which, from the methodical devotion and regularity of life observed by its members, gained for them the nickname of Methodists, a title of honour of which they may ever be proud. The effect of this movement upon the other sections of the religious community was immediate and startling, the lethargy of the clergy was broken up, and the evangelical body became a reality which gradually eliminated the dissolute clergy and forced the absentees into residence; moreover, it infused new vitality into other denominations and created a healthy emulation in divine work for their fellowmen throughout the whole body of professed Christian teachers.

On re-visiting Bristol in 1739, and finding no church available in which to preach, Whitefield went to Kingswood, and there, on Saturday, February 13th, he commenced preaching in the open air. Such success attended the services thus inaugurated that he appealed to his friend John Wesley for help; he came, listened, and felt reluctantly, it is true, compelled to follow his example. On Sunday, April 2nd, he preached on a little hillock near Baptist mills, standing on a stone, which afterwards was reverently used as the foundation stone of the Wesleyan chapel in that locality. Casting aside his prejudice, under pressure of the visible presence of the Divine Spirit in the work, he rose to the emergency, and to listening thousands in the suburbs and in the city, at the bowling-green and the meeting rooms in Nicholas, Castle and Gloucester streets, Back lane and the Weavers' hall, he preached daily. The Society thus formed soon felt the need of a home, and the first Wesleyan chapel in the kingdom was built in Bristol. The foundation stone was laid on May 12th, 1739, in Broadmead; it is a spacious building, having six freestone pillars supporting the galleries, and has a dwelling-house for ministers over the chapel; it is now occupied by the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists. It was in connection with the debt incurred in building this meeting-house that the system which may be termed the life and soul of Methodism was founded. We mean, of course, the penny per week subscription by each member for sustenance of the cause, and the class meeting in which their spiritual life is quickened and made vigorous.

Eighteen conferences were held in this chapel during Wesley's life, the first being on August 1st, 1745. This was the second conference, the first having been held in London. Wesley's career might almost be said to have closed in Bristol, as the last conference he attended was in the above-named chapel. Since his death there have been twelve of these gatherings held in our city.

At a conference held in 1771, the Rev. Walter Shirley and a deputation waited on the body to ask Wesley to alter his minutes of the preceding year, but they found him inflexible; "he sang with them, prayed with them, shook hands with them, and stood where he was." The minutes of "free grace" were unchanged, but a controversy followed which greatly weakened the doctrines known as Calvinism. The first preacher appointed to Bristol was John Jones, 1749. The Bristol circuit at that time included the surrounding neighbourhood, and this good man had to itinerate as far as Bath, Keynsham, Kingswood, &c., there being no other circuit that embraced those localities.

Methodism in America is closely related to Bristol. Captain Webb, a lieutenant in the 48th regiment, who had been converted by a sermon by Wesley in Bristol, had by his preaching in New York added fresh life to the little society gathered there, and on his return he induced Wesley to send over the two first Methodist preachers to that country. From Bristol, in September, 1781, Francis Asbury sailed for America, and on September 2nd, 1784, in the old room at Broadmead, Wesley ordained Coke as bishop, and Whatcoat and Vasey as presbyters, to proceed thither and administer the sacrament; thus, in theological language, founding the American Methodist church. It was in fact in Broadmead and Portland chapels that the battle was fought and won between antiquated sacerdotal custom and enlightened scriptural freedom; for here it was that the Methodist ministers claimed and first exercised the right to administer the sacrament, and by so doing they welded the scattered societies into one mighty body—the Wesleyan Methodist church. The Methodist regular ministry may be said to have had its rise in Bristol, for here John Cennick was commissioned to preach to the colliers of Kingswood. Thomas Maxfield, another well-known preacher of these early days, was a native of the city. Charles Wesley lived in a small house in Stokes croft, and many of his divine songs were composed whilst enjoying the umbrageous shade of Lovers walk. The Kingswood school, established by the philanthropy of Whitefield, was altered from its original design by Wesley into an institution for educating the children of Wesleyan ministers. Some of the foremost men in the body have been stationed in Bristol; the lion-

hearted Nelson, holy Bramwell, scholarly Adam Clarke, eloquent Bradburn, thoughtful Beaumont, and powerful Etheridge, may be specially named, as well as their worthy successors, who in our own time have charmed immense congregations by their eloquence, pathos and piety, such as John Lomas, Samuel D. Waddy, Samuel Romilly Hall, William Morley Punshon, and Charles Tucker, the missionary.

Portland street chapel was the second building erected by the body, to which Captain Webb largely contributed, and wherein he often preached in his regimentals; dying in 1796, he was buried in this his favourite place of worship. It is a spacious building, with a large gallery at one end, and contains a painted altar-piece by Bird. There is a turret with a bell, and the Church of England service is still read there. Here, too, was laid in the tomb all that was mortal of John Bundy, a rare specimen of the local preacher of the days of old—a brewer's labourer, whose master said, "My beer ought to drink well, for Bundy prays over every cask in the cellar," and who on his death-bed sent for his faithful servant to come and pray by him; he also left him a large legacy, which Bundy refused to accept, as also he did a rank of houses left to him by a lady, requesting that they might be given to the rightful heirs. Bundy became practically the spiritual adviser of the prisoners in Newgate, and travelled in the cart with the condemned felons, praying and singing with each poor wretch as he sat shivering on his own coffin, whilst the pitiful procession crawled slowly up Steep street to the gallows at the top of St. Michael's hill. This good man's courage and kindness were only equalled by his piety, fervour and simplicity. He fasted once and nearly killed himself, because he felt called upon to follow his Master; twenty days out of the forty he thus abstained from meat and drink, when fainting nature forced him back into common sense. At the opening of Portland chapel, in 1792, by Messrs. Bradburn and Roberts, the preachers wore gowns and bands, and read the Liturgy in a surplice, which gave great offence to the clergyman of the parish and led to a somewhat acrimonious controversy, after which the vestments were quietly dropped. Thomas Exley, author and philosopher, was a local preacher in connection with this chapel.

Ebenezer chapel, in Old King street, was built in 1795; its dimensions are 80 feet by 60 feet; it is a handsome building, and is calculated to seat 2,000 persons, having three deep galleries; it was opened on the 28th of June, at which time the number of members in society in Bristol was 1,645. The Wesleyan chapel that lies between the Old Market street and Redcross street is a still larger building; it will hold

2,300 persons; it has galleries on three sides, and has good accommodation in the shape of school-rooms, vestries, &c.; it was opened August, 1817. The Wesleyan chapel at Baptist mills has been three times enlarged; it has accommodation for a large school; also numerous class-rooms, vestries, &c.

11. John Elbridge, the founder of the Bristol Royal Infirmary, was deputy-comptroller of the Customs in this city in the year 1734. When he was appointed or where he was born is not known with certainty, but there is reason to believe that he was a native of the parish of St. Ann, in the island of Jamaica. At the second meeting of the society which founded the Infirmary he was appointed treasurer. It was held in the Council-house on the 7th January, 1736, in the mayoralty of John Blackwell. Amongst those present were the sheriffs, Joseph Eyles and Henry Dampier, Dean Creswick, Sir Michael Foster the recorder, and twenty-eight other gentlemen. In the committee-room is a tablet beneath a portrait of this estimable man, which bears the following inscription:—

John Elbridge, esquire, was among the first who engaged in this charity. As soon as the society was formed he was chosen treasurer, and cheerfully undertook the care of the buildings, and of providing furniture of all kinds for the house and apothecary's shop, necessary for the first opening. He gave a constant and unwearied attention to this work, which he effected entirely at his own expense in the year 1737. In the next year he erected a new ward for twelve patients, which he furnished with beds, and all other accommodations likewise, at his own expense. Besides these most seasonable benefactions, which may be estimated at £1,500 at least, he by his will bequeathed to the use of the society £5,000. He died on the 22nd of February, 1738, treasurer of this society. His epitaph was written by Dr. Shiblear, who, in 1740, published a pamphlet on the Bristol waters.

The Infirmary was opened on December 13th, 1737; the ground on which it was built was called Jobbin's leaze, or leas.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Elbridge's residence was the old house in Royal fort. In a part of his garden, at the entrance of the lane, he in his lifetime built a school, which at his death he endowed with the sum of £3,000, for the clothing once a year of twenty-four girls, and educating them in "reading, writing, cyphering and sewing." In 1748 the trustees built for the master and mistress, at the cost of £287, a dwelling-house. The master has the right for ever of signing a note "Elbridge," and thus sending a sick or wounded scholar to the infirmary, who is to be instantly admitted.

Roger North, in his *Life of Lord Guildford*, says:—"Bristol is a marine trading city, with a small cathedral. It is remarkable that there all the men that are dealers, even in shop trades, launch into adventures by sea, chiefly in the West Indies and Spain. A poor shop-

<sup>1</sup> R. Smith.

keeper that sells candles will have a bale of stockings or a piece of stuff for Nevis or Virginia, or rather than fail they trade in men, as when they sent small rogues taught to pray for, and who accordingly received actual transportation even before any indictment was found against them. In a word pride and ostentation are publicly professed; christenings and burials pompous beyond imagination; a man who dies worth £300 will order £200 of it to be laid out in a funeral procession." This is a gross exaggeration. No doubt more was spent in mortuary customs than was needful, as is the case to-day; but from the day-book of Mr. Brickdale, clothier and undertaker in High street, who afterwards became M.P. for the city, we give the items of two funerals, which, although the coffins are not included (they being supplied by the carpenter), will, we have no doubt, bear comparison with undertakers' charges of modern date. The reader will be struck with the great quantity of cloth used on such occasions.

Alderman James Dunning, for funeral of his lady, April 1st,  
1737 :—

	£	s.	d.
To hanging parlour and hall and for the flooring... ..	5	5	0
To the use of 8 stands ... ..	0	8	0
“ “ 8 stand-cloths and 1 stool ditto ... ..	0	9	0
“ “ 8 large candlesticks ... ..	1	0	0
“ “ 2 dozen large white sconces ... ..	0	6	0
“ “ 1 dozen and a half black japanned ditto ... ..	0	7	6
“ “ a cloak for yourself ... ..	0	5	0
“ “ 1 ditto for your man ... ..	0	5	0
“ “ 11 coachmen's ditto ... ..	2	15	0
“ “ black cloth for ye church ... ..	0	2	6
To paid for wax and mold candles ... ..	0	12	0
“ “ hanging up ye bays and taking it down ... ..	0	14	0
“ “ tenterhooks and tacks ... ..	0	2	6
“ the carriage to and from Stapleton, two conductors, with black gowns, hat-bands, crape on poles, and paid them ... ..	1	0	0
	£13	17	6

Memorandum.—A very wet day; the bays and flooring very wet and dirty.<sup>1</sup>



THE CUSTOM HOUSE.

*Part of Queen Square. 18th Century.*

THE MANSION HOUSE.

Mr. John Hawkins, for funeral of his lady, February 28th,  
1735 :—

1735:—					£	s.	d.	
13 yds.	superfine black cloth	...	...	at 17/-	...	11	9	6
7 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	" " "	...	...	" 17/-	...	6	11	9
4 $\frac{1}{3}$ "	sad grey superfine	...	...	" 14/-	...	2	17	9
3 "	black	...	...	" 14/-	...	2	2	0
5 "	" " "	...	...	" 9/-	...	2	5	0
5 "	superfine, for Mr. Mathew	...	...	" 17/-	...	4	5	0
To the use of	232 yds. bays	...	...	" /1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	9	0
" "	57 " foot-cloth	...	...	" /3	...	0	14	3
" "	4 doz. 7 sconces	...	...	" 4/-	...	0	18	4
" "	8 stands	...	...	" /12	...	0	8	0
" "	8 stand-cloths and 1 stool	...	...	...	...	0	9	0
" "	11 gentlemen's cloaks	...	...	" 2/6	...	1	7	6
" "	10 for coachmen	...	...	" 2/6	...	1	5	0
" "	5 black cloths for church	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
To cash paid for	two wax candles	...	...	...	...	0	6	0
" "	for tenterhooks and tacks	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
" "	for hanging up and taking downe	...	...	...	...	0	8	6
" "	two conductors with black gowns, crape hatt bands, crape on poles, &c.	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Total...					...	£38	18	7
" "	for mold candles	...	...	...	...	0	9	0

£39 7 7

12. In 1735, John Scrope, being still unpopular, resigned office, and Sir Michael Foster was chosen recorder of the city. He lived at Lower Ashley-house, which was on the affluent of the Frome, near the boiling well; it was demolished in 1824. "In 1735 the High Cross was re-erected in the centre of College green and finely beautified. By survey taken in 1736, Bristol, with its suburbs, was found to contain 1,300 houses and 80,000 inhabitants;"<sup>2</sup> but inasmuch as this gives over sixty-one inhabitants to each dwelling, it is evident that the number of houses should be 13,000. At the request of the corporation, the Bristol charters were this year translated by Charles Goodwyn, B.D., and published. William Jefferies, who was mayor in 1738, presented life-size portraits of himself and his wife to the chamber; and moved "that it would tend to the honour and grandeur of this city if some convenient mansion-house was purchased by the corporation for the mayor to reside in, and in which he could entertain

<sup>1</sup> Bristol Times, January 22nd, 1859.

<sup>2</sup> Evans, 263.

the judges, that the house of Alderman Peter Day, deceased, with its furniture, was to be disposed of, that it was a fit place," &c. Carried in the affirmative. This was the Mansion-house in Queen square which was burned in the riots of 1831. On May 15th a petition was presented to his majesty praying that the seamen

seamen, women, children, loaded horses, asses, and sledges, with goods, dragging along together without posts to separate them. From thence you come to a quay along the old wall, with houses on both sides, and in the middle of the street as far as you can see, hundreds of ships, their masts as thick as they can stand by one another, which is the oddest and most surprising sight imaginable. This street is fuller of them than the Thames from London



*The Old Hotwell House in 18th Century.*

in the merchant service who were wounded when on board privateers might be eligible for Greenwich hospital. At the king's command a clause to that effect was inserted in the Act of Parliament. On Sept. 10th, 1735, Sir Michael Foster, the recorder, sentenced Captain James Newth to death for the murder of his wife. Newth poisoned himself a few days after, and was buried at a cross road. Rumour stating that he had been tried for piracy, that he had murdered one of his cabin boys and had caused the death of three of his mariners, a Bristol mob dug up his remains and treated them in a most shameful manner.<sup>1</sup> Pope, the poet, this year visited Bristol and left the following description of the city:—

From Bath you go along the Avon, or its side, the road lying generally in sight of it; on each bank are steep rising hills, clothed with wood at top, and sloping toward the stream in green meadows, intermixed with white houses, mills, and bridges; this for seven or eight miles, then you come in sight of Bristol (the river winding at the bottom of steeper banks to the town), where you see twenty odd pyramids smoking over the town (which are glass houses), and a vast extent of houses, red and white. You come first to old walls, and over a bridge built on both sides, like London bridge, and as much crowded, with a strange mixture of

bridge to Deptford, and at certain times only, the water rises to carry them out, so that at other times a long street full of ships in the middle, and houses on each side, looks like a dream. Passing still along by the river, you come to a rocky way on one side, overlooking green hills on the other; on that rocky way rise several white houses, and over them red rocks, and as you go further more rocks above rocks, mixed with green bushes and of different coloured stone. This at a mile's end terminates in the house of the Hotwell, whereabouts lie several pretty lodging houses, open to the river with walls of trees. When you have seen the hills which seem to shut in upon you, and to stop any further way, you go into the house, and looking out at the back door a vast rock of an hundred feet high of red, white, green, blue, and yellowish marble, all blotched and variegated, strikes you quite in the face; and turning on the left, there opens the river at a vast depth below, winding in and out, and accompanied on both sides with a continued range of rocks up to the clouds. On the top of these rocks there runs on the one side

a large down of fine turf for about three miles. It looks too frightful to approach the brink and look down upon the river, but in many parts of this down the vallies descend gently, and you see all along the windings of the stream, and the openings of the rocks which turn and close in upon you from space to space



*Clifton Old Turnpike Gate and Promenade in 18th Century.*

for several miles on towards the sea. There is first, near Bristol, a little village upon this down, called Clifton, where are very pretty lodging houses overlooking all the woods, hills, and steep cliffs, and very woody valleys, within half a mile of the Wells, where in the summer it must be delicious walking and riding, for the plain extends one way for many miles; particularly there is a

<sup>1</sup> Abridged from *Gentleman's Magazine*, V., 558.

tower that stands close to the edge of the highest rock, and sees the stream turn quite round it; and all the banks one way are wooded in a gentle slope for near a mile high, quite green; the other bank all inaccessible rock, of an hundred colours and odd shapes, some hundred feet perpendicular. I am told one may ride many miles farther on an even turf on a ridge that on one side views the river Severn, and the banks steeper and steeper, or quite to the open sea; and on the other side a vast woody vale as far as the eye can stretch, and all before you the opposite coast of Wales beyond the Severn. . . . The city of Bristol itself is very unpleasant, and no civilised company in it; only the collector of customs would have brought me acquainted with merchants, of whom I hear no great character. The streets are as crowded as London, but the best image I can give you of it is, 'tis as if Wapping and Southwark were ten times as big, or all their people ran into London. Nothing is fine in it but the square, which is larger than Grosvenor square and well builded, with a very fine brass statue in the middle, of King William on horseback; and the quay, which is full of ships, and goes half-way round the square. The College green is pretty, and (like the square) is set with trees, with a very fine old cross of Gothic curious work in the middle; but spoiled with the folly of new gilding it, that takes away all the venerable antiquity. There is a cathedral, very neat, and nineteen parish churches.

13. In 1736 a public-house, the "Boar's Head and Salmon," at the corner of Frog lane, was given by Mrs. Ann Aldworth to the poor of All Saints and St. Augustine. The victims of the law who were capitally convicted were less mercifully treated than at the present time. They either stood in a cart, with the halter round their necks, and swung gently off as the vehicle was moved on, or they had to climb a ladder until the hangman could adjust the rope around their necks, from which they either swung themselves or were thrust off by the executioner; hence they died hard, being in most cases suffocated only. In this year Joshua Harding and John Vernham were hanged at Bristol for house-breaking. When cut down and put in their coffins they were both alive. The latter died, after being bled, about eleven in the evening; Harding was placed in the Bridewell, and was afterwards taken care of in "a charity-house," his life being saved.<sup>1</sup>

In 1737 "Lionel Lyde, the mayor, sued — Hart for recovery of mayor's dues, 40s. Defendant pleaded the general issue. The trial was before Leigh, chief justice, and a special jury. Verdict for plaintiff."<sup>2</sup> Nathaniel Day being mayor, the corporation ordered the table of loan moneys and benefactions to be put up in the Council-house for public inspection."<sup>3</sup> Trinity almshouse, north of Lawford's gate, had an additional building; and Giles Malpas, pinmaker, of Thomas street, built a charity school for the boys of Redcliff and St. Thomas in Pile street.

7th April.—In a publication by A. S. Catcott, LL.B., master of the Grammar school, dated as above, "printed

<sup>1</sup> Old MS.<sup>2</sup> R. Smith.<sup>3</sup> Evans, 263.

and sold by Felix Farley, at Shakspear's head in Castle green, also W. Evans on St. James' back, J. Wilson in Wine street, and P. Brown in St. Thomas' street," giving an account of the visitation that year by the mayor, John Blackwell, esq., the aldermen, &c., the following boys distinguished themselves:—

*Latin and Greek.*

Francis Woodward,  
John Bergen,  
Thomas Francis,  
Charles Bowyer,  
Thomas Willing,  
John Sampson.

*English verse.*

C. Heylyn,  
Thomas Hill,  
James Grace,  
Joseph Terrill,  
William Oakey,  
Daniel Monro,  
Richard Woodward,  
Thomas Harding.

The following is a fair specimen of the versification:—

Where the small Frome his widening banks divides  
To form a bay for Avon's swelling tides,  
And the soft ooze receives the incumbent weight  
Of thronging vessels, big with weighty freight,  
By monks possessed of old,—a fabrick stands,  
By pious Thorn redeemed from greedy hands,  
From error freed, from rapine snatched away,  
He gave to better use the destined prey.

The doors unfold; a passage strikes your sight,  
Dark, narrow, dismal with malignant light;  
You try the gulf, with hands held out before,  
And stumbling feet the devious way explore.

In 1738 the City Library was finished, and the land for the new Exchange was secured; it was originally occupied by Snowgale's almshouse. The poor were now removed to a new building in All Saints lane.

His Royal Highness Frederic, Prince of Wales, and Augusta, his princess, came hither from Bath, 10th November, 1738, and were met by the mayor, &c., at Temple gate, where a platform was erected for the common council, dressed in their scarlet gowns, to salute them on their arrival, and the recorder delivered a speech to them. All the trading companies, with their flags, &c., walked in procession before their coach up High street and along the Quay to Queen square to Mr. Combe's house. After he had received the compliments of the clergy, gentlemen, &c., he was presented with the freedom of the city and of the Society of Merchants, each in a gold box; and was then conducted to the Merchants' hall, where an elegant dinner was provided at the city's expense and a ball at night. They lodged at Mr. Henry Combe's that night, and returned the next morning at ten o'clock to Bath.

The famous convention with Spain was concluded January 14th, 1738-9, wherein the interests of Great Britain seemed to be so much neglected that a most violent clamour against the ministry was raised through the whole kingdom. Petitions against it were presented to the House of Commons from London, Bristol, Liverpool, and other places. It was at the debate on this convention that four hundred members took their seats in the House of Commons before eight o'clock in the morning. The convention was at last approved by a majority; but it was evident that Sir Robert Walpole's power was declining, for, being no longer able to withstand the clamour of the whole nation, war was declared against Spain, October 23rd, 1739, in London, and in Bristol, October 29th.

At the election in the year 1741 Sir Abraham Elton, bart., and Mr. Southwell were re-elected without opposition. Parties at this time were more violent perhaps than ever since the Revolution, and the elections in general more violently contested. Parliament met December 1st, and the opposition to the minister was on the whole so much strengthened by this election that within few months he retired.

Sir Abraham Elton died 19th October, 1742, and an election to supply the vacancy began 24th November, 1742, when Robert Hoblyn, esq., who had married the only daughter of our late worthy member, Thomas Coster, esq., was chosen without opposition. The mayor, Sir Abraham Elton, son of the late member, declared himself a candidate, but did not stand a poll.<sup>1</sup>

On January 5th, 1740, a poor man died of exposure from cold in Marsh street; also a woman in Milk street. "January 26th, a ship with corn from Barnstaple, whilst the navigation of the Severn is obstructed by the hard frost, has come to Bristol. The captain, without considering the condition of the poor, asks 8s. 6d. per bushel; bakers won't give more than 5s. 6d. Assize of bread, 5s."<sup>2</sup>

The foundation of the Bristol Exchange was laid March 10th by Henry Combe, mayor; the "Guilders" inn, which extended back from High street to the west of All Saints lane, and the block of houses between All Saints and Cock lanes and Corn and St. Nicholas streets furnished the site.<sup>3</sup>

In a *Journal of Transactions* relating to an election at Bristol, 1739, which is wholly in Mr. Edward Southwell's autograph, are detailed some interesting facts relating to Bristol. Southwell was elected M.P. on the death of Mr. Coster. In naming his arrival at Bristol on October 6th, he says:—"I drove through Bristoll at full Tholsell time, about one o'clock. Mr. Coster, the late member, was buried the night before at the Cathedral, and every bell in the city tolled for him from morning till night." Southwell kept all the printed squibs issued during the election; the rough drafts of many of his addresses to his constituents; letters from the mayor, the aldermen and chief persons in Bristol relative to the various elections in which he was concerned; petitions of merchants, instructions from the town council, and a variety of other documents; drafts of bills, &c., transmitted to their representative in Parliament; papers relative to the lighting of the city of Bristol with lamps, &c.; petitions from debtors incarcerated in Newgate in 1741-5; some interesting accounts of the forces raised by the towns-people of Bristol to repel the Pretender in 1745; letters of Robert Hoblyn, esq., M.P. for Bristol, 1747; list of ships trading from Bristol to all parts of the world; lists of his Bristol guests.

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 581-2.

<sup>2</sup> Old MS.

<sup>3</sup> For particulars of this building, see Wood's Exchange.

Thomas Hulm paid £50 fine for refusing to serve the office of deputy-governor of St. Peter's hospital. Under the old Act the fine was only £25, but so many persons chose rather to pay than serve that it was found necessary to double the amount of the fine. In 1765 Joseph Flower was allowed £75 to take the office for a second year. Neither was the office of governor coveted. In 1771 Jere Ames paid £50 for refusing the honour after he had been chosen by the court; and in the minute-book Burgum, Chatterton's credulous friend, wrote:—

"As chairman, Henry Burgum for the last time;  
And if you catch me at it again,  
I'll gee you my mother for an old man."

In 1778 Griffith Musquelina and George Watson refused to serve, and each of them paid the fine. There is also a singular entry under the date of 1771:—"Mr. Peach, one of the guardians of the poor, discharged in consequence of his having convicted a felon." We presume the word "been" has been omitted.

In 1741 the men who assisted in carrying off Sir John Dinely, viz., Charles Bryan, Edward McDaniell and William Hammon, were fined 40s. each and imprisoned for one year. (See ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, 240.) "Mahoney was hanged in chains on the Swash; the stump of the gibbet is now [1829] standing. The 'White Hart' was curiously divided. The bay window was formerly a balcony; it was on the lands of the dean and chapter. The front rooms were held on lease of the city chamber. The parlour behind, afterwards for forty years the dressing-room and surgery of Messrs. Smith and Gold, was on the boundary wall of St. Mark, and the site of the public-house was the waste or road between it and the cemetery, *i.e.*, before St. Augustine's church was built. In the cellar were several grave-stones."<sup>1</sup>

14. In 1741 the four-sheet survey of Bristol, taken by John Roque, was published by Benjamin Hickey, bookseller. The almshouse at the south-west corner of Milk street, for five old bachelors and five old maids, was built by Thomas and Sarah Ridley, brother and sister, of Pucklechurch. John Jayne, of Temple parish, mariner, gave £140, the interest to be applied towards clothing and educating the poor girls of that parish for ever. Letters were now despatched between London and Bristol six times a week instead of three as heretofore.

In 1742, the *Bristol Oracle* was first published. Admiral Vernon, on his return from the West Indies in the *Boyne*, struck on the rocks near St. David's Head December 27th; having got his ship off, he arrived in

<sup>1</sup> R. Smith.



Roque's Map of Bristol, 1741.

Bristol January 6th, and proceeded to the house of the mayor amidst the acclamations of the people; he left for London on the 13th, and was on the following day most graciously received by his majesty. Zinc was this year manufactured by Mr. Champion, of Bristol. A patent was afterward obtained by Mr. Emerson; the manufactory was at Hanham.

On Monday, July 11th, 1743, John Parrington, aged

nineteen, a private soldier, was shot on Clifton down for desertion; another, who was condemned, walked with him to the spot, where he was respited. None but deserters were employed in the execution. Cordwainers' hall, which used to be held at the "Pilgrim," Tucker street, was now removed to the "Bell," Broad street. The corporation of the poor formerly held Old-field lodge, Milk street, as a sick house; it stood at the

end of Paul street, on the south side of Newfoundland street. In 1798 it was sold for £1,000.<sup>1</sup>

The Exchange, which is the property of the corporation, was erected at a cost of £50,000; it was opened with great ceremony on September 27th, 1743, when the corporation, the Society of Merchant Venturers and the various trade companies met at the Guildhall and walked in procession to the new building. Large numbers of privateersmen joined the cavalcade, with bands of music, firing cannon, and other marks of rejoicing. (The adjoining markets had been previously opened for public use on March 27th.) The interior, which has been recently covered with a glass roof, is now devoted to the use of the corn merchants. Until the public nomination of members of Parliament was abolished, this was the site of the hustings. The architect was Wood, of Bath.

Bull-baiting and cock-fighting were favourite amusements of the well-to-do citizens. St. Jude's church now stands in the bull-ring, and the principal cock-pit was on the west side of Back street, about 100 yards from the steps and opposite to the "Windsor Castle Man-of-War" public-house, it was entered by an arched passage. There is little doubt but that, intellectually, the chief citizens had sunk so low as to deserve much, if not all, of the biting satire which the pens of successive satirists inflicted upon them during this half century, and to this depth of degradation their ill-gotten wealth and the inhumanity of the traffic in slaves had mainly contributed; nevertheless it became not one who had feasted at their tables and borrowed their money, to repay them when he had exhausted their kindness by bespattering them with abuse. This was the case with the unfortunate Richard Savage who, arrested for debt, died of fever this year in Newgate. About 1780 a stone stood on the right of the path in the churchyard of St. Peter's, leading to the hospital, opposite nearly to the west door, on which was recorded the parentage, &c., of the poet. It is said to have been removed at the instance of the Countess of Macclesfield; a monumental tablet in the south wall of the church has since been erected to his memory.

Savage's Satire was published this year:—

"In a dark bottom sunk, O Bristol! now  
With native malice lift thy low'ring brow;  
Then as some hell-born sprite in mortal guise  
Borrows the shape of Goodness and belies,  
All fair, all smug, to yon' proud hall invite,  
To feast all strangers ape an air polite;  
\* \* \* \*

Revere, or seem the stranger to revere;  
Praise, fawn, profess, be all things but sincere;

<sup>1</sup> R. Smith.

Insidious now, our bosom secrets steal,  
And these with sly sarcastic sneer reveal.  
\* \* \* \*

What friendship canst thou boast? what honours claim?  
To thee each stranger owes an injur'd name.  
\* \* \* \*

Thy sons! tho' crafty, deaf to Wisdom's call,  
Despising all men, and despis'd by all;  
Sons! while thy cliffs a ditch-like river laves,  
Rude as thy rocks, and muddy as thy waves,  
Of thoughts as narrow as of words immense,  
As full of turbulence as void of sense?  
\* \* \* \*

Let foreign youths to thy indentures run,  
Each, each will prove, in thy adopted son,  
Proud, pert, and dull—  
\* \* \* \*

And tho' by nature friendly, honest, brave,  
Turn a sly, selfish, simp'ring, sharpening, knave."

The editor of the *Universal Magazine*, in commenting on this Satire, says:—"As it was wrote while Savage was in Newgate, one would think he had drawn the characters of that city from the gaolbirds he conversed with there."<sup>1</sup>

1744.—The library in the Bishop's palace repaired, and partly rebuilt by Bishop Butler. Whilst these repairs were in progress, a parcel of plate fell through the floor in a corner of one of the rooms, and discovered a room underneath containing a great many human bones and instruments of iron, supposed to have been designed for torture. A private passage, too, was found, of a construction coeval with the edifice, an arched way, just large enough for one person, in the thickness of the wall, one end terminating in the dungeon, the other in an apartment of the house which seemed to have been used as a court. Both entrances of this mural passage were so concealed as to make it appear one solid thick wall.<sup>2</sup>

In the year 1745, when Prince Charles Stuart, with a body of Scottish Highlanders invaded England, and was advanced as far as Derby, the whole nation was thrown into confusion. Numbers of the citizens here in Bristol met at the Merchants' hall, and there signed a parchment containing their resolution to stand by King George and the royal family; and on another parchment they subscribed their names to such sums as they intended to contribute towards raising men for the king's service, which at length amounted to £36,450. They gave about £5 per man to enlist, and above 60 were sent to London to be incorporated in the king's guards. Monday, October 7th, 1745, the *Trial*, privateer, and her prize, which she had taken bound to Scotland with firelocks and other warlike stores, and having on board £6,000 in money, and a number of men, came into Kingroad. Two Irishmen taken on board the prize were sent to London in a coach and six horses on the following Thursday.<sup>3</sup>

1746.—April 17th, the battle of Culloden. The town clerk, William Cann; his deputy, John Mitchel, and their clerk, James Briton, all three insane. Mr. Cann cut his own throat, and the other two were sent to the receptacle at the Fishponds.<sup>4</sup>

Parliament was dissolved 18th June, 1747. Mr. Southwell and Mr. Hoblyn, the former members, were re-elected.<sup>5</sup>

Wallis Wall (Sea Walls) was built this year.

When Mr. Southwell was altering his house at Kingst-weston, a small walled-up room was discovered in which

<sup>1</sup> *Universal Magazine*, 81. <sup>2</sup> Evans, 268.

<sup>3</sup> Seyer, II., 592-3. <sup>4</sup> Evans, 269. <sup>5</sup> Seyer, II., 593.

was secreted a quantity of old plate, together with the records of a barony granted to the family by Henry III. The property had been thus concealed during the civil war of the 17th century. In 1776, the representative of the family successfully claimed as nephew and heir of Margaret, Countess of Leicester, and Baroness de Clifford, the baronies of De Clifford, Westmoreland and Vesci, of Alnwick, county Northumberland.<sup>1</sup>

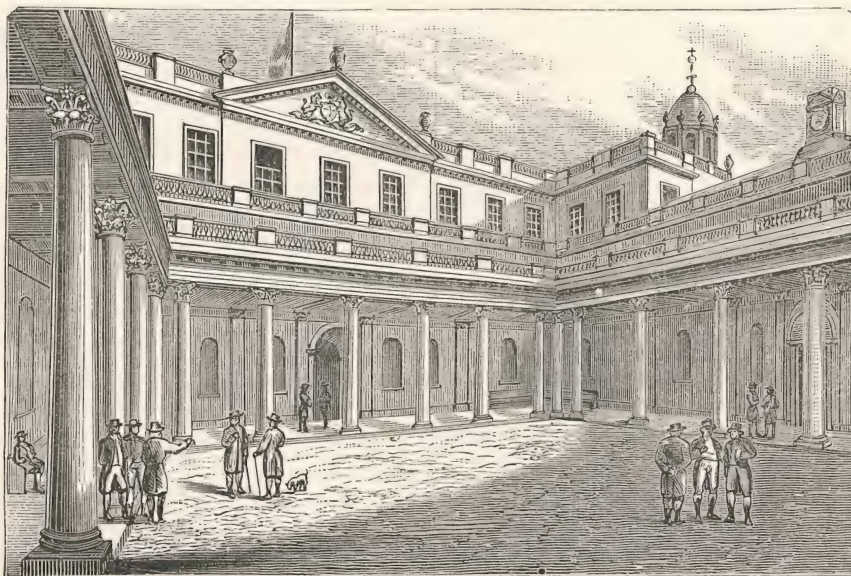
In 1748, the Piazza on the Welsh back for a corn market was erected. A man was hanged in chains on Bedminster downs this year.

15. That turnpikes were very obnoxious, the following will prove:—

In the summer of the year 1749 turnpikes were erected by an Act of Parliament passed for the purpose of repairing the roads ten miles all round the city, which occasioned great murmurings among the country people, who clamoured against the toll as a mighty grievance, especially the colliers at Kingswood. About a fortnight after the erection of the gates, the Ashton pike was destroyed in the night, and soon after the Bitton pike was blown up by gunpowder in the night. The commissioners offered £100 reward on conviction of any of the offenders, and again set up the gates which had been destroyed. But in some few days the Bitton pike was cut down; and three persons present coming into the city afterwards were taken and committed to Newgate, which so enraged the Somersetshire men that they threatened they would come and release the prisoners. And accordingly on the day appointed, August 1st, they came in a very great body, 500 or 600, in open day, armed with clubs, pikes, hay-knives, and some guns, displaying ensigns, and drums beating, and three were mounted on horseback as commanders. They first destroyed the Ashton pike, and then proceeded to Bedminster, where they continued in a body till 11 o'clock in the forenoon, and while they were there entirely pulled down the house of one — Durbin, an officer of the peace. They then advanced to Redcliffe hill, and Redcliffe gate being shut they went through Pile street up Totterdown, where they presently destroyed the Brislington and Whitechurch turnpikes, amidst a numerous party of spectators in the fields. The sheriffs of Bristol went with constables and their own officers to Temple gate to protect the city; and when some gentlemen, citizens, who attended

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 269.

them, earnestly requested them to go on, urging that if they proceeded no further the rioters would return unmolested, the sheriffs refused to do so, and forbade the constables or their own officers to go beyond the liberties of the city, whereupon Mr. John Brickdale, junior, with many other citizens, and about 50 sailors, armed with cutlasses, drove the rioters, and took prisoners 27 or 28 of them, who were all committed to Newgate; and on application to the Duke of Newcastle, secretary of state, the crown prosecuted them. Four of them were tried at Taunton assizes for pulling down Durbin's house, two of them were convicted and executed. The others were tried at Salisbury assizes; but notwithstanding that the fact was notoriously proved against several of them, the jury, being country people, would not find one man of them guilty. The colliers of Kingswood also rose and destroyed the Gloucestershire pikes and houses, and continued ranging the country for a week or more, extorting money from travellers, and living on free quarter among the farmers.<sup>1</sup>



Inside of the Exchange as originally built.

“August 25th, 1749, or more probably 1750, Joseph Abseny, or Messini, was executed for the murder of Mary Withers, at the White Ladies public-house (on the left of the road opposite Victoria place). Abseny was hanged in chains on Durham down, on the gibbet on which the mur-

derer of Sir Robert Cann's coachman still hung. For this murder the licence was taken away from the house.”<sup>2</sup> On the same day Jeremiah Haggs was executed at the gallows on St. Michael's hill for the murder of Eleanor Dillard, *alias* Liverpool Nell.

About the beginning of the year 1750 there appeared a remarkable aurora borealis, which attracted great attention, and the first quarter of the year being very tempestuous, great fear was excited in the mind of the public. A storm broke over the city on February 1st from the south-west, doing immense damage; it was accompanied by a heavy thunderstorm, with torrents of hail and rain. The steeple of St. Nicholas was stripped of its leaden casing and many chimneys were blown down. One fell through the roof of a house outside

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 594-5.

<sup>2</sup> R. Smith.

Lawford's gate, burying a man and his wife in their bed; the woman was speedily rescued, but the beams of the fallen roof had to be sawn asunder before the man could be extricated. The damage done by this tempest throughout the whole of the west country was almost without precedent, so many houses were stripped of their roofs and some of them were blown down. This was followed on the 8th by a smart shock of earthquake; exactly a month after, viz., March 8th, it was followed by one still more violent. These were looked upon as being premonitory of the end of the world, which, to the great terror of the inhabitants, it was confidently predicted would occur on the 8th of April.

"In 1750, Chatterton's father obtained the parchments of which his son made such use. The chests in the muniment-room had been disburthened of them in 1724."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Alexander Morgan, whose MSS. were in the possession of the late Rev. G. W. Braikenridge, began to collect and write his historical MS. this year.

1750.—Bishop Butler recommended to the corporation of Bristol to build a church at Kingswood, and he himself subscribed £400. The bishop had expended nearly £5,000 in repairs of the palace. He was this year translated to Durham. Dying at Bath, in 1752, his remains were brought to the Cathedral. John Conybeare, twenty-ninth bishop of Bristol. He remained in this see till his death, July 13th, 1756. His sermons, in four volumes, were published after his decease, with an immense list of subscribers, headed by the king. Two whales brought to Sea-mill dock and the blubber boiled there. August 1st, the first bank opened in Bristol, in Broad-street (at the house now [1824] occupied with the offices of Messrs. Osborne and Ward), by Mr. Isaac Elton, Mr. Harford Lloyd, Mr. William Miller, Mr. Thomas Knox and Mr. — Hale. Mr. Edye was the principal clerk. There was at this time no other banking house out of London, except one kept by a Jew at Derby. The instant deposit of gold was very great.<sup>2</sup>

This William Miller, a wholesale grocer, dwelt in a mansion in Taylor's court, built by his father; it still has in a shell over the door the initials and date <sup>L. F. M.</sup> 1692; he is said to have been worth £100,000. On February 24th proposals were advertised for erecting the lamps in the parish of St. Stephen's.

In 1751 Dean Tucker was burnt in effigy in Bristol. It was said that he had been to Rome and begged pardon of the Pope for the violent language which in the pulpit he had used against the Papacy.<sup>3</sup> Jacob Iliffe, a type-founder in Bristol, wrote and published the *Book of Jasher*; it was reprinted in 1829. A bill for the naturalisation of all foreign Protestants was so strongly opposed in Bristol and other towns that the House of Commons threw it out.

On April 24th, 1752, Nicholas Mooney was hanged on St. Michael's hill for a street robbery. On July 29th there was a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning,

<sup>1</sup> R. Smith.<sup>2</sup> Evans, 270-1.<sup>3</sup> . Smith.

and such a heavy fall of rain that the roads became like rivers. Two men and two boys who took shelter in the doorway of the church of St. George, Kingswood, were struck down by the lightning, but were not killed. Six horses drawing a waggon on the Bath road were struck down; two were killed, a third blinded, and a haymaker in an adjoining field was also struck blind.

In one of the issues of the *Bristol Journal*, published in 1752, there appeared the following advertisement:—

This is to acquaint the publick that Perrott's wells, near Kingsdown, are now opened for the reception of company, and his rock shell-work and fountains are completed. The company may be accommodated with good wines of all sorts, likewise coffee and tea to be had at any time of the day. He humbly hopes that his friends who shall be pleased to honour him with their company will not go through the *Virgin well* field, nor over any of the hedges, but keep the right paths. The way to the wells is over a new stile at the top of Ninetree hill, keeping under the hedge on the left hand, it being the proper road to the said wells, and there is another road from the turnpike. He requires no money for the sight of the curiosities, only every person to pay for what liquor they call for, if it be only a gill of wine. Those who don't chuse to drink anything may give what they please at the bar.

This was an opposition well to the Virgin or Dame Pugsley's well, the water of which was noted as good for the eyes, the latter was at that date in an open field on Nugent hill (it is now in the garden of Spring villa). It was arched over slightly above the level of the field, and was reached by a descent of three steps; the water flowed into two receptacles like basins, hollowed out side by side on a large stone.

Perrott's speculation proved for a while attractive, as in subsequent announcements he acknowledges the "great patronage of people of all ranks, contrasts his well with the generally muddy, dirty water of the Virgin well," and offers gratis to the public all "the water they choose to fetch for private use."

16. New Style was ordered to be used in England from this year, and time was thenceforth to be computed by the solar year. Up to this date the civic year began on the 25th of March, but now it was ordered that 1751 should end on the 31st of December, making that year to consist of only 282 days; further, in order to correct the accumulated error in reckoning according to Old Style, eleven days were dropped out of the calendar for 1752 in September, the 3rd of that month being reckoned as the 14th. By the Old Style, or Julian calendar, the year was computed to consist of 365 days 5 hours and 49 minutes, instead of 365 days 6 hours. The difference up to 1752 amounted to eleven days, hence that number was dropped; now the calendar corresponds as nearly as possible with the solar year.

In May, 1753, the colliers of Kingswood, Coalpit heath and pits adjacent rose and entered the city in a

body, numbering some hundreds; their grievance was the high price of bread, which they conceived to be owing to the exportation of corn. On reaching the Council-house, and presenting a petition praying for redress, they were pacified by promises from the mayor and magistrates. The more unruly members, however, proceeded to the Quay, boarded *The Lamb*, wheat laden for Dublin, and began to abstract the cargo. The constables, headed by the magistrates with drawn swords, cleared the ship and took some prisoners; this news being conveyed to the main body of the colliers, they retraced their steps and demanded the release of the prisoners. The constables, to save themselves being overpowered, consented; but bitter blood having been aroused, the colliers, who were unarmed, had recourse to stones. Several affrays followed; men were wounded, windows smashed, and finally the pitmen retreated, leaving their ringleader, Job Phipps, in the hands of the authorities, and vowing to return with arms and be revenged. Forewarned, the magistrates called out the Militia, set a guard at the Guildhall, and advised the citizens to arm. Tuesday and Wednesday passed without an attack; but on Thursday, on two several occasions, large numbers came as far as Lawford's gate, but retired on seeing the Militia. On Friday fifty dragoons (Scots Greys) came from Gloucester; nevertheless, at one o'clock, a large mob marched by way of Milk street on the Bridewell, seeking to rescue their leader. One young man was shot dead whilst climbing the prison gates; the mob raised three cheers over his body, dashed in the gates and rescued their man. Ere they cleared off a party of gentlemen attacked them in Bridewell street, killing some and wounding many. The mayor, John Clement, marched down by the Pithay to intercept them, but they had retreated. Several of the more resolute citizens followed the rioters through Lawford's gate, but were in their turn assailed, and two of their number were captured by the mob and imprisoned for the night in a coalpit, but were released next day. The rioters numbered about 2,000; four were killed, a large number wounded, and twenty-nine prisoners were taken. These were tried by special commission; many were let off on giving security for good behaviour, and the heaviest sentence was two years' imprisonment. An address of thanks to the mayor for his care in suppressing the riot was numerous signed in the city.

The gentlemen were led by Charles W. Lysaght, who died at St. Hellier's, Jersey, on 12th March, 1827, aged ninety-three. At the time of the riot he was in Bristol, and he put himself at the head of a band of volunteers, doing such good service that he received the thanks of the corporation and the freedom of the city. The authorities also procured for him a commission as ensign in the army; he soon rose by purchase to be captain of

the 26th regiment. He commanded the Grenadier company at the battle of Minden, 1759, and distinguished himself by his bravery.<sup>1</sup>

On November 15th the Exchange was re-opened after alterations which cost £1,500, and the steps and terraces of Redcliff church were re-laid with Purbeck stone.

17. The following curious items of expenditure occur in 1753:—January 29th: Paid for the exhibition of a machine for cut heads, 21s. (Some kind of guillotine, we presume, is meant; is it a coincidence merely that the entry is on the anniversary of the execution of Charles I.?) February 24th, for exhibition of a fire-eater, 21s. Mr. William Vick this year, by will, left £1,000 for a bridge to be built over the Avon below Rownham ferry.

Parliament was dissolved in 1754, by proclamation, a little while before the regular period of seven years; and Wednesday, April 17th, the election of new members began in this city. The numbers were as follow:—Robert Nugent, 2,592; Richard Beckford, 2,246; Sir John Philips, bart., 2,160. Mr. Nugent, afterward Lord Clare, was a government man, and was supported by the Whigs. It was a strong opposition, and much rancour and animosity were shown on all sides. Mr. Beckford (who was in the West Indies when elected) died early in 1756, and the election of a new M.P. began on March 2nd. The candidates were Jarritt Smyth, esq., attorney-at-law, living in Bristol, afterward Sir Jarritt Smyth, bart., and Thomas Spencer, esq. The poll closed on the 17th, when Mr. Smyth was declared duly elected; but a petition was presented against the return. Mr. Smyth was considered to be of the high party, but a moderate man.<sup>2</sup>

April 16th, 1754, the first stone of St. Giles' bridge (Stone bridge) was laid; the cost of this erection was £1,825 14s. 4½d. In 1755 a state coach for the mayor was provided at a cost of £324. The panels, illustrating the four seasons, were painted by Simmons; the hammer-cloth was crimson with deep gold fringe; the spokes of the wheels were bright scarlet, the body ultramarine.

This carriage was, some years since, seen going to decay in a coach-yard on the spot where the Philosophical Institution was afterwards erected in Park street. It was a large and cumbrous vehicle, nearly surrounded with glass, similar to that of the King's coach, but on a less magnificent scale. Few subjects for satire escaped the penetrating glance of Chatterton. In a yet unpublished poem, in the possession of Mr. Richard Smith, written in 1777, his splenetic muse thus notices this appendage to civic dignity:—

"The cits walked out to Arno's dusky vale,  
To take a smack at politics and ale,  
While rocked in clumsy coach about the town,  
The prudent mayor jogged his dinner down."<sup>3</sup>

Open hostilities began, in May, 1755, between the fleets of England and France, although war was not declared until the May of 1756. King square was laid

<sup>1</sup> R. Smith.    <sup>2</sup> Seyer, II., 599-600.    <sup>3</sup> R. Smith.

out, with the adjacent streets, and the buildings commenced. On November 1st, the day of the great earthquake at Lisbon, the water in the Hotwell turned red, and that of a well in Clifton, belonging to Mr. John Harrison, became black as ink. The Drawbridge was re-built on a better plan. In 1756 Ann Yearsley, the Bristol milkwoman poetess, was born. A survey of the city gave 13,000 houses and 90,000 inhabitants. Hogarth executed three paintings, which are now preserved in the Bristol Fine Arts Academy, the subjects being Christ and the Woman of Samaria, the Sealing of the Tomb, and the Resurrection; for these he was paid 500 guineas. The total cost, including alterations, frames, &c., was £761 0s. 1d. Hogarth had the assistance of Mr. John Simmons, a house and sign painter of Bristol, who, when in 1766 the pictures were placed in Redcliff church, executed the four niches under them. Simmons was a clever artist who derived considerable emolument from painting tradesmen's signs, at that time universally in vogue. It is said that when Hogarth came to Bristol to receive the commission for the above-named pictures, on passing through Redcliff street the sign of the "Angel" inn attracted his attention; and on enquiry, finding that Simmons' was the name of the artist, he said, "Then you need not have sent for me." So fully was Simmons employed in this department that when, in 1765, an Act of Parliament was passed which enforced the removal of all signs that projected over the pavement, he declared to a friend that he had lost £500 a year in consequence. He painted the Annunciation, an altar-piece for All Saints church, an altar-piece for St. John's church, at Devizes, and one for a church in the West Indies. His portrait of Ferguson, the astronomer, was twice exhibited in London, and procured him an invitation to the dinner with the Royal Academicians, who strongly advised his removal to the metropolis. He preferred, however, to remain in Bristol, where he painted, successfully, many portraits of well-known characters. He died of paralysis and softening of the brain, on January 18th, 1780, aged sixty-five, and was buried in Redcliff churchyard.

18. On February 17th, 1758, died one of the most remarkable inhabitants of Bristol, named John Watkins, commonly known as Black John, because, in an age when men went clean shaven, he wore a huge beard. Descended from a respectable family, and lawful heir to a large estate which was unjustly withheld from him, he vowed that he would never shave until he enjoyed it. He supported himself entirely by begging, and although he had lodgings in Temple street, slept usually in one of the glass houses. At his death he

left more than two hundredweight of half-pence and silver, besides a considerable quantity of gold, which he had acquired by mendicancy. His portrait was painted by Simmons in his daily appearance:—"a round slouched hat, a haulier's frock, a long beard, and a square stick. When he came to sit, Simmons told him to go downstairs and wash his face; this he did, without cleaning his hands, which induced the painter to give them in the picture their usual appearance." Simmons also painted another remarkable Bristol mendicant, Tom Bennett.

In the month of November, 1758, the *Belliqueux*, a French ship of 64 guns and 417 men, by mistake entered the Bristol channel in a fog, and cast anchor not knowing where she was. News was soon brought to Kingroad, where lay the *Antelope*, of 50 guns; and an officer was dispatched to Captain Saumarez, who happened to be at a ball at the Hotwells. A waiter mounted on the table and demanded aloud, "Is Captain Saumarez in the room?" "Here!" was the answer from among the crowd; and a few hours brought him in sight of the enemy. The commander of the *Belliqueux* at first was inclined to fight, but afterward struck his flag to a vessel inferior to his own in men and guns, and was brought a prize into Kingroad.<sup>1</sup>

Mary Robinson (Perdita), the future poetess, but better known as a mistress of George, Prince Regent, was born in the Minster-house of the Cathedral.

The great inconvenience of the narrow roadway over the river Avon was felt by all who had occasion to cross by the old and only bridge; accidents were of daily occurrence, and public opinion pressed for a new and more commodious structure. In 1760 an Act of Parliament was obtained to value the houses that covered the ancient bridge and to build a new one. Carriages and horses laden with coal, or with grains as back carriage, were to be exempt from toll. When the purposes of the Act were accomplished the tolls were to cease, and the surplus moneys to be applied to the repairs and lighting of the bridge on the same site, and another, if necessary, at Temple backs, "and opening avenues leading thereto. The increase of commerce, and consequently of inhabitants, the number of carriages of all kinds, drays and horses constantly passing over the bridge, and of boats, lighters, &c., under it, in such a trading city rendered a freer and less interrupted passage here absolutely necessary, and a better communication between the two parts of the city now became indispensably requisite, accidents daily happening there for want of it, besides the delays occasioned by carriages meeting and obstructing it. So various were the opinions of the commissioners appointed by the Act for re-building the bridge that a whole year passed after obtaining the Act in disputes whether it should be a one-arched bridge or a three-arched one, on

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 600.

new or on the old foundations. Architects were consulted and builders of all kinds; warm contests arose, and parties were formed on this occasion not without weekly publications in the public prints and in pamphlets in defence of their notions, by which the necessary work was greatly protracted, as procuring the Act had been before through disagreement in the methods proposed for raising the money to defray the expence, which was fixed at last by a toll taken at the bridge itself, a tax on the houses of the city of sixpence in the pound, half paid by the landlord and half by the occupier, and by a small tonnage on the shipping and vessels. A temporary bridge by the side of the old one above it was at length agreed on, and in the beginning of July, 1761, they first began taking down the houses and old buildings on the bridge, being first sold with all their materials to the best bidder. The temporary bridge was now in great forwardness, and was opened for the passing of foot people by the end of September, for horses and carriages January 1st, 1762, paying certain tolls. . . . The first design of constructing a three-arched bridge on the old foundations was carried by a majority, forty-five being for the old foundation, eighteen for the new; which, though the most obvious and best scheme for the span of the river and for every other advantage to be expected in the building was frequently changed, and violently censured in comparison of a one-arch, yet at last happily preferred and adopted, the masonry of the old piers being found on boring to be very firm and good, and adjudged by the examining masons not to be constructed of a casing only of masonry with rubble in the centre, but, contrary to the notions of some of the architects, to be throughout firm and fit for the great incumbent weight of the intended superstructure.”<sup>1</sup>

The stone used in construction was brought from Courtfield, in Wales, with the exception of the balustrade, which was of Portland stone. The centre arch is an ellipse; the two side arches are semi-circles. It was finished in 1768, being opened for foot-passengers in September and for vehicles in November of that year. Mr. George Catcott, the city librarian, who was a man emulous of fame, sought it in divers ways; he patronised Chatterton, descended into Penpark hole, climbed to the top of the new steeple of St. Nicholas to engrave his name, and now paid his guinea to the workpeople to be allowed to cross the bridge on horseback before anyone else.

We in this day find it difficult to realise the vast benefit to the city which was conferred by the building of this structure. Not only was the river thrown open

to view from it, but the whole neighbourhood underwent a thorough renovation. Where Bridge street now stands, and between its site and the river, were the ruinous old shambles of the butchers. High street dipped down into a hollow way spanned by Nicholas gate, from which was a steep ascent to the bridge. Tucker street, a narrow and crooked thoroughfare, led from Temple street, so that on both sides of the Avon a large number of houses had to be purchased in order to make sufficient approach to the bridge. The commissioners took up about £49,000, so that “notwithstanding the immense sum expended on the bridge and avenues to it, and the toll still continuing to the great injury and unequal burden of those on the Somersetshire side, and the other duties so long paid, which were much complained of; yet, in 1787, application was again made to Parliament to raise more money to purchase the houses on the right side of Tucker street and in Temple street, to open a new road or street to be called Bath street, which, though greatly opposed by many, was yet carried through the House, and an Act granted for purchasing the houses in Tucker street and St. Thomas street for that purpose.”<sup>1</sup>

Another new bridge was also constructed this year over the Frome, opening a way into Lewin’s mead; it crossed the river on the east of Frome bridge from Christmas street, and was named St. John’s bridge. Stoke-house, Stapleton, was built this year by Lord Bottetourt; and in July the freedom of the city was presented, in two gold boxes, to the Right Hon. William Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle.

19. The increasing commerce of the city was rapidly absorbing the dwelling-houses and converting them into shops and warehouses, so that wealthy men began to build residences without the ancient walls. Bullock’s park, Amery’s close, the Grange and Tapley’s garden were green fields and gardens that stretched away from College green up the sloping hollow between Brandon and St. Michael’s hills. A considerable portion of this land had been leased from December 21st, 1696, for a thousand years at one penny per annum, with £45 to the representatives of Nathaniel Day and 5s. per annum to the king; it was now held by three families—the Daubeny’s, Deverells, and Woodward, bishop of Cloyne. There were also two pieces of freehold land at the foot of the present Park street, abutting on Frog lane, which had been bought of — Worth and — Hart on October 1st, 1661, for a term of one thousand years. In 1759, on September 29th, another small piece adjoining, being freehold and a part of the “Boar’s” inn yard, was purchased of Arthur Hart, executor of W. Hart, for the

<sup>1</sup> Barrett, 95-6.

<sup>1</sup> Barrett, 97.





## CHAPTER XVII.

### ➤ THE HANOVERIAN ERA.—GEORGE III. ◀

1. Accession of George III. His character. Local incidents. 2. Visit of the Duke of York. Sundry Bristol authors. Blaize Castle built. Reminiscences of Bristol and Clifton. 3. Civic items. Suggested plans for a Floating Dock. 4. City Improvements. The Theatre at Jacob's Well; its successor in King Street. 5. Chattertonia. 6. Alteration of St. Paul's Fair. Bishop's Park laid out. The Bristol Education Society. New Coaches to London, etc. 7. Britain, the forger, hanged. Wine Street Pump. Election of Edmund Burke. 8. Fatal Accidents at New Passage Ferry. Dean Tucker and Edmund Burke. 9. Local Act of Parliament. Jack the Painter fires the city. 10. List of Masters and Wardens of the Merchant Venturers' Society. 11. Local items. 12. Burke's speech on declining the contest in 1780. 13. Incidents of the period. Exchange of sites by the Grammar School and Queen Elizabeth's Hospital. Mansion-house finished. Street alterations, etc. 14. Mayor's dues. Alteration of parishes. Valuation for Poor rates. 15. Howard's visit. State of Newgate Prison and the Bridewell. 16. Tontines. Drawbridge rules. Schemes for a Floating Harbour, etc. 17. Exorcism in Temple Church. Banking Companies. 18. Local incidents. Hotwell Spring. Charitable Methodist Institution and Magdalen Hospital founded. 19. Loyal resolutions. Duel. Cruger leaves for America. 20. Bristol Bridge Riots of 1793. 21. Refusals to serve as Mayor. Local items. 22. Trial of Perry for abduction. The "Mock Volunteers." 23. Suspension of cash payments. Local incidents. 24. Yeomanry and Volunteer Forces raised in Bristol. Interesting civic matters. 25. Wet Harvest. Dear Bread. State of the French Prison at Stapleton. Pestilence. Local incidents. 26. Press Gangs at work. Items. 27. Bristol Dock Company incorporated by Act of Parliament. 28. Local incidents. Act for Paving and Lighting. 29. Opening of the New Cut, etc. 30. Narrow escape of Aeronauts. Opening of the Commercial Rooms. 31. Bristol Silver and Copper Tokens. 32. Henry Hunt in Bristol—his candidature, petition, etc. 33. Historical events. Small Debts Recovery Act. Bristol Coal Gas Company commence building. 34. Accusation of Perversion to Popery of Boys educated at Colston's School. 35. Mary Willcocks, alias "Caraboo, Princess of Javasu." 36. Local items. Death of George III. 37. Parliamentary Elections from 1734 to present date.



GEORGE III. ascended the throne October 25th, 1760, at the age of twenty-three. It has ever been the misfortune, with but few exceptions, of those born to govern to have been surrounded by flatterers, or those incapable of giving wise and judicious counsels to them during their youth, which should fit them to become statesmen as well as monarchs. "George be king!" was the dogma the mother of the young prince had habitually taught him, a maxim he held throughout his life whilst he had command of his reason. Govern he would; the result was that in ten years he reduced government to a shadow and turned the loyalty of his subjects into disaffection; in twenty he had forced the colonies of America into revolt and independence, and brought England to the brink of ruin. He was wretchedly educated, nor had he the capacity for using greater minds than his own. But dull and petty as his temper was, he was clear as to his purpose and obstinate in the pursuit of it. His reign, which began with a pæan of triumphs for Minden, Lagos, Quebec and Quiberon, victories won in the last year of the reign of his predecessor, was carried on in an almost continual state of war, in which Great Britain lost, from 1793 to 1815, not fewer than 96,363 killed and wounded, and at a monetary cost for fourteen years (from 1801 to 1814) of £630,000,000. The national debt was increased during his reign £571,074,235.<sup>1</sup>

The appliances for extinguishing fires at this date were not of the highest order, if the representation given on a policy of the Bristol Crown Fire office, numbered 8,657, is to be taken as an indication of the "engine" employed: the policy is for £1,200, and is signed by W. Brickdale as chairman.

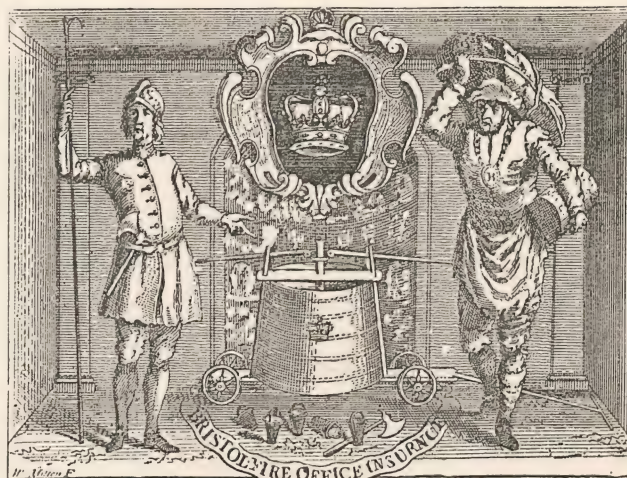
Small street was widened in 1760 by taking down the east end of the church of St. Werburgh, which was much decayed; the church was re-opened in 1761. The March and September fairs were fixed by Act of Parliament. Bishop Newton was appointed to the see of Bristol by the king, who exercised his prerogative without the intervention of his ministers.

There was great excitement in Bristol this year, caused by the supposed bewitchment of the children and horses of a man named Giles, who lived at the "Lamb" inn, in West street, and was a common carrier between Bristol and Bath.

The first week that Giles set up an opposition flying wagon to London, to do the distance in three days, two of his eight

<sup>1</sup> Creasy's Great Events.

children, Molly and Dobby, were bewitched. They were bitten and scratched, crooked pins by hundreds were stuck in them, they were spat upon, bumped, thumped and thrown into fits, a little old woman carried them and hid them under beds, bodiless hands were seen pinching them; a major in the army had his wrist pinched under the bed till it was black; as he tried to hold the children a force as of ten men pulled them from him, large tables were overturned, chairs danced about the room, questions in Latin and Greek were answered correctly, mental questions were also truly answered by scratches; voices were heard, foul, dirty language was used, and threats affecting life were uttered! The wagon shook in the yard till a sack of flour fell out of it; the seven horses on their way to Bath with the wagon were stopped by some irresistible power. More than once at the same spot their chain traces broke, and were instantly tied up in knots. Giles, driving home in his one-horse chaise, reached the accursed spot when his traces broke; he got out, but could see no one. Then, it being broad daylight, he saw a little old woman at the wheel, and lo! she was gone! He went home, sickened, and died in three or four days, as had been foretold. This and more we learn from a posthumous pamphlet of fifty-five pages, which was written by a respectable chemist, Mr. Durbin, whose nephew was twice mayor of Bristol.<sup>1</sup>



Arms of Bristol Crown Fire Insurance Office.

The children are supposed to have been put up to the tricks by Giles's wife and her mother, who wished to depreciate the value of the premises in order to purchase them, and a rival carrier was thought to have had some hand in terrifying the horses of the new carrier. The Rev. Richard Symes gave great offence by praying in St. Werburgh's church for "two children grievously tormented." Many persons quitted the church in disgust.

The circular stables at the back of the Cross in the Back-fields were opened and built on a Tontine scheme of ninety-five lives, fifteen of whom survived in 1825. The shares were £25 each. The new Hotwell, held by

<sup>1</sup> Pleasant Trips out of Bristol, 27-28.

Messrs. Newcomb and Dolman on lease at £24 per annum, eleven years unexpired, was offered for sale. "May 9th died Mr. Wall, who for fifty years had kept the bookseller's shop next the Council-house, and for many years before the great Bank in Broad street was opened had followed the business of a private banker with great reputation."<sup>1</sup> On May 26th, 1761, the sale of the houses on Bristol bridge was advertised, and on January 21st, 1762, the temporary bridge was opened to the public.

2. The Duke of York visited Bristol on December 27th. He was received by the corporation at Temple gate, where the freedom of the city was presented to him in a gold box; he crossed the river on the temporary bridge, received addresses from the clergy and the merchants at the house of Mr. Combe, in Queen square, dined at the Merchants' hall, supped with the mayor (Isaac Elton), breakfasted at the Royal fort with Mr. Tyndall, visited the glass houses (there were at this time fifteen large manufactories for bottles, flint and plate-glass in Bristol), after which he returned to Bath.

In the year 1762 John Noble was mayor. He asserted the right of the mayor of Bristol, as a judge of the Court of Admiralty, to take his seat on the bench of any one of the common law courts. Being in London, he proceeded to Westminster and claimed the right, to the surprise of the judge then sitting, who was about to take harsh measures until he was informed by one of the counsel that the mayor of Bristol was by charter thus privileged. The mayor, having been accommodated with a seat by the side of his lordship, rose, bowed, and said that, having asserted the claims of his city, he would at once withdraw. Pryce says that Noble, who was sheriff in 1759, was the first merchant in Bristol who imported the produce of Turkey direct to Bristol, but we have seen that our merchants, Sturmeay, Strange and others, did a large trade in the Levant in and before the 15th century. Noble died March 11th, 1768, aged fifty-eight years, and was buried in St. James' church. There was in October a great flood, so that the low lands were seven feet under water.

Emanuel Collins, A.M., was vicar of Bedminster; he was a low, obscene writer, a disgrace to his cloth; he kept a public-house wherein he would marry people for a crown, which is said to have been a principal cause of the Marriage Act of 1752. He was also master of a school for boys in Shannon court. In 1762 he published "*Miscellanies in Prose and Verse, &c.*, 153 pp., small 4to, printed by E. Farley, in Small street."

There is a small 12mo. volume of *Miscellanies* which

<sup>1</sup> R. Smith.

was published in 1790, by John Jones, which is of such a character that it is hard to say whether he or Collins would bear off the palm for scurrility and obscenity.

One of the most picturesque bits of scenery in the West of England is the ravine known as Combe dingle, which is dominated by Blaize castle.

About the year 1762, Thomas Farr, esq., a merchant, of Bristol, purchased from Sir Jarrett Smith, bart., an estate at Henbury, including Blaize wood, so called from the existence anciently, within its precincts, of a chapel dedicated to St. Blaize, Bishop of Sebastia, in America, who is said to have discovered the art of combing wool. The estate comprises a richly-wooded valley interspersed with bold rocks, and commands delicious views of the river Severn, the Welsh hills and neighbouring country. . . . Mr. Farr commenced his operations by laying out a walk around the wood and opening the foliage at places of easy access for the most striking points of view. In 1766, at an expense of about three thousand pounds, he erected on the highest acclivity a castellated building, consisting of a very large circular room and a few small rooms which he named Blaize castle. The structure is elegant; and from its apartments, but especially from the summit of its tower, the eye ranges over an extended prospect, in every direction, rarely equalled for the richness and variety of its features. . . . At the entrance of the wood was a neat rustic building, formed of roots and branches of trees. A gentleman, who was a stranger, having visited the wood, on his return left the following lines upon the table of the root-house, written with a pencil:—

"Far I have roam'd, o'er many a foreign soil,  
And view'd the different beauties of this isle:  
They far excel what many pleasing call;  
But thy improvements, Farr, excel them all."

\* \* \* \*

The approach to the house is through a gothic lodge on the top of Henbury hill. After passing through a wood the road arrives at the side of a hill, whence the house appears across a deep woody glen which was formerly deemed impassable. However, by cutting away the face of the rock in some places and building lofty walls in others to sustain the road, and by taking advantage of the natural projections and recesses to make the necessary curvatures, carriages now pass this tremendous chasm with perfect ease and safety. This masterly improvement was projected by the late Humphry Repton, esq., and executed under his superintendence.<sup>1</sup>

Henry Jones flourished also at this time. In 1761 he published his tragedy *The Earl of Essex*; in 1767, *Clifton: a poem in two Cantos*. These two poems display considerable ability, and Farr is referred to in the one on Clifton:—

"The Farr, with willing heart can frequent blend  
The connoisseur, the merchant and the friend:  
At the rich genial board on each can shine  
And make his converse lively as his wine,  
His three years' toil with happy eye may view  
And joyful guess what three years more may do."

Bristol is thus referred to in *A Tour through the Island of Great Britain, &c.*, published in 1761:—

The merchants of this city have not only the greatest trade, but they trade with a more intire independency upon London

<sup>1</sup> Evans, xxix.

than any other town in Britain. And 'tis evident in this particular, viz. :—That whatsoever exportations they make to any part of the world, they are able to bring the full returns back to their own port, and can dispose of them there ; which is not the case of any other port in England, where they are often obliged either to ship part of the effects in the ports abroad, on the ships bound to London, or to consign their own vessels to London, in order both to get freight and dispose of their cargoes.

But the Bristol merchants, as they have a very great trade abroad, so they have always buyers at home for their returns, and such buyers that no cargo is too big for them. To this purpose the shopkeepers in Bristol, who in general are wholesale-men, have so great an inland trade among all the western counties that they maintain carriers, just as the London tradesmen do, to all the principal counties and towns, from Southampton in the south, even to the banks of the Trent, north, altho' they have no navigable river that way.

Add to this, that, as well by sea as by the navigation of two great rivers, the Wye and the Severn, they have the whole trade of South Wales, as it were, to themselves, and the greatest part of that of North Wales ; and as to their trade to Ireland, it is prodigiously increased since the Revolution, notwithstanding the great trade which of late the merchants of Liverpool also drive with that kingdom.

The greatest inconveniences of Bristol are its situation, its narrow streets, and the narrowness of its river ; and we might also mention another narrow, that is, the minds of the generality of its people ; for the merchants of Bristol, tho' very rich, are not like the merchants of London ; the latter may be said (as of old of the merchants of Tyre) to vie with the princes of the earth ; whereas the former, being raised by good fortune, and prizes taken in the wars from masters of ships and blunt tars, have imbibed the manners of these rough gentlemen so strongly that they transmit it to their descendants, only with a little more of the sordid than is generally to be found among the British sailors. . . .

The corporation being very reserved in admitting persons to trade in their liberty who are not freemen, there are not so many new buildings and improvements of streets, &c., at Bristol, as would otherwise be. As for the city itself, there is hardly room to set another house in it. . . .

The quay along the river Frome is very noble, and well filled with all sorts of merchandise ; and an handsome row of houses fronts it. The whole quay is reckoned the longest in England.

College green is deemed the healthiest situation in the city. An Assembly room is erected for entertainment and amusement of the gay, as at other considerable places, for luxury must always follow riches. It is an handsome building, and stands in the way from the city to the Hot-well.

The old theatre at Stokes croft is also altered into a commodious room for an assembly, which is held every Tuesday during the winter.

There were, when I was at Bristol, no less than fifteen glass houses in it, which is more than are in the city of London ; they use, indeed, themselves, a very great number of glass bottles, which they send, filled with beer, cider, and wine, to the West Indies, much more than goes from London ; also vast numbers of bottles are now used for sending the waters of St. Vincent's rock, not only all over England, but, we may say, all over the world.

The Hotwell water-spring rises perpendicularly out of the rock in the sloping muddy bank of the river Avon, about a mile below the city of Bristol, between high and low water mark, where the river makes its entrance between those stupendous cliffs of rocks, which seem to have been torn asunder by the violence of an earthquake, or the general Deluge, at the foot of a

cliff where once stood a chapel dedicated to St. Vincent, from which the rock and well take their name.

The water was originally inclosed in a brick cistern ; out of this cistern came a wooden pipe which emptied itself into a little pond beneath. In this pond people washed their sores. It has been computed to discharge about forty gallons in a minute.

The city of Bristol in 1692 raised a wall of stone round the well, higher than the tide ever rose, but the weight of such a column of water had well nigh altered the course of the spring. In 1695 the Merchants' Company granted a building lease to certain proprietors, who recovered the spring, and made a foundation for pumps, which now raise the water up thirty feet high in the centre of a house called the pump room, whose thick wall keeps off the tide from the spring. . . .

The soil near the well is, for the most part, fruitful, with a constant verdure all the year. The tops of the hills, called downs, are flat, and covered with a thin dry turf upon lime stone, producing great variety of plants, such as heath, eyebright, wild thyme, marjoram, maiden-hair, wild sage, geraniums, &c., which breathe forth a pleasant odour, and affords pasture for cows, horses, sheep, and asses. On these downs the company exercise themselves daily in riding, from whence they command the beautiful prospect of the ships lying at anchor in Kingroad, of the Bristol Channel, and South Wales, enjoying at the same time the benefit of the sea air, which affords a constant breeze, even in the hottest weather, and strengthens and refreshes the lungs.

Provisions of all sorts are to be had in plenty during the summer, which is the season allotted by custom for drinking these waters. Garden stuff is early and excellent. There are lodgings near the wells, convenient enough for such as are real invalids ; there are magnificent lodgings in the beautiful village of Clifton, on the top of the hill, for such as have carriages, and whose lungs can bear a keener air. There are balls twice a week, and card-playing every night.

The river is (it is true) muddy, and unseemly at low water ; nor do fishes of any value care to inhabit so filthy a stream. But this is amply made up by the constant vicissitudes of the tides, which purify the air. When the river is quite full, the tide is supposed to rise near forty feet, the common tides, thirty ; and when the ships are carried up and down by the tide, passing and repassing through the meadows and trees, the prospect is indeed enchanting, especially when the beholder is so situated as to see the rigging of the ships, and not the water.

There are turnpike roads all around, and variety of agreeable rides and fine prospects. Some conveniences are still wanting ; the road down to the Fountain of Health is far from being commodious. There is a shaded parade or walk at the wells for the company, though not large enough. The common road is either very dirty or very dusty. . . .

A little farther than the wells are a fine dock [Sea Mills], capable of containing 150 ships, and a basin, but the largest ships lie mostly at Hung-road, four miles below the city. . . .

The government of Bristol is administered by a mayor and twelve aldermen, of whom the recorder is always one, two sheriffs and twenty-eight common-councilmen. A great face of seriousness and religion appears at Bristol ; and the magistrates are laudably strict in exacting the observation of the Sabbath, considering the general dissoluteness that has broken in almost everywhere else. For one thing they deserve great commendation, and that is, for the neatness observed in keeping their churches, and the care they take in preserving the monuments and inscriptions of those buried in them. . . .

It is very remarkable that this city is so well supplied with coals, that though they are all brought by land-carriage, yet they

are generally laid down at the doors of the inhabitants at 7s., 8s., or 9s. per chaldron. . . . They draw all their heavy goods here on sleds, or sledges, which they call gee-hoes, without wheels. This kills a multitude of horses, and the pavement is worn so smooth by them, that in wet weather the streets are slippery, so that in frosty weather it is dangerous walking. . . .

The original author was Daniel Defoe; this was a sixth edition, published twenty-four years after his death, with additions by another editor.

On a beautiful site on Clifton hill, which overlooks the valley of the Avon and commands a fine view of

Dundry, with its pinnaled tower and the distant Mendips, stood Clifton parish church, on the site of the present structure; it had a rustic approach between two humble cottages, which led into the churchyard; in one of these an old shoemaker, Jacob Hale, assistant overseer, might be seen cobbling shoes in his little bulk; the Observatory on Clifton downs was a windmill, the Royal York crescent an unfurnished barracks, illustrating the text, "this man began to build and was not able to finish"; the Mall and Caledonia place were green fields, traversed by paths dear to lovers, and the ugly white-

washed toll-house with its turnpike barred the way; to cross the downs after nightfall was a deed of daring that few ventured upon, and none without dread of an encounter with highwaymen as they looked back upon the last light which glimmered from the window of the toll-house; children spent their half-pennies on cakes and sweeties at Mrs. Miller's shop at the corner of Granby hill, celebrated in Miss Edgeworth's novel, *Waste not, want not!* Dandies promenaded the Hotwells after drinking the waters at the pump room; in summer time men tossed the sweet-scented hay on the

site of Zion row, or sheltered from a summer thunderstorm in an old cowshed; Victoria square was a paddock to the adjoining brewery, Buckingham place and Richmond park were a nursery, cattle grazed on the steep slope of Clifton wood, and farmer Elliot chased the boys, whip in hand, for climbing over and breaking his hedges in their search after blackberries or birds' nests, or threatened the law's vengeance on the fair maidens who gathered sweet cowslips and primroses in what are now the most fashionable sites of beautiful Clifton.

3. The High Cross which had been re-erected in College green was removed in 1763.

1763. During the war now concluded there was a depôt for French prisoners at Knowle, juxta Totterdown and Pile hill. A short time previous to the peace one of the soldiers, on his return from guard, for a wager, with a single ball struck the weathercock of St. Mary Redcliff tower. About nine years afterward the cock ceased to traverse, and on examination it proved that the gunshot wound had opened a passage for the rain, which corroded the spindle.<sup>1</sup>

The French prison was on the right hand side of the road. In 1826 the foundations of the walls could be traced on the south side of Firfield house.<sup>2</sup>

In 1764 the Pithay gate was demolished, and on November 30th the

foundation of the Theatre in King street was laid. The corporation paid the vestry of St. Nicholas £216 in consideration of their opening a new way under the tower to the Back.

The Hon. Daines Barrington, who succeeded Sir Michael Foster this year as recorder of the city, was the fourth son of the first Viscount Barrington. He became one of the Welsh judges and was a profound antiquary. Possessed of ample means he retired from the bench and devoted himself to the purpose of investigating

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 282.

<sup>2</sup> R. Smith.



*Tower of Dundry Church.*

curious questions of legal antiquity. He was an F.R.S. and F.S.A. and a somewhat voluminous author.

The net remittance of Customs' duties this year was £195,000 from Bristol and £70,000 from Liverpool; the number of vessels entered inwards at Bristol was 2,353. The free quays of Bristol were 4,600 feet, those of Liverpool 3,000, of London 1,500. In consequence of the demands of the shipping interest strenuous efforts were now made to induce the authorities to give more and better accommodation for ships, which would enable merchants to be independent of the tides in the river; but although a plan was broached in 1765, and several others were suggested at intervals, it was nearly forty years ere the idea was carried into effect. The following appears to have been the first practicable plan for making a floating dock, it was by Smeaton, the eminent engineer, builder of the Eddystone lighthouse; he, in 1765, proposed to wall or bank up the end of the Frome, dig a new canal 100 feet wide and drop the tail of it into the Avon, at the bottom of Canons' marsh, just above the glass-house, through a chamber capable of holding eight ships, with sea and land gates; this canal to berth twenty-four ships and to be widened if more berths were thought necessary. His estimate was £25,000, exclusive of purchase of lands, and damages to Bridewell mill and Tombs's dock.

4. William Champion, in 1767, propounded a plan for damming the river at Redcliff at a cost he thought of £37,000, but Mylne's estimate for the work was £65,000. Jessop and White also proposed a similar plan, but their canal lay further away from the river.

In this the king's 6th year was passed an Act of Parliament for widening the streets, lanes, passages and places, and taking down buildings on the banks of the Frome—to remove sheds, houses, &c., standing on the Butts, from Denmark street to Tombs's dock—take down St. Leonard's church and the vicarage house, and unite the parish with St. Nicholas—for enlarging the Shambles, Bull lane, and Dolphin street, extending from High street to Narrow Wine street—for removing St. Peter's Cross and Pump, standing in the way through St. Peter's street into Dolphin lane, and selling the cross and pump, and erecting another pump elsewhere—for regulating projecting signs and sheds, and altering water-spouts—to open the way through Lawford's gate, by removing seven houses on the south side and three on the north side—to remove two houses at the corner of Quay lane and Christmas street, a house in Castle street, eleven old houses and a brew-house on the south side of Baldwin street, and a tenement on the south side of Back street—two houses in Silver street, next to Lewin's mead—a house on the west side and a flight of steps on the east side of Small street gate—premises on both sides of Narrow Wine street, from Newgate to Chequer lane, and three houses next to Dolphin lane—three houses in Temple street next to, and three houses in Tucker street—part of gardens extending from College green to Limekiln lane or Cow lane, to increase the way twenty feet more in one place and thirty feet in another—to open and lay out a new street [Union street] by taking down three houses in Wine street, nine old tenements behind them in a

place called the New buildings, a yard and a court of three tenements behind St. James's back, and five ruinous houses in Broadmead, opposite the Lamb inn—to lay open and make a new street from the lower end of Corn street through part of Marsh street to the Quay, nearly opposite the Drawbridge, including fifty-four houses or tenements and cellars—to widen Hallier's [Haulier's] lane, and make a new street [Nelson street] extending thence to Broadmead, at least thirty feet wide, including two houses in Christmas street and other premises, with part of the old Bowling green, thence to four old houses on St James's back fronting Broadmead—also to open a way to an intended new square in St. James's, by taking down a house in Stoke's croft [that part of it now called North street] and a house in Milk street.<sup>1</sup>

In the petition for the Act the church of St. Leonard was styled a nuisance, greatly to the amusement of the House of Commons. "The new square was that known as Brunswick, and the new streets were afterwards named York and Cumberland."<sup>2</sup> One of the objects of the above Act was to compel the removal of overhanging signs, and to force people to convey the water from the roofs of their houses by snow boxes and pipes, so as to avoid the cataracts that fell in rainy weather on pedestrians. There was considerable rioting this year owing to the scarcity of corn, which occasioned an order in council to stop all outward bound ships corn-laden until the Parliament met. Bridewell bridge (for illustration of which see I., 64) was this year replaced by one of stone, the wood being much decayed.

John Dunning, afterwards Baron Ashburton, became recorder in 1766. He was born at Ashburton in 1731, was called to the bar in 1756, rose into repute by his management of an action in which the East India Company was concerned, and did much to secure the personal liberty of the subject by his great speech, when defending John Wilkes, against the validity of general warrants. He was chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in the Rockingham administration. His portrait in the council chamber is by Sir Joshua Reynolds, for which the common council paid £105 on December 11th, 1782.

The theatre, driven by the by-laws from Tucker street, Stokes croft (opposite the site of the Baptist college) and St. Augustine's place—

"Pleasure had a hut at Jacob's well."

The following is a copy of one of the earliest play-bills:—

By a Company of Comedians from the Theatres-Royal in London,

At the Theatre at Jacob's Well,

On Wednesday next, the 15th June, 1743,

Will be performed a Comedy called

THE CONSCIOUS LOVERS.

Sir John Bevil.....Mr. HARRINGTON

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 282-3.

<sup>2</sup> R. Smith.

Bevil, Junior.....Mr. HALE | Myrtle.....Mr. CASHEL  
 Cymberton.....Mr. HIPPISEY | Tom.....Mr. WOODWARD  
 Sealand.....Mr. ROSCO ;

being the first time of his appearance on this Stage.

Humphry.....Mr. WATTS | Daniel.....Mr. VAUGHAN  
 Phillis.....Mrs. HALE

Mrs. Sealand.....Mrs. MARTEN | Isabella.....Mrs. MULLART  
 And the part of Indiana by Mrs. PRITCHARD.

To which will be added a Farce called

THE OLD MAN TAUGHT WISDOM ;

Or, THE VIRGIN UNMASKED.

The part of Lucy by Miss HIPPISEY,

being the first time of her appearance on this Stage.

Boxes 3s.—Pit 2s.—Balconies 1s. 6d.—Gallery 1s.

To begin half an hour after Six o'Clock.

Tickets to be had, and places taken, at Mr. HIPPISEY'S,  
 near the Theatre.<sup>1</sup>

The situation was under Clifton hill, immediately outside the city boundary, just above the site of St. Peter's church; on playnights the gravelled walks of Brandon hill were crowded to watch the entrance of playgoers, whilst from a field behind the theatre, separated from the court-yard by a hedge and low wall, curious people stood for hours in the evening to catch a glimpse of the actors as they passed from one side of the stage to enter on the other. These pryers were so annoying that on one occasion an actor pointed a gun at and so dispersed them. The house appears to have been built by Mr. John Hippisley, who, when the theatres in the metropolis were closed, brought down to Bristol a very respectable company. He died in 1748.

When Powell, the actor, in 1764, was at the height of his popularity, ladies were requested to send their servants at four o'clock, or two hours before the doors were open to the public, in order to keep their places.

In 1764 there occurred a serious riot at the theatre, arising out of the following cause. A tradesman had joined a friend in a bond; his friend absconded, the bondman was arrested, and his family were reduced to great distress. The managers, on being applied to, gave a benefit night for the distressed family on the 3rd of August. This was so successful that the friends of the defaulter claimed a like indulgence on behalf of his family; to this the proprietors demurred, as the season was near its close, and Winstone's benefit night had yet to come, but they promised to give the first night of the next season for such an object, and issued bills to that effect. This did not satisfy the claimants, who on Winstone's night packed the house, pelting the performers with rotten apples, oranges, &c. Powell and the actors in vain attempted to pacify them, when Mr. John Castleman, surgeon, from one of the boxes called upon the orderly part of the audience to join the actors and turn

<sup>1</sup> Jenkins' Memoirs of the Bristol Stage, 17.

the rioters out of the building; this they accomplished after a short but severe contest.

There were but two ways leading to the theatre from Bristol, Limekiln lane and the Ropewalk, and the difficulty of access induced, this year, some of the playgoing inhabitants to determine to erect a theatre within the city if it were possible. Two gentlemen, Messrs. Thomas Symons, a solicitor, and Alexander Edgar (mayor, 1787) were the chief movers. Two sites were offered them, one being in King street, on which the Old theatre now stands, which was chosen because it was in the midst of the residences of opulent merchants and men of fashion; another advantage was that it secured an entrance for the actors from the Rackhay, Back street. The other site was the "Boar's Head" yard, Limekiln lane, the corner of Park street. (Park street was only then beginning to be built, Berkeley square was not dreamed of, indeed the late Mr. Arthur Palmer used to say he had often leaned over a rustic stile at the corner of College green and watched the milking of the cows that had grazed on Bullock's park—Park street). There was great opposition to this movement, more especially by the Quakers, but the foundation stone was laid on the 30th November, 1764, and on May 29th, 1766, the theatre which Garrick pronounced to be "the most complete of its dimensions in Europe" was finished. The architect was Mr. James Patey. The original proprietors numbered forty-eight, and their shares were £50 each. These entitled them to a silver ticket, which gives free admission to every performance in the building.

The house held 1,600 persons—boxes, 750; pit, 320; gallery, 530; giving a total amount at the prices of admission then charged of £229 15s. It was opened on the 30th of May, 1766, with a "concert of music and a specimen of rhetoric," *i.e.*, a play and a farce. This was done, the house not being licensed, to evade the statute, which punished all performers in unlicensed theatres as rogues and vagabonds. The rhetoric was a comedy, "The Conscious Lovers," and the performance gave £63 to the Infirmary. Garrick wrote the prologue and Arthur the epilogue. In 1778 a special license was procured from the king (a copy of which is in the city library), which overruled the by-laws of the city and settled the theatre on a firm basis.

On the 11th September, 1769, there was a crowded house, and a man was thrown from the gallery into the pit; he was carried into the green-room and bled, he returned and witnessed the play, but died a few days afterwards. Amongst the histrionic stars that have shone on its stage may be named Shuter, Quick, Mrs. Siddons, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kemble, Macready and

William Powell, who, dying in Bristol in 1769, was borne to an honoured grave in the Cathedral.

Newgate was taken down in 1766, and the materials given to Mr. Reeve, of Brislington, of Reeve and Devonshire, a Quaker firm, who were West India merchants. The houses at the head of the Quay began to be taken down to widen Quay lane. The parish of St. Leonard's was annexed to that of St. Nicholas.

St. John's chapel, Redcliff hill, which, in 1571, had been granted by Elizabeth for a free Grammar school, was taken down. The school was removed to the chapel of the Virgin, at the east end of the church, in which there stood a statue of Elizabeth carved in wood; it now stands under the tower.

An Act of Parliament was obtained for raising money to discharge debts contracted for re-building the parish church and tower of St. Nicholas, and to re-build the spire and complete the said church, and for other purposes; the computed expenses of the whole, £7,624 5s. The Mud dock at the Grove completed, and the Quay wall continued round to the Market-house, St. Nicholas' back; the cost was £10,000.<sup>1</sup>

5. "On July 1st, 1767, Bristol's marvellous boy, Chatterton, left Colston's school for the office of Mr. Lambert, solicitor, next door to the 'Bush' coach office, Corn street, which was over Henderson's, afterwards H. Browne's, plate and jeweller's shop, and in 1825 was occupied by Mr. Short, the bookseller; Mr. Lambert did not remove to St. John's steps until after Chatterton had left him."<sup>2</sup> Chatterton's fate was to be greatly misunderstood, especially when he is described as having been dull in learning his letters, &c. A lad whose whole education was obtained at a charity school, where nothing was taught but the three R's; who in his tenth year, out of his trifle of pocket-money, began to hire books from at least three libraries; who, before he was twelve, made a catalogue of seventy books thus read; who, when not quite eleven years and six months old, wrote and published *Apostate Will*; who transcribed the glossary from Speght's Chaucer from a copy hired of Green, the bookseller; who formed an intimacy with men so greatly his seniors in age and position—as were the Catcotts, Barrett, &c.—and exhausted the stores of their libraries, was indeed no ordinary lad. He had free access to the old city library, wherein he found, amongst other works which would be helpful to him in writing his historical pieces, Camden's *Britannia*, Isaacson's *Chronology*, Phillip's *New World of Words*, Skinner's *Etymologicon*, the *Promptorium Parvolorum* (which has a number of rude attempts at an alphabet, in the caligraphy of the 15th century, on a fly leaf, by whom made can only be guessed), Hook's *Bristollia*, Heylyn's

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 284.

<sup>2</sup> R. Smith.

*Cosmographie*, Nalson's *Collections*, *The Turkish Spy*, full of historical matter, Herodotus, Strype, Swift, Milton's prose and poetical works, Cowley, Dryden, Pope, Ogilby's *Virgil*, Ovid's *Epistles and Metamorphoses*, Plutarch, Shakespeare, &c. Some particulars of his life are given in our ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, at 211–13, to which we will add that a recent examination of the registers at St. Mary Redcliff, and the finding by Mr. John Taylor of an old *Life of Christ*, on the leaf of which were entries of considerable interest, show that his mother's name was Sarah Young, of Sodbury, that the date of her marriage was 25th April, 1748, and that Chatterton had an elder brother named Malpas, who was born 12th December, 1750.

That Chatterton was not appreciated in Bristol is too true; allowance, however, must be made for the fact that the fragments of poetry, so truly invaluable, which he produced were believed to be scraps found by him, and as such paid for at a rate that to a charity boy must have seemed satisfactory, however paltry we may deem the remuneration; and that if it be, as it is, only too true that he experienced neglect by his fellow-citizens, it was not they, but those of London who drove him to starvation, despair, and suicide.

"Great wits are sure to madness near allied,

And thin partitions do their bounds divide."—DRYDEN.

There are some of his lines, written about the time when he left Bristol, which never have, and never can be published, but which, it would seem, go far to prove that he was occasionally not far from the verge where reason totters to its fall.

In Chatterton's pocket was a letter from Mr. Catcott to which he had replied on the 12th, and which contained not a complaint of want or distress; it finished with an essay addressed to Dr. Newton, bishop of Bristol. Had he asked for money to bring him home, it would have been sent him, and his mother's table would have supplied his daily need. She died 1st January, 1792; her sister, Mrs. Newton, March, 1804.<sup>1</sup>

William Bradford Smith was uncle to the writer of the above paragraph. He was a warm friend of Chatterton, and wrote an able vindication of his friend, illustrated with many early anecdotes.

December 15th, William Hillhouse was chosen sword-bearer, vice John Wraxhall, deceased. John Heylin, the donor of many books to the city library, shot himself in a fit of insanity at his house in College green on August 28th, 1768.

6. In 1769 the building of Brunswick square was commenced, and Benjamin Donne published his map of the country eleven miles around Bristol. The time of holding the fairs was altered from January 25th to March 1st, and from July 25th to September 1st.

<sup>1</sup> R. Smith.

St. Paul's fair was removed from Temple street to the Great gardens in 1825. These once bore the name of "Bristol's Military gardens;" previously, from the old maps, it is evident that they were a "rackhay" or field for stretching and drying woollen cloth. This was the spot where Fiennes, when in council, determined upon his cowardly surrender of the city to Prince Rupert.

The gardens were a choice resort in the 18th century, and were laid out in the stiff antique style, afterwards adopted by Capability Brown.

Lo! Florio's happy spot in verdant dress,  
Trees modelled forms, and flowery sweets express,  
Methinks I feel the jessamine and rose,  
A fragrant breath in rich perfume disclose;  
The orange plant indulged with warmest rays,  
High-flavoured scents, and golden fruit displays;  
The sweet collections ranged in finest mould  
In various figures cut, proportion hold;  
For pruning Art redundant plenty crops  
And shapes the spiral yews in conick tops,  
Whilst silver hollies wider compass spread  
And guard with native spears a globar head.  
Delicious storehouse to amuse the eye!  
What furnitures in one plantation lye,  
As spreading branches flourish from a tree,  
A thousand other gardens spring from thee.

WM. GOLDWYN, A.M.

The Bristol Fire Insurance office established by sugar refiners chiefly against their own risks. It was subsequently thrown open to the public, and the same establishment continues. Offices, Small street buildings, on the site of Deane, Whitehead and Co.'s banking-house, formerly the mansion of the Creswick family. "Alderman Holworthy's house, opposite," where Charles II. and James II. lodged, in August, 1643, was that now (1824) occupied by Messrs. Pinnell and Doddrell, grocers, the state-room or hall of which remains.

October 1st, Chatterton's description of the friers passing the old bridge appeared in Felix Farley's *Bristol Journal*—his first printed production. St. Nicholas church completed.<sup>1</sup>

That part of the bishop's park, which is now College street, was granted on lease to Mr. Worrall, in 1770, for 90 years, at £60 per annum, the right of the bishop to lease it was obtained by a special Act of Parliament. St. Leonard's church in Corn street, with its gateway beneath known as the Blind gate, because it led to no road out of the city, was taken down, and Corn street was continued under a new name in a direct line to the Frome (Quay). The new portion was named Clare street, after Lord Clare (lately Mr. Nugent, M.P. for the city); to this alteration the corporation contributed £2,000. On reference to the map, I., 64, it will be observed Marsh street, from Pill end, curves away on the left, whilst Fisher lane branches off to the right. The view down Corn street, previous to this improvement, was barred by the irregular frontage of the houses,

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 285-6.

which extended in parts ten feet or more into the streets as well as by the church and its gateway.

The White house at Knowle, long familiarly known as "the salt box," was built this year by Mr. Cantle, keeper of Newgate. Mr. Edward Terrill of the Broadmead chapel had, in 1679, devoted a large part of his estates to the education of young men for the ministry. From various causes this, with other bequests, did not come into effective operation until 1720, when, under Mr. Bernard Fosket's tuition, on November 5th, Mr. Thomas Rogers was admitted as the first student. In 1770 additional aid was obtained, and the Bristol Educational society, which embraced the previous bequests, &c., was founded by Dr. Caleb Evans. This institution, which has been the *alma mater* of many most eminent ministers of the Baptist persuasion, still flourishes in our midst, but is better known as the Baptist college.

In 1771 the pavement before the Council-house was altered and the brass pillars were removed to their present site in front of the Exchange; St. Stephen street was opened for traffic, and College street was begun.

Six stage coaches commenced to ply between Bristol and the Hotwells, over the drawbridge, at sixpenny fares. A great advance was now made in the accommodation furnished for travellers; fast machines (coaches) were started to do the distance to London in a night and a day, also slower machines in two days and one night.

The following is a copy of one of the bills:—

The London, Bath, and Bristol machines in one day will set out on Sunday night, March 31st, and continue going every Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday night from the Saracen's Head in Friday street, and from the Bell Savage inn, Ludgate hill; and every Monday, Wednesday and Friday night from the Three Cups in Bread street, and from the Swan inn, Holborn bridge, London, precisely at ten o'clock for Bath and Bristol; and every night (Saturday excepted) from the White Lion inn, Broad street; and every Monday, Wednesday and Friday night from the Rummer tavern, Bristol, at nine o'clock for London; and every night (Saturday excepted) from the White Hart inn, Stall street, the White Lion and the Greyhound inns in the Market-place, Bath, at eleven o'clock, for London. Also a large coach, to carry six inside passengers, will set out every Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday night from the White Hart inn, Broad street, Bristol, at nine o'clock, for London; and every Monday, Wednesday and Friday nights from Gerrard's hall, Basing Lane, London, at ten o'clock, for Bath and Bristol.

Also a machine in two days will set out from the One Bell inn in the Strand, London, every Monday, Wednesday and Friday morning, at six o'clock, for Bath; and from the Christopher inn in the Market-place, Bath, at seven o'clock, for London. Also the post-coaches, in two days, as usual, will set out from the Rose inn, Holborn bridge, and the Golden Cross inn, Charing Cross, London; and from the White Hart inn, Stall street, and the White Lion inn in the Market-place, Bath.

Prices in the above machines, &c., as follow :—

	£	s.	d.
Inside to and from Bristol in one day ... ..	1	10	0
Child in lap and outside ditto ... ..	15	0	
Inside to and from Bath ditto ... ..	1	8	0
Child in lap and outside ditto ... ..	14	0	
Inside to and from Bath in two days ... ..	1	5	0
Child in lap and outside ditto ... ..	12	6	
Post-coach to and from Bath ... ..	1	7	0
Child in lap and outside by post-coach ... ..	13	6	
Each inside passenger by the large coach to and from			
Bath and Bristol ... ..	1	4	0
Child in lap ... ..	12	0	

Half the money to be paid on taking a place, the other half on entering the machine. Inside passengers to be allowed 14lb. weight each; child in lap, and outside, 7lb.; all above to pay in the one-day machines and post coach three half-pence per pound, and in the two-day machine one penny per pound. They all call at the Old and New White Horse cellars, the White and Black Bear inns in Piccadilly, London, both going in and out of town. The proprietors will not be accountable for any jewels, plate, money, writings, &c. (if lost) unless entered and paid for as such.

Joseph Glazier, } Bath.  
Thomas King, }

Richard Maltby, Devizes.

James White, } Marlbro'.  
Thomas Hancock, }

Mary Halliwell, } Speenham-  
William Clark, } land.

Ann Bannister, } Reading.  
Joseph Cookman, }

John March, Maidenhead  
Bridge.

William Day, Hounslow.



The Llandoger Tavern, New King Street.

December 2nd and 15th, the Library Society formed at the City Library, New King street. It was opened in 1773, in which year another Act was obtained for enlarging the burial ground of St. Stephen, and for making commodious ways and passages in that parish.

7. From the year 1765 the differences between Great Britain and the American colonies gradually widened until, in 1775, war was openly declared between the two countries. On the 26th of July, 1770, the dockyard at Portsmouth was set on fire by an incendiary, rumour ascribed the act to the Americans, and Jonathan Britain endeavoured to turn it to his advantage.

On May 15th, 1772, Jonathan Britain was hanged for forging four bills of exchange to the value of £45. He was apprehended in Reading on July 30th. On Friday, August 2nd, he took a large dose of arsenic, which was ineffectual. As soon as the news reached Bristol, Messrs. Jones, of that city, wrote to say that Britain was wanted for certain forgeries in Bristol, particularly for four bills on George Nelson and Co. Britain then professed to be a party concerned in setting fire to the dockyard at Portsmouth, which he knew to be a bailable offence, he not being as yet committed to gaol for forgery (an offence that was not bailable), hoping thus to get out of prison and to save his life. Mr. Lawrence, of the "White Lion" inn, the father of the clever lad who became Sir Thomas Lawrence, introduced the prosecutors from Reading to residents in Bristol who had been duped and had their names forged by Britain for the several sums of £30, £5, £10, £50 and £20 in Bristol alone. Britain had access to the *Whisperer*, a periodical of considerable notoriety and circulation, and his pretended power to discover the authors of the incendiary fires at Portsmouth and elsewhere, and to reveal conspiracies against the Government, led many to believe in him even in Bristol. He was, according to his own autobiography, one of the most unmitigated scoundrels that ever breathed, and richly deserved the fate he met with.

In 1773 the inhabitants of Wine street having got rid of two of the nuisances in their thoroughfare, the Corn market in 1728 and the fairs in 1730, tried to have the pump removed. In their petition to the corporation they allege that "the same is railed in, and is an obstruction to the carriages passing backward and forward, and the colliers usually tie their horses to the rails and posts surrounding the pump, and thereby give offence to the people who live opposite. . . . That these horses are tied ten or twenty at a time, and prevent people coming to their shops;" and the great majority of the inhabitants of Wine street pray that the pump may be removed into the Corn market, and be placed therein against the back of some houses. The corporation ordered "the railings around the pump to be taken down, and four large stones to be erected in order to prevent carriages running against the pump;" this gave a width of 22 feet on each side of the structure, and effectually banished the colliers' packhorses. The corporation took further steps to comply with the wishes expressed in the petition for removing the pump

into the Corn market but to this Mr. Peter Muggleworth, who owned the adjoining property, and his tenants objected, on the ground that the said pump had been and still was very serviceable; that thirty-six years before there had been a fire in the street, which would have destroyed many houses but for its water, inasmuch as the All Saints pipe and other springs were entirely dry, whilst this spring had never been known to fail even in the dryest season; that its very presence gave greater security to the inhabitants, who, now the horse nuisance was removed, were perfectly satisfied, indeed petitioned that it might not be moved; that the Corn market was only 14 feet wide, and that if the pump be placed against the wall of Mr. Muggleworth's property it will be so great a nuisance that his tenants threaten to leave, &c.

The house still manifesting a desire to effect the alteration, a majority being clearly in favour thereof, Mr. Muggleworth had a case prepared and laid before the Hon. J. Dunning, who, on April 15th, said "the corporation have no right to accommodate the public by any act at the expense of private individuals or prejudicial to their private property. I suppose the soil unto which it is proposed to remove the pump belongs to the corporation, otherwise they have no right to place it there; but, supposing them to have such rights, they will be answerable for the consequences if it proves injurious to their neighbours and Mr. Muggleworth's tenants, or he himself, if his houses through this cause become untenanted, may, by an action in the case against the workmen employed to do the act, recover a suitable satisfaction for their loss." (The pump still stands.)

John Evans, the author of the *Chronological Outline of the History of Bristol*, from which we so copiously quote, was born on the 23rd October, in Ellbroad street.

In 1774 there was a general election, and in addition to the old members, Matthew Brickdale and Lord Clare, Henry Cruger, a man whose sympathies were with the American colonists, was nominated. The two first-named candidates had the support of the corporation; but a vigorous attempt was made to break up the monopoly of the representation by the chamber. Edmund Burke, whose name had been mentioned, was not accepted by the public meeting. The cry was "Cruger only!" Burke immediately left Bath for Malton, for which town he was elected. Meanwhile Lord Clare, discovering that many old friends had forsaken and others were looking coldly upon him, and his intimates acknowledging that he was looked on as second to Cruger, retired on Saturday in disgust from the contest. On the second day of the polling Burke

was nominated as a candidate by Joseph Harford and Richard Champion, Brickdale's friends protesting that nomination after an election had begun was illegal; however, at last the sheriffs, John Durbin, jun., and James Hill, were persuaded to allow the name to stand. Brickdale petitioned, on the ground that he was at the head of the poll when Clare retired; that many free-men were made after the writ was issued, who voted at that election. Another petition, signed by 383 electors, alleged that Burke's nomination was contrary to law. The committee sat from Saturday, February 11th, to Saturday, February 18th, 1775, when Cruger and Burke were declared duly elected. Brickdale was strongly censured by many of his old friends for including Cruger's name, seeing that he had not coalesced with Burke.

It was after this election that Thistlethwaite published his *Consultation*, a mock heroic poem in three cantos, pp. 48. In 1775 a second edition, to which he had added another canto, was published. On August 12th, 1774, Robert Southey was born in Wine street, Bristol.

8. On Sunday, November 6th, the ferry boat crossing from New Passage, containing eight persons, was over-set through the folly of one of the passengers, whose hat blew overboard. He insisted on the boat being put about to recover it, and being resisted he seized the helm, and in the struggle the boat fell away, was upset, and seven of its occupants drowned. It is said that the unfortunate man had a large sum of money in notes within the lining of his hat, which made him so anxious for its recovery.

In 1775 the way was made from Wine street to Broadmead, called Union street; and May 1st St. James's market was opened. In July, St. Michael's church commenced re-building, except the tower. The building of Park street, in Bullock's park, began. Blind steps, leading from St. Nicholas market to Back street, taken down, enlarged and opened. It was estimated at this time that £5,970 per annum was expended for the poor of Bristol in the hospitals, &c., exclusive of £10,000 raised for the parochial poor, and that there were constantly 1,032 persons of all ages who lived wholly upon public charity.<sup>1</sup>

The ground rents of Clare street sold for £69,000 and upwards. Lady Huntingdon's chapel, St. Augustine place, was opened.<sup>2</sup>

James Thistlethwaite published *The Tories in the Dumps, or the Lamentation of Matty to his Friend Ned*. The humour of this talented writer is defiled by the scurrility which seems to have been common to most of the authors of that age. The struggle with the American colonies was now nearing its height. Dean Tucker, who was all his life a great controversialist and a copious writer on trade, was at this time the incumbent of St. Stephen's church and dean of Gloucester.

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 292.

<sup>2</sup> R. Smith.

As early as 1745 he was termed by the *London Evening Post* (a strong Jacobite publication), "A Low Church, fanatical, Oliverian Whig, Josiah ben Tucker, ben Judas Iscariot." Differing with Burke on the American question, he, in answer to that statesman's speech in favour of the American colonies, published a pamphlet, in 1775, entitled *A Letter of Dean Tucker to Edmund Burke, M.P. for Bristol, and Agent for the Colony of New York*, a copy of which is in the city library. Tucker's scheme of dealing with the revolted American colonies was different from that of the Parliament and that of Burke. The majority in Parliament claimed absolute supremacy; Burke would have given up parliamentary control over each colony, but would have erected each provincial assembly into an independent parliament, subject to the king with his usual prerogatives. Tucker's scheme was absolute separation; as the colonies would not submit to the authority and jurisdiction of the British legislature, neither should they share in its privileges and advantages. At the same time he would enter into alliances of friendship and treaties of commerce with them, as with any other sovereign state.

Josiah Tucker was a native of Langharne, Carmarthenshire. Born in 1712, he became a scholar of Jesus college, Oxford; entered holy orders at twenty-three years of age, was curate of St. Stephen's, 1737; chaplain to Bishop Butler, by whose interest he was made a prebendary of Bristol cathedral, and on the death of Mr. Catcott, was made rector of St. Stephen's. He took a decided stand for the naturalisation of the Jews, for which his effigy in canonicals was burnt in Bristol. In 1753 he published a pamphlet on the Turkey trade, in which he opposed the principle of chartered companies. He was largely instrumental in the return of Lord Clare for Bristol, and his lordship, out of gratitude, obtained for him the deanery of Gloucester, in 1758, at which time he took his degree as D.D. In his famous pamphlet, *Thoughts on the Dispute Between the Mother Country and America*, he asserted that the latter could not be conquered, and if it could, the purchase would be dearly bought; he warned this country against commencing a war with the colonies; advised they should be left to themselves, which he contended would be productive of infinite good to Britain. Both Dr. Johnson and Edmund Burke, one the champion, the other the enemy, of American taxation, treated Tucker's view with contempt; and Burke, in the House, called him "the advocate of the court," and supposed "his labours would raise him to a bishopric." Burke disliked him because he was a thorough supporter of Lord Clare, and opposed the invitation of himself to Bristol. In 1778 Miss Pelloquin bequeathed to him a considerable legacy, and her house in Queen square to be a residence for the rector of St. Stephen's. He sent John Henderson, a young man of extraordinary ability, to Oxford, and supported him there at his own expense. Tucker resigned his living, with the consent of the chancellor, in favour of his curate, for whom every man in the parish, Dissenters included, joined with him in the petition. He died in December, 1799.<sup>1</sup>

9. On Monday morning, April 8th, 1776, the *Snow Dickenson*, from Philadelphia to Nantes, which had been fitted out by order of the congress, and consigned to

<sup>1</sup> Abridged from Public Characters, I.

Messrs. Montandonin & Co., was brought into this port by the mate and crew, who, on finding that the cargo was destined to the purchase of warlike stores to be used against this country, determined to make for Bristol. The cargo and ship were valued at £7,500. The captain's orders were to purchase with the proceeds of the cargo 1500 stand of arms, with bayonets and steel ram-rods, and fifteen tons of gunpowder, or failing that to bring saltpetre and sulphur.

During this year Dr. Johnson and his friend Boswell paid a visit to Bristol in order to enquire into the authenticity of Rowley's poetry. There occurred also this year a most fearful storm; all the ships in Kingroad but two were driven on shore. It was computed that 2,500 persons perished in different parts of the kingdom. Some of the lime trees which formed eight cross lines in Queen square being uprooted, the remainder were all cut down.

"The late treasurer, Mr. Garrard, said in 1825, the corporation had no account of Mayor's dues anterior to 1776. Prior thereto they were received by the Mayor himself. He had accounts of Town's dues up to 1640."<sup>1</sup>

An Act of Parliament was obtained, "to remove the danger of fire amongst the ships in the port of Bristol, by preventing the landing of certain commodities on the present quays, and for providing a convenient quay and proper places for landing and storing the same; and for regulating the said quay, and the lighters, boats, and other vessels carrying goods for hire within the said port of Bristol; and for other purposes therein mentioned." The object of this Act was to enlarge and occupy the Merchants' floating-dock, in Rownham meads. From September 29, all that part of the parish of Clifton that lay between the bound-stone of the city on the east of a little brook, anciently called Woodwell-lake, but now a sluice under ground, at Limekiln dock, and the ferry called Rownham passage, and between the river Avon and the road which leads from the said bound-stone and the said ferry, were hereby separated from the judicial jurisdiction of Gloucestershire, and made part of Bristol, except with regard to taxes and votes at elections for knights of the shire.

October 17, the limits of the new docks marked out.<sup>2</sup>

Hannah More published *Sir Eldred of the Bower and the Bleeding Rock*, dedicating the work to David Garrick. John Howard published a pamphlet on Bristol Newgate and Bridewell. The "Five Beakers" inn, New Market, was re-named the "Queen Charlotte."

During this year the American colonies declared themselves independent.

In December, 1776, a diabolical series of attempts was made to burn the shipping and city. The *Savannah la Mar*, a ship of 400 tons belonging to Mayler and Maxey, bound for Jamaica, was maliciously set on fire by means of combustibles, pitch, tar, rosin, with which the decks and rigging were bedaubed and set on fire. Fortunately there were two large puncheons of water on

<sup>1</sup> R. Smith.

<sup>2</sup> Evans, 292-293.

the deck, and being promptly discovered the fire was extinguished with the loss of the mizen-mast and rigging. The well-known privateer, the *Fame*, which was lying about the middle of the quay, was also attempted. A third ship, the Cork trader, *Hibernia*, Captain Knethell, had her binnacle stuffed with inflammable materials, including a bottle of turpentine. These had been ignited, but for want of air had failed to burn.

On the same day an attempt was made to fire the warehouse of Mr. Morgan, druggist, Corn street. Climbing a wall ten feet in height the incendiary had wrenched off three iron bars from a window, and having thus forced an entrance he filled a large box that had contained Glauber's Salts with combustibles, including tar, spirits of wine, and turpentine, which he placed against the oil casks. Providentially, the elm wood of the box being damp the fire was confined to it. On Sunday morning just before daybreak the warehouses of Messrs. Lawsley, Partridge & Co., Bell lane, were found to be in flames, and although ten engines were at work with plenty of water from the river they were soon entirely consumed. One of the clerks found in one of the rooms a large torch, with a lot of matches and other inflammable material. The sacks of grain and bales of Spanish wool that were

saved were conveyed to the Exchange and the area of Queen square, and were guarded day and night by the military. The "Bell" inn at the bottom of Broad street caught seven or eight times, but fortunately the fire was extinguished, or in all probability the buildings in the area between Broad, Small and Corn streets would have been burnt to the ground. There was no wind, the tide was high, and the fire, after eating its way eastward as far as the dead wall of St. John's arch, was conquered. Between seven and eight o'clock the same day two other attempts at arson were made in Lewin's mead, one being at the sugar-house of Mr. Alderman Barnes. In divers other parts of the city large torches of a peculiar make, with long handles for

use through cellar and other windows, were discovered, which had failed in the object intended by the villainous incendiary.

The alarm excited in the city by these attempts was very great. The citizens enrolled themselves in bands and patrolled the streets night and day. The king offered a reward of £1,000 from his privy purse, to which the inhabitants and the chamber added 500 guineas, for the discovery of the offender. For some weeks every effort at discovery failed. At last suspicion fell on a Scotchman named James Aitken, *alias* Jack the Painter, who lodged in the Pithay. He was apprehended, but for some days kept his own counsel. A

Welsh painter named Baldwin, who had long resided in America, pretended friendship with and visited him, to whom Aitken confessed that he had not only caused these fires, but that it was he who had burned Portsmouth rope-house on December 7th, and that he had attempted to fire the dockyards at Chatham and Plymouth, but had failed, his design being to weaken or destroy the flourishing navy of this country; that he had made drawings of every dockyard in the kingdom, and knew the number of ships, their weight of metal and the number of their guns, and that his employer was Mr. Silas Deane, a member of



Hannah More.

the American congress who was then in Paris.

The machine he employed was a box of wood and perforated tin, in which he placed certain combustibles and a lighted candle, which would ignite them after burning a fixed number of hours. One of these machines which had failed, being found in one of the warehouses at Portsmouth, was produced at his trial at Winchester, on the 6th March, 1777.

Aitken was found guilty, and was hanged at Portsmouth on a gibbet 67 feet high, being the mizen mast of the *Arethusa* frigate. Before his execution he confessed his guilt not only of the fire at Portsmouth but also of those at Bristol, stating that he had placed combustibles in at least a dozen warehouses in that city,

choosing those that were the most ruinous and built chiefly of wood. Having fired these he left for Sodbury, but turned back when he saw the conflagration thinking the greater part of the city had been consumed. The same night he made other attempts on the shipping, but was prevented by the vigilance of the patrol. He then tried to ignite certain barrels of oil, pitch and tar on the quay, hoping that the fire would float on the water and burn the shipping, but he failed in all his attempts except that in Quay street. He was barely 21 years of age at the time of his execution.

It is still believed by some that the head of Jack the Painter was built into the upper part of the front wall of the warehouse which in Quay street adjoined the offices in which this work is printed. The head was plainly to be seen from the street. The house was demolished to make room for the present building in 1863. It is hardly necessary to refute this absurd story, which arose from the fact that the builder, Mr. Rosser, purchased, in 1776, the materials of Chandos house and the ruins of Keynsham abbey, from which latter place he had removed a lot of corbel heads, some of which were employed in the erection of the building as course stones. The building committee of the Philosophical Institution tried to purchase them before they were so used, but the owner of the premises in Quay street refused. Rosser stuck one of them fronting the quay.

10. In 1777, St. Michael's church was opened.

The following items connected with the Merchant Venturers' Society, to which reference has been so often made, will be found interesting.

*Masters Merchants' Hall, up to November 10th, 1777.*

Arthur Hart ... .. 1745	Samuel Muncckley ... .. 1768
Nathaniel Foy ... .. 1753	Andrew Pope ... .. 1769
Cranfield Becher ... .. 1756	William Jones ... .. 1770
Isaac Baugh ... .. 1759	Thomas Farr ... .. 1771
William Hart ... .. 1761	James Daltera ... .. 1772
Richard Farr ... .. 1762	Isaac Elton ... .. 1773
William Reeve ... .. 1765	Robert Smith ... .. 1774
James Bonbonous ... .. 1766	Paul Farr ... .. 1775
Sir Abraham Isaac Elton, bart. ... .. 1767	Henry Garnett ... .. 1776

*Honorary Members.*

The Right Hon. Earl of Kinnoul... .. 1750
The Right Hon. Earl Nugent ... .. 1755
The Right Hon. John Earl Spencer ... .. 1758
Sir Jarritt Smith, bart. ... .. 1758
The Right Hon. the Earl Poulet ... .. 1765
The Right Hon. the Earl of Hillsborough ... .. 1765
The Most Noble Augustus Henry, Duke of Grafton 1766
The Most Honble. Charles, Marquis of Rockingham 1766
The Right Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, Esq. ... 1766
Sir William Meredith, bart. ... .. 1766
Sir George Saville, bart. ... .. 1766
The Right Hon. William, Earl of Chatham ... .. 1766
Sir William Draper, Knight of the Bath ... .. 1766

George Prescott, Esq. ... .. 1766
Matthew Brickdale, Esq. ... .. 1768
Sir Charles Kemys Tynte, bart. ... .. 1768
Richard Hippisley Coxe, Esq. ... .. 1768
The Right Hon. Edward, Lord Clifford ... .. 1768
The Most Noble Henry, Duke of Beaufort ... .. 1771
Edmund Burke, Esq. ... .. 1775
The Right Hon. Lord North... .. 1775
The Right Hon. the Earl of Berkeley... .. 1775
The Right Hon. the Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire ... 1777
The Right Hon. the Earl of Sandwich ... .. 1777

*Wardens.*

William Wansey ... 1755	Thomas Perkins ... .. 1769
John Hobhouse ... .. 1756	George Champion ... .. 1770
Richard Combe ... .. 1757	Edward Elton... .. 1770
Samuel Span ... .. 1761	John Fowler ... .. 1771
Nathaniel Wraxall ... 1762	William Weare ... .. 1771
William Hillhouse ... 1762	Richard Champion ... 1772
Peter Hatton ... .. 1763	Henry Lippincott ... .. 1772
Sir Jas. Laroche, bart. 1765	John Vaughan ... .. 1773
Andrew Reeve ... .. 1766	Jeremiah Hill... .. 1773
Michael Miller, jun. ... 1767	Edward Brice... .. 1775
John Powell ... .. 1768	John Garnett ... .. 1775
" ... .. 1774	John Champion ... .. 1776
Henry Cruger ... .. 1768	Henry Hobhouse ... .. 1776
George Daubeney ... 1769	

*Assistants.*

Joseph Blissett ... 1730	John Daubeney ... .. 1775
John Smith ... .. 1745	Henry Casamajor ... 1775
" ... .. 1746	George Gibbs ... .. 1776
John Hanner ... .. 1747	John Fisher Ware ... 1776
" ... .. 1748	Jere Hill, jun. ... .. 1776
" ... .. 1752	Richard Bright ... .. 1776
Samuel Davis ... .. 1756	

*Names of such as have borne no office yet.*

Thomas Hoskins ... .. 1712	Mark Harford... .. 1761
James Hazell ... .. 1722	Thomas Rowse ... .. 1764
William Harrington ... 1722	William Farr ... .. 1765
Thomas Robinson ... .. 1722	Joseph Farrell ... .. 1765
Charles Crosse ... .. 1731	Henry Bright ... .. 1767
Thomas Jones. . ... .. 1731	Robert Gordon ... .. 1767
Richard Pigott ... .. 1732	Edward Harford ... .. 1767
Michael Beecher ... .. 1736	James Harford ... .. 1768
Sir John Stapylton, bart. 1736	Justinian Casamajor ... 1769
Francis Birbeck ... .. 1737	James Martin Hillhouse 1774
George Hart ... .. 1737	James Whitechurch ... 1774
Nehemiah Champion ... 1737	Charles Daubeney ... .. 1774
William Champion ... .. 1737	Samuel Whitechurch ... 1775
Walter King ... .. 1739	Christopher Willoughby 1775
Thomas French ... .. 1742	John Powell, jun. ... .. 1775
Sir Lionel Lyde, bart. ... 1746	William Weare, jun. ... 1775
Leeson Blackwood... .. 1747	Isaac Hobhouse ... .. 1776
Anthony Swymmer ... .. 1749	Edward Harford, jun. ... 1776
John Day... .. 1749	John Taylor Vaughan ... 1776
Edward Curtis ... .. 1752	John Fowler, jun. ... .. 1776
Christopher Thornton ... 1752	James Daubeney ... .. 1776
Joseph Daltera ... .. 1754	Timothy Powell ... .. 1777
Thomas Blackwell... .. 1756	Joshua Powell ... .. 1777
Corsley Rogers ... .. 1757	John Scandrett Harford 1777
Robert Rogers ... .. 1757	Joseph Harford ... .. 1777
Thomas Ricketts ... .. 1760	Charles Hill ... .. 1777
John Harford ... .. 1761	

Endorsed.

MERCHANTS' HALL, BRISTOL.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

November 10th, 1777.

Merchants' Hall, Bristol.—The manner of choosing officers on the 10th November, yearly. Note, the master is to be one that hath been master, warden or assistant, to be chosen thus:—The present master to nominate one person, the present wardens and assistants one, the commonalty one. These three in competition to stand to the vote of the whole society present, and the person that hath the majority of voices to be master. The persons that are to be in election are to be present in court.

The wardens to be such as have been assistants, to be chosen thus:—The present master to nominate two persons, the wardens and assistants two, and the commonalty two. Out of these six, two are to be chosen by one at a time, and majority of voices to carry it.

Assistants to be chosen thus:—The present master ever to be one. He to name of the former assistants four. He to name ten persons out of the commonalty and their names to be put into lots, and those five the master takes out of the hat to be the other five.

11. In 1778 the *Gloucester*, for 60 guns and 316 men, 896 tons, and the *Medea*, for 32 guns, were built and launched at this port. The estates and rentals of the corporation produced £14,000. *Old England*, private ship-of-war, James Todd, commander, sailed in September on a cruise, she returned with *La Hebe*, a large brigantine, from St. Domingo. On her second cruise she was sunk by a French frigate, which she engaged a considerable time; the captain and some of the crew were drowned.

In 1779, Mrs. Mary Pelouquin bequeathed £19,000 to the corporation for various purposes. The drawing of pitch and tar from pit-coal was now first discovered in Bristol. An Act of Parliament was obtained for making and repairing several roads round the city of Bristol, reciting all the former Acts, inclusive of that of 31 Geo. II. 1751.<sup>1</sup>

Henry VII. had made of a pretender to the crown a scullion in his kitchen, and condemned him to turn the spit on which the king's dinner was roasted, but the operation was generally performed by an unhappy dog shut up within a wheel. Somewhere about the year 1780, a frolicsome young midshipman, from Bristol, home for his holidays, enticed all the turnspit dogs of the city of Wells out for a run on the Mendip hills, to the dismay of the cooks and the detriment of the diners, the truant dogs could not be found until the frolic was ended. Out of this circumstance arose the invention of the improved jack for turning the spit used in roasting meat, and the discontinuance of the breeding of the little bandy-legged pug, known as the turnspit.

Ferguson, the astronomer, in a lecture on eclipses delivered in Bristol, and subsequently published by S. Farley, Castle green, asserted that the 3rd of April, 4746 Julian period, was the date of our Saviour's crucifixion,

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 293.

that date being the only one within twenty years on which an eclipse could happen.

On December 6th, 1780, the house of Joseph George Pedly, in Little King street, was set on fire by the occupier, who, as a fraudulent bankrupt and suspected of arson, was committed to Newgate, whence he escaped on the 1st of April, 1781, but was re-taken in Newcastle in September. At his trial he signified that £2,500 of his creditors' money could be restored, 650 guineas being buried in a field at Clifton, ten £100 bank notes in Tyndall's park in a bottle, fourteen £100 bank notes in another part of the plantation. The two first items were found and recovered for the creditors, the latter the prisoner could not find.<sup>1</sup>

12. In 1780 there was a contested election, the candidates being Sir Henry Lippincott, Matthew Brickdale and Henry Cruger; Lippincott dying a new writ was issued, and the election of 1781 took place. Edmund Burke, who had declined to stand in 1780, made the following speech:—

Gentlemen,—I decline the election. It has ever been my rule through life to observe a proportion between my efforts and my objects. I have never been remarkable for a bold, active and sanguine pursuit of advantages that are personal to myself.

I have not canvassed the whole of this city in form. But I have taken such a view of it, as satisfies my own mind, that your choice will not ultimately fall upon me. Your city, gentlemen, is in a state of miserable distraction, and I am resolved to withdraw whatever share my pretensions may have had in its unhappy divisions. I have not been in haste; I have tried all prudent means, I have waited for the effect of all contingencies. If I were fond of a contest, by the partiality of my numerous friends (whom ye know to be among the most weighty and respectable people of the city), I have the means of a sharp one in my hands. But I thought it far better with my strength unspent, and my reputation unimpaired, to do early and from foresight that which I might be obliged to do from necessity at last.

I am not in the least surprised, nor in the least angry at this view of things. I have read the book of life for a long time and I have read other books a little. Nothing has happened to me but what has happened to men much better than me, and in times and in nations full as good as the age and country that we live in. To say that I am no way concerned would be neither decent nor true. The representation of Bristol was an object on many accounts dear to me, and I certainly should very far prefer it to any other in the kingdom. My habits are made to it, and it is in general more unpleasant to be rejected, after long trial, than not to be chosen at all.

But, gentlemen, I will see nothing except your former kindness, and I will give way to no other sentiments than those of gratitude. From the bottom of my heart I thank you for what you have done for me. You have given me a long term which is now expired. I have performed the conditions and enjoyed all the profits to the full, and I now surrender your estate into your hands, without being in a single tile or a single stone impaired or wasted by my use. I have served the public for fifteen years. I have served you in particular for six. What is passed is well stored. It is safe and out of the power of fortune. What is to

<sup>1</sup> Bristol Tracts, xxxv.

come is in wiser hands than ours; and He, in whose hands it is, best knows whether it is best for you and me that I should be in Parliament or even in the world.

Gentlemen, the melancholy event of yesterday reads to us an awful lesson against being too much troubled about any of the objects of ordinary ambition. The worthy gentleman who has been snatched from us at the moment of the election, and in the middle of the contest, whilst his desires were as warm and his hopes as eager as ours, has feelingly told us what shadows we are and what shadows we pursue.

It has been usual for a candidate who declines, to take his leave by a letter to the sheriffs; but I received your trust in the face of day and in the face of day I accept your dismissal. I am not—I am not at all ashamed to look upon you, nor can my presence discompose the order of business here. I humbly and respectfully take my leave of the sheriffs, the candidates and the electors, wishing heartily that the choice may be for the best at a time which calls, if ever time did call, for service that is not nominal. It is no plaything that you are about. I tremble when I consider the trust that I have presumed to ask. I confided perhaps too much in my intentions. They were really fair and upright, and I am bold to say that I ask no ill thing for you when, on parting from this place, I pray that whoever you choose to succeed me may resemble me exactly in all things, except in my abilities to serve and my fortune to please you.



Edmund Burke.

The following paragraph is copied from Burke's printed address:—

I return you my best thanks for having, at any time or for any period, condescended to think of me for your representative. I have done my duty towards you and towards the nation as became me. You dispose of the future trust (as you have a right to do) according to your discretion. We have no cause of complaint on either side. By being returned into the mass of private citizens my burthens are lessened, my satisfactions are not destroyed. There are duties to be performed and there are comforts to be enjoyed in obscurity, for which I am not without a disposition and relish. I am sure that there is nothing in the retrospection of my public conduct which is likely to disturb the tranquillity of that situation to which you restore me.

13. In 1781 George Daubeny was chosen to the

vacancy caused by the death of Sir Henry Lippincott. The two following squibs of the severe contested election in this year, between Daubeny and Cruger, show the method in vogue of appealing to the eating and drinking capacities of the voters:—

HUZZA!

DAUBENY for ever.

All true Britons are invited to assemble at the FULL MOON, STOKES-CROFT, Tuesday next, at 12 o'clock, to try the Difference between AMERICAN BULL BEEF, and the ROAST BEEF OF OLD ENGLAND. To drink a Health to the Friend of the King and the Constitution, and the Downfall of Rebels abroad and Incendiaries at home.

Stand up for the Church.

Support a Fellow Citizen.

No Yankee.

No Compromiser.

January 27, 1781.

This produced the following rejoinder:—

HUZZA!

Cruger for ever!

HUZZA!

Without CRUGER we should have had no election. Without CRUGER we should have had no Beef nor Ale. Without Cruger, that designing *Compromiser* DAUBENY, would have been sent up to Parliament for Life.—It was *Daubeny* who treated for your *Rights* and *Privileges*.—*Daubeny* was one of the Committee for that purpose, and but for *Cruger* would have *Sold you all*.

It is *Daubeny* who hates the *Poor*. It is *Daubeny* who says that nothing hurts him so much as to be obliged to ask those *Rascals*: meaning the *Poor*, but hearty *Freemen*.

No Frenchified *Englishmen*!

No *Daubeny*! No *Poper*!

A *Large Loaf*, a *full Pot*, and

*Cruger* for ever!

The *Friend of the Poor*.

CRUGER for Ever!

On Sunday evening, March 28th, one of the Bristol and London machines was stopped by a single highwayman on the other side of Box; with the end of his pistol he broke the window of the coach, and demanded the passengers' money. A Bristol gentleman said he would give it him as soon as he could, and pulling out a pistol he fired at and wounded the highwayman, who made off as fast as he could.

On August 31st, by a letter from Captain Shulldham, of the ship *Dublin*, in Plymouth harbour, information was brought that the combined fleet of the enemy, thirty-four or thirty-five sail of the line, had been seen five or six leagues off Scilly; the mayor, Mr. William Miles, hastened to acquaint the lords commissioners of the admiralty, great fears being entertained for the West India fleet of merchant ships then due. Two quick-sailing sloops of war were immediately sent to meet the fleet, and to inform them of the presence of the enemy, and to direct them what course to steer.

In 1782 the old All Saints Tolzey, on the north side

of the church, was taken down to widen Corn street; the old house of the Calendars at the west end was also taken down and re-built. The castellet of the conduit at the Quay-head was removed, and the Fish market was removed from Fisher lane (now St. Stephen street) to St. James' new market in Union street.

Mr. John Purrier, of London, settled so much money in the Public Funds as would raise the apprentice fee of the boys in Colston's school to fifteen pounds. He also gave the boys 100 silver and 100 brass badges. The Tontine warehouses on the Quay were built this year.

On the 26th December a meeting was held at the "White Lion" tavern to consider a plan, of Mr. James Lockyer, for finishing the Royal York crescent (forty-six houses) by a Tontine scheme. It was stated that £20,000 had already been expended upon the premises, and Mr. Lockyer's plan proposed the raising of 700 shares, of £100 each, for the benefit of any subscribers who shall be entitled to any share or shares, in virtue of the surviving lives on which such share or shares shall be holden at the expiration of the term of twenty-one years. The following gentlemen were chosen as trustees:—John Cave, Joseph Harford, William Fry, William Gibbons, George Daubeney, and Richard Vaughan, esqrs.

In 1783 the boys of Queen Elizabeth's hospital (the City school), Orchard street, and those of the Grammar school, in late St. Bartholomew's hospital, Christmas street, exchanged places. This change was afterwards confirmed by Act of Parliament, viz. :—"An Act to enable the corporation of the city of Bristol to exchange the building of the hospital called Queen Elizabeth's hospital, for the building called the Bartholomews in the said city, and for altering the times for holding the Bristol fairs." The preamble states that the mayor, &c., are governors of Queen Elizabeth's hospital for the maintenance and education of poor children, in the houses near College green, formerly the sole property of the mayor, &c., and by them given and converted to that purpose; that they are likewise governors or visitors of a free grammar school in the Bartholomews. "And whereas the apartments belonging to the said building called the Bartholomews are not large enough to receive and maintain many of the citizens' children, who have a right to be educated at the said Grammar school, although the said apartments are sufficient to serve all the purposes for which the hospital called Queen Elizabeth's hospital was intended. And whereas it would be of great reciprocal convenience and advantage, if the masters and scholars belonging to the said free Grammar school at the Bartholomews aforesaid were removed to the said building called Queen Elizabeth's hospital, and that the master and children belonging to the said hospital were removed to the said building called the Bartholomews; but as it is apprehended that such exchange, though it would manifestly be of such reciprocal benefit as aforesaid, cannot be made without the aid and authority of Parliament, may it therefore please your majesty," &c. His majesty was not told that the master of the free Grammar school had married the daughter of an alderman (Henry Dampier, sheriff in 1751 and mayor in 1755), who very naturally preferred

the light and air of College green to that of Christmas street. Mr. Alderman Dampier did well so to exercise his influence for his daughter's better health and comfort; but whether the complaisance of his magisterial brethren ought to have carried them so far, is another question.<sup>1</sup>

Richard Burke, brother to Edmund, was chosen recorder this year.

Begun at first in St. Peter's hospital in 1735, the Bristol Infirmary was, in 1737, located in a building in Earl street (Jobbin's leaze), upon the site of the present edifice, the foundation of which was laid on June 2nd, 1781. In 1788 the east wing was completed. In 1793 further additions were made in the body of the structure. In 1805 contributions were received for a west wing to the amount of £10,602 12s., Mr. Richard Reynolds starting the subscriptions with the sum of £500. The first stone was laid June 1st, 1806, by Edward Protheroe, Esq. In 1850 her majesty graciously ordered the affix "Royal" to its title. Since then an additional story has been raised for dormitories, and on October 3rd, 1876, this noble charity was rendered still more useful by a thorough reorganisation of its sanitary arrangements at a cost of £20,000.

Mail coaches were established by John Palmer, of Bath, and the experiment was first tried between Bristol and London.

The necessary revolution in the economy of the General Post Office, London, for discharge of all the posts at one hour, was effected by the individual example of Francis Freeling, Esq., then a lad, sent for from the Bristol Post Office for that purpose, the clerks having mutinied against the new plan, as impossible to be executed. The House of Mercy, on Colston's parade, Redcliff church-yard, for twelve poor widows, built and endowed by William Fry, distiller.

The Haymarket was established by the corporation on Friday, October 1st, 1784, in Broadmead; Mr. W. Ludlow was clerk, and being furnished with only beams and scales, the magistrates determined to erect a weighing machine, which was put down by Mr. Edgell, of Frome, and was opened for public use on Tuesday, 15th of February, 1785. *King's Weston*, a poem published anonymously in 1784, was by Thomas Hobhouse. Zion road, Clifton, was begun. The freedom of the city was presented to Edmund Burke.

"David Lewis, of Bridge street, termed 'a retailer of eggs' [we believe, however, he was a silk mercer], sought election as M.P. for Bristol."<sup>2</sup>

In 1785 the new Mansion-house, erected in Queen square at the corner of Charlotte street, was finished, and the banqueting-room, the entrance to which was in the above-named street, was opened for the reception of company on April 5th.

In this year an Act of Parliament was obtained to render

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 294.

<sup>2</sup> R. Smith.

more effectual the Act 33 Geo. II. for re-building, &c., the bridge over the Avon—to take down the south side of Tucker street, some of the houses on the west side of Temple street, and some on the east side of St. Thomas street, nearest to the bridge, to open a new street (Bath street) from the bridge to Temple street—for removing the statue of Neptune, the pipes, &c., and for taking down and re-building or selling the Cross in Temple street. An Act of Parliament was also obtained for re-building Christ church, otherwise the Holy Trinity, and for widening the adjacent streets.<sup>1</sup>

A Marine society for educating poor boys for a sea-faring life was established in Bristol. At this time the clergy were endeavouring to fix a pound rate upon all houses and premises in the city, which called forth much animadversion, and reference to the public spirit of the citizens in 1650 and 1712. [See pp. 28-30 of this vol.]

In 1786 James Kirkpatrick was elected town clerk on the resignation of Sir Abraham Elton., Bart., the hearty thanks of the House being given to that gentleman for his services to the city during a long course of years. His Grace the Duke of Portland was elected high steward, in lieu of Philip, Earl of Hardwick, deceased, and Isaac Matthews as water bailiff, void by the death of Isaac Wheeler.

A stand of three hackney coaches was set up in front of the Exchange; these were soon increased to twenty. Queen's parade, Brandon hill, and Berkeley square were commenced. Old Christ church was taken down and the foundation of the present structure was laid November 4th. The wing of the City Library, King street, was erected. The Rev. Alexander Catcott left by will a number of books, chiefly on the Huntingtonian philosophy, and a collection of fossils, &c., for the use of the public. This cabinet is now deposited at the Bristol Museum.

14. In 1787 Alexander Edgar, mayor, sued David Lewis for mayor's dues. Lewis pleaded the general issue, and especially that he, as being a burgess of Kidwelly, was exempt. Tried by Lord Kenyon and a special jury. Verdict for the plaintiff.

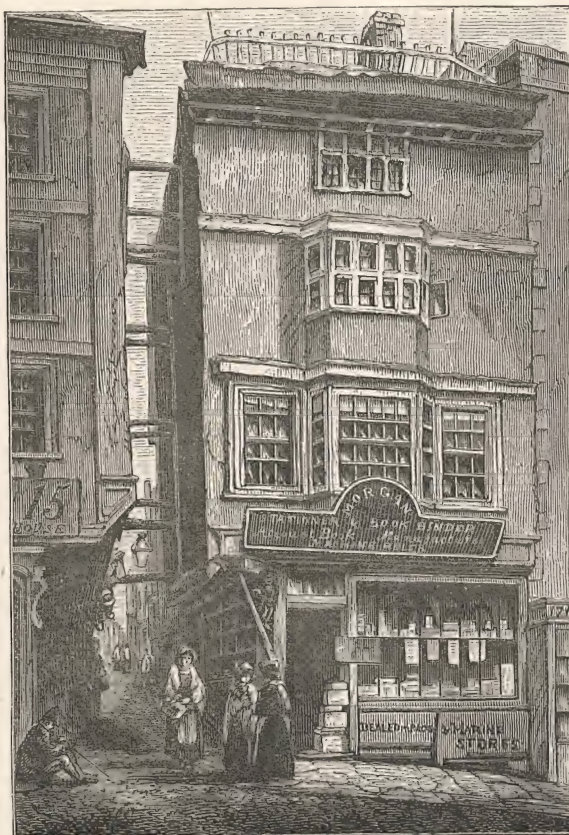
<sup>1</sup> Evans, 295.

St. James' parish being very extensive, and its church too small for the parishioners, was divided, and the eastern portion was made the parish of St. Paul. On June 18th the boundaries were fixed by the vestry.

A faculty was obtained on the 10th March, in answer to a petition presented 15th January, 1786, for uniting St. Ewen's parish with that of Christ church. The last sermon was preached in St. Ewen's on May 15th, 1791. The bells and materials of the inside of the church were sold by auction August 1st, 1791.

In 1788 a cheese market in the old Corn market, between Wine street and St. Mary-le-port street, was opened, the first market-day being Wednesday, January 2nd. On March 8th the city was illuminated, guns fired royal salutes from Brandon hill, and the church bells were rung all day, to celebrate the king's restoration to reason.

In 1788, Brunswick square built. This year were obtained the three following Acts of Parliament, viz.:—"An Act for removing and preventing encroachments, obstructions, annoyances and other nuisances, within the city of Bristol and the liberties thereof, and for licensing and better regulating hackney-coaches, chairs, waggons, carts and other carriages, &c., and porters and other persons within and for certain distances round the city and liberties, and for better regulating the shipping and trade, and the rivers, wharfs, backs and quays, and the markets within the said liberties, and for other purposes." By this Act the corporation were empowered to make by-laws respecting the



Entrance to Mary-le-port Street from High Street.

Drawbridge, to establish a market for raw hides and skins at the Back hall, regulate the fisheries on the rivers Severn, Avon and From, &c. The schedule contains tables of fees of the quaywarden and the water-bailiff. "An Act for widening and rendering commodious Broad street, and for enlarging the Council-house and Guildhall." . . . "An Act for regulating buildings and party-walls within the city of Bristol and liberties thereof." This Act provides that the external wall of all new buildings shall be carried up perpendicularly, and range in the general line of the street, &c.; and that when any external wall or part thereof, ranging with the street, shall be taken down, the wall to be rebuilt or repaired shall rise in a perpendicular line from the ancient story-post or foundation of such building. No new bow-windows or other projections to extend, in any street thirty feet wide or more, above ten inches, nor in a street less than

thirty feet above five inches. No cornice or covering in the former case to extend more than eighteen inches, nor in the latter more than thirteen inches, from the upright line of the building.<sup>1</sup>

At the end of the year there was, by arrangement, a fresh valuation for the poors' rate, the central parishes being heavily burdened, whilst Redcliff, St. James, St. Augustine, and other outside parishes, were being rapidly built upon. It was arranged after many meetings by the deputies of the parishes, and sanctioned by the magistrates; the proportionate increase or decrease is given in the following table:—

Parishes.	1788.	1789.	Increase.	Decrease.
	£	£	£	£
All Saints... ..	227	226	..	1
St. Augustine's ... ..	1092	1398	306	...
Castle Precincts ... ..	541	370	...	171
Christ church ... ..	543	324	...	219
St. Ewen's ... ..	121	86	...	35
St. James' ... ..	1545	1922	377	...
St. Leonard's ... ..	210	178	...	32
St. John's ... ..	335	284	...	51
St. Michael's ... ..	495	502	7	...
St. Mary Redcliff ... ..	525	750	225	...
St. Mary-le-port ... ..	257	166	...	91
St. Nicholas' ... ..	943	924	...	19
St. Philip's ... ..	476	394	...	82
St. Peter's ... ..	416	336	...	80
St. Stephen's ... ..	1012	976	...	36
Temple ... ..	447	524	77	...
St. Thomas' ... ..	588	480	...	108
St. Werburgh .. ..	227	160	...	67
	10,000	10,000	992	992

From this it will be seen that St. James', St. Augustine's, St. Mary Redcliff, and, to a small extent, Temple parishes, were at this period the areas in which the city was extending.

15. The philanthropist Howard visited Bristol gaol during the years 1774-5-6 and 1787-8, and wrote as follows concerning it:—

Bristol Newgate stands in the middle of the city. It is too small for the general number of prisoners. For debtors there are fifteen rooms, yet no free ward; the poorest pay 10½*d.* per week, others 2*s.* 6*d.* For women felons a day-room and several night-rooms. For men felons a day-room, with a court-yard adjacent, 20 feet × 12 feet. Their dungeon, the pit down eighteen steps, is about 18 feet × 17 feet and 9 feet high. Barrack bedsteads, no bedding nor straw. It is close and offensive, only one small window. There is another yard, the tennis-court, larger than that of the felons'; prisoners are admitted into it by turns. A room or two at the top of the house for an infirmary. There are many narrow passages. The utmost attention is requisite to keep the prison healthy. I found it clean, considering it was so crowded and so close. It was scraped and limed once a year before the late Act for preserving the health of prisoners. That Act is neatly painted on a board hung up in the chapel, which is commodious and has a gallery.

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 296.

On his second visit Mr. Howard is not so complimentary:—

This close prison is white without and foul within. The dungeon and several rooms very dirty. The bath is used as a vault. No allowance for mops, brooms and towels for the prisoners.

Mr. Nield, following in the footsteps of the great philanthropist, thirty years later, says:—

Two of the debtors' rooms had been then turned into free wards for poor debtors. The tennis-court was used as a drying ground; it contained a pump of good water and a bath, which was seldom used. The men felons have two rooms, one 15 feet × 13 feet, 7 feet 8 inches high, adjoining which is a sleeping room the same size, the only air admitted to which is through an iron-grated window in the day-room. The infirmary is reached by twelve steps up the court, 20 feet × 12 feet; it is 18 feet × 12 feet 6 inches and 7 feet 6 inches high, has glazed windows, a fireplace, and a small aperture in the door for a ventilator. The second room is 24 feet × 18 feet, 8 feet high, windows trebly iron-grated, two sleeping cells, 11 feet × 7 feet, with stone-arched roofs, a very small court, with an open sewer in it. The condemned room is 18 feet × 13 feet, 9 feet high, with a double iron-grated window that looks into the felons' yard. The dungeon is described by Howard, but some benevolent gentlemen of the city occasionally send a few rugs. When, in 1801, it was chiefly appropriated to prisoners under sentence of transportation, seventeen prisoners slept in this pit every night. The turnkey himself told me, that in the morning when he unlocked the door he was so affected by the putrid steam issuing from this dungeon that it was enough to knock him down. The female ward for felons was a room 42 feet × 24 feet, 6½ feet high. It serves the purpose of both a day and sleeping room. It overlooks the men's court, and once had four windows, two of which are now blocked up. (Palaces were exempt from window tax under George III., but the gaoler, strange to say, had to pay the tax on every window above the allotted number; no wonder that he considered four windows an unnecessary number.) There is in the room a sink, but no water is supplied, except what is ordered up by the keeper from below. There is no table of gaoler's fees, and the prison is too small for work; really the present gaol is disgraceful. Salaries: Gaoler, Mr. Humphries, £200; £2 a year gown money. Fees for debtors: First action, 6*s.* 8*d.*; second and every subsequent one, 3*s.* 4*d.*; London action, 9*s.* For felons, 13*s.* 4*d.* Transports, £5 each, when delivered at Portsmouth. Garnish abolished. Chaplain, £35. Duty: Sermon every Sunday; prayers, Wednesday and Friday.

There was no employment in Newgate to break the monotony of confinement.

There were legacies, £4 for thirteen sermons.

Mr. and Mrs. Freeman, £5 for bread and beef on Christmas eve, and £3 6*s.* 8*d.* interest on £100 left by Mr. John Heydon.

The churchwardens also paid yearly £4 2*s.* from R. Aldworth's legacy, of which sum the debtors had two-thirds and the felons the balance.

Any person arrested by an action in the Tolzey court could at the next court day confess his debt, and at the first court after be charged in execution and claim subsistence money, sixpence per day from his creditor or supersedeas.

Felons were compelled to attend divine service, but with debtors it was optional, and was not appreciated, seldom more than one-fourth being present. So little regard was paid to the service that drinking, chewing tobacco, and even smoking was carried on in the galleries.

These particulars, as are also those which follow with reference to the Bridewell, are abstracted from a letter to Dr. Lettsom, of London, written by James Nield, on December 10th, 1807.

The Bridewell was divided by the street that led to Monken bridge; the keeper's house was on one side (Central Police station) the common side was on the other. The criminals had a day-room on the master's side on the ground floor, five yards square and ten feet high, and up stairs two rooms to which the master furnished beds at 2s. per night.

The common side consisted of two parts separated by a courtyard, 50 feet  $\times$  15 feet, in which was a pump for hard water and a cistern for soft. The first part had on the right hand two cells, on the ground floor, for vagrants, 16 feet 6 inches  $\times$  6 feet 6 inches, each had an iron-grated window looking into the court, and a most offensive sewer in one corner. The sleeping-room above was large and airy, but the straw, when the narrator saw it, was short, dirty, and almost worn to dust, there were no bedsteads or rugs. On the left hand was a room for persons incarcerated for non-payment of fines, 22 feet  $\times$  17 feet and 10 feet high, with an iron-grated window looking into the court, and a sewer in the corner, not offensive, being near to the river; up stairs was a sleeping-room of the same size.

The second part, on the ground floor, consisted of two rooms, 16 feet 6 inches  $\times$  6 feet 6 inches, with arched roof 9 feet high at the crown, an aperture in the walls one foot square, to admit light and air, and an iron grating over the door.

The sewers opening into the Frome just outside were a highway for rats, so that a cat had to be kept in each room at night to keep the vermin from gnawing the prisoner's feet. Over these cells was the infirmary, 22 feet  $\times$  17 feet, 10 feet high, with a fire place and a glazed window. On the left hand was the vagrant women's room, 18 feet  $\times$  16 feet, 10 feet high, with an iron-grated window towards the court, and over this was a sleeping-room the same size, the straw had to serve several sets of prisoners, and the condition of floor was perfectly indescribable. The court being out of sight from the master's house the prisoners were not permitted to use it, the pump, or the cistern, save for a short time in the middle of the day, three times a week; and when we learn that some of these poor wretches were imprisoned for three years and in irons, we may better imagine than describe the filthy state of these miserables.

The fees were 3s. 6d., for which the prisoners might be detained until the same was paid. The salary was £30 for the keeper, afterwards, when Thomas Evans became master, it was £50. He proved a more feeling keeper than his predecessors, Millward and Parsons; he had the rats banished, the floors mended, the cells whitewashed, and both prison and prisoners kept clean. There was no salary for the surgeon, who was paid by bill. The allowance was a threepenny loaf as at Newgate. The prison was built in 1721, and the number of prisoners in December 17th, 1801, eight; in October 4th, 1803, sixteen; and on September 20th, 1806, five.

16. On February 20th, Mr. William Barrett, of Wraxall, near Bristol, issued his proposals for printing by subscription *The History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol*, price one guinea and a half; half a guinea to be paid at the time of subscribing, the remainder on delivery of the book in boards.

On June 30th was advertised the Bristol Tontine association, Ames, Cave and Co., bankers, treasurers;

Nathaniel Gifford, William Bulgin and Josiah Greethead, trustees, in shares of one shilling per week. Money to be placed out on Government securities, and equally divided, principal and interest, at the end of seven years between the surviving members, ratably and in proportion to their respective shares. Twenty-one directors chosen annually, who are to meet once a month. W. Jenkins, broker, and R. Rosser, printer, secretaries.

On 20th December were issued the rules and by-laws for the Drawbridge:—

1st. After 12th January next No loaded carriage of any description whatsoever except coaches, landaus, chaises, phaetons, and one-horse chaises or chairs shall be permitted to pass over.

2nd. Empty drays may pass, but not empty wagons, carts or trollies.

3rd. That the persons appointed to keep or draw up the bridge give their constant attendance thereto.

4th. That the said Drawbridge be drawn and kept up one whole day twice in the year.

5th. A fine not exceeding 40/- for breach of rules.

By order of the MAYOR, ALDERMEN and COMMON COUNCIL.

From a broad-sheet, dated May 5th, 1789, we learn that in the year 1788 a committee was formed for making the quay one general floating dock, and one of the committee, whose fortune is stated to have been adequate to more than four times the expense of the scheme, offered to do the work and take the risk if he might have the profit.

A notice was issued from the Council-house on December 19th, 1792, signed by Henry Bengough, mayor, and Richard Bright, Master of the Society of Merchant Venturers, which states:—

That at a meeting of the committees of the Corporation and Society of Merchants, to whom the several plans for the improvement of the port have been referred, the advertisement signed Ames, Hellicar and Sons, lately inserted in the Bristol newspapers, convening a meeting at the "White Lion," in Broad street, tomorrow, to open a subscription for making Canons' marsh into floating docks, and to throw a stone bridge over the river Frome, was read, and the same having been taken into consideration by the said committees, it was resolved [the substance of the resolutions was], That the citizens be informed that plans are in progress which will be of far greater utility; that only so much money should be raised as would pay the interest of the sums borrowed to carry on the work, and provide for a sinking fund to gradually extinguish the debt; that the committees think all such works should be for the sole benefit of the public, and that no individuals or private bodies of men should derive any emolument therefrom; that the committees recommend the Corporation and the Society to oppose any scheme of private individuals, and request the citizens not to give it any support until they have the design communicated to them which is now under consideration by the Corporation and the Society of Merchant Venturers.

Amongst other places suggested was one by Mr. Tombs, a ship builder, of Dean's marsh, which was as follows:—

To carry the water of the Frome by a cut 25 feet in width through St. Stephen's street and Baldwin street by nearly its old

natural course into the Avon at the end of Redcliff parade, thence to make a new cut for the combined rivers through Bathurst basin to the Red clift, Rownham, by pointing gates at Rownham, Guinea street slip and Frome bridge to hold up the water enclosed as a floating harbour; intermediate pointing gates to be fixed at Limekiln dock, Blanning's dock, and the mouth of the Quay, to form different chambers for safety and for scouring. By this plan he considered most of the sewers would discharge into the tidal river, and the whole of the coasting craft might at their option either lie always afloat, or as beforetime rise and ground with the tides in the Avon. The estimated cost was £130,000. The plan is dated, Canons' marsh dockyard, March 20, 1792.

17. On 13th June, 1788, was performed in Temple church a most extraordinary instance of exorcism on George Lukins, of Yatton, Somersetshire, which became not only the cause of much conversation, but also employed the pens of many writers, most of whom endeavoured to prove Lukins to be an impostor; whilst on the other hand those who were of the Rev. John Wesley's persuasion asserted it to be a miraculous interference of Divine providence in delivering this wretched demoniac from the power of Satan, under whose baneful influence he had been afflicted nearly eighteen years. Their abbreviated narrative is as follows:—

On Saturday, 31st of May, 1788, Mrs. Sarah Barber, of Yatton, called on the Rev. Mr. Easterbrook, vicar of Temple, acquainting him "she had seen a poor man afflicted with a most extraordinary malady, who when in fits would sing and scream in various sounds, scarcely human, and which fits to her knowledge he had been troubled with for near eighteen years. He had tried several medical gentlemen, but in vain. That the people of Yatton conceived him to be bewitched; that he himself declared he was possessed of seven devils, and that nothing could relieve him but the united prayers of seven clergymen who could ask deliverance for him in faith.

Accordingly, on Friday morning, 13th June, 1788, the Rev. Mr. Easterbrook, and six other ministers in connection with the Rev. John Wesley, and many others, attended the poor man in the vestry room in Temple church. When they began singing hymns the man was immediately thrown into violent agitations, his face violently distorted, and his whole body strangely convulsed. Sometimes he would speak in a deep, hoarse, hollow tone, personating an invisible agent, at other times horribly blaspheme in his natural or a female voice, then again sing or laugh in various voices and pronounce himself to be the great devil. While the ministers were engaged in fervent prayer he sang a *Te Deum* to the devil in different voices, saying: "We praise thee, O Devil, we acknowledge thee to be the supreme governor," &c. A clergyman present desired him to speak the name of Jesus, and several times repeated it to him, at all of which he as often repeated "devil." During this attempt a small, faint voice was heard saying, "Why don't you *abjure*?" on which the clergymen commanded in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost the evil spirit to depart from the man, when a voice was heard to say, "Must I give up my power?" and this was followed by dreadful howlings. Soon after this another voice, as with astonishment, said, "Our master has deceived us!" The clergymen still continuing to repeat the *abjuration* a voice was heard to say, "Where shall we go?" And the reply was, "to hell, and return no more to torment this man." His distortions were then stronger than ever, attended still with dreadful howlings, but as soon as this

conflict was over he said in his own natural voice, "Blessed Jesus." He then immediately praised God for his deliverance, and kneeling down said the Lord's Prayer, and returned his thanks to all who were present. The meeting broke up a little before one o'clock, having lasted nearly two hours, and the man went away entirely delivered, and had no return of his disorder.<sup>1</sup>

Lukins was a common carrier, a singer, actor of Christmas mummeries, a ventriloquist, and was it would appear a victim of epilepsy. He was taken several times to Temple church, where finally in one great struggle between the powers of evil and of prayer, which lasted for two hours, victory declared itself on the side of the vicar and his assistants. A fierce, bitter, personal polemical warfare ensued, Mr. Norman, a surgeon of Yatton, leading the assault, and showering unsparing ridicule on the transaction, the actors therein, and the man who had he considered made them his dupes. But whether Lukins was epileptic, impostor or demoniac, it appears on good authority that from that hour the fits left him, and he led a sober Christian life thenceforth, being, in 1798, a respected member of the Wesleyan society in Bristol.

"Lo, Lukins comes, and with him comes a train  
Of Parsons famous for a lack of brain;  
With owl-like faces, and with raven coats,  
Their solemn step their solemn task denotes,  
By exorcising, prayers and rebukings,  
To drive seven sturdy devils out of Lukins."

*Bristol, a satire, by Lovell.*

The foundation stone of St. Paul's church was laid on April 23rd, 1789, by Levi Ames, mayor. St. Thomas' church was taken down for re-building except the tower, which, Evans says, was, in 1825, still shorn of one of its pinnacles. Mr. Shiercliffe published his first edition of the *Bristol and Hotwell Guide*. Benjamin Donne published, by authority, his map of Bristol. The number of hackney coaches was now increased to thirty, and the corporation fixed the stands in the streets at which they were to ply for hire.

In 1789 there were five Banking companies in Bristol. Old Bristol Bank, Clare street: Messrs. Tyn-dall, Elton, Edwards, Gillam and Edye. Corn street Bank: Messrs. Vaughans, Baker, Smith, Hole and Davis. Exchange Bank: Messrs. Worrall and Blatchley. Bristol Bank, Small street: Messrs. Deane, Whitehead, Harford, Son, and Aldridge. Bristol Bank, 15 Corn street: Messrs. Ames, Cave, Harford, Daubeney and Bright, who had removed thither from Small street the previous year.

18. On January 7th, 1790, a market for tanned leather was established at the Back hall, to be thenceforth continued weekly. Till the beginning of this year inhabitants were allowed to send for the water of the Hotwell gratis, but on Mr. Powell's renting the spring

<sup>1</sup> Bristol Tracts.

he made a charge of threepence for every wickered bottleful. Visitors had also given an optional gratuity, but now a regular charge was made of one guinea for the first month, and 5s. for the servant, and half-a-guinea each succeeding month, with 2s. 6d. for the servant. Payment to be made on drinking the first glass of the water.

On February 23rd Richard Bright, John Harris, John Savery and John Butler were delegates from the Dissenting congregations in Bristol, Gloucestershire and Somerset, to act in concert with the General committee in London for procuring the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts.

A little society of poor men, mostly followers of the Rev. John Wesley, had been founded in Bristol in September, 1786. Each member agreed to pay one penny per week, in order to raise a fund to relieve strangers who had neither habitation, clothes, food, nor friends. Five hundred and ten poor distressed persons were relieved in 1790, and received in various proportions £64 13s. 11d. Balance in society box, £1. Two hundred and fifty-four persons were also visited, but were found not to want any relief.

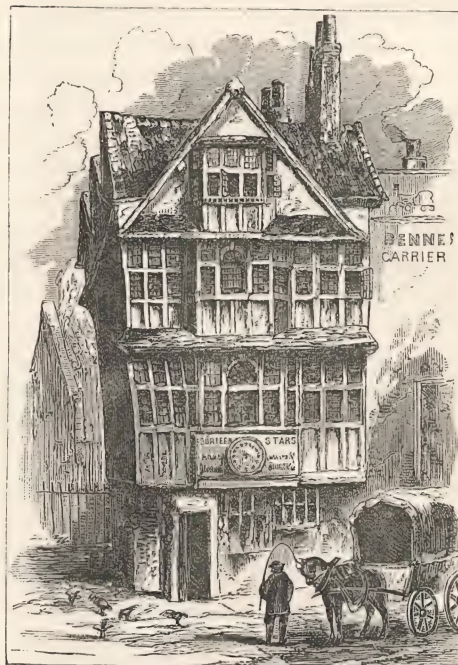
In May, 1790, a subscription was opened for instituting a Magdalen hospital in or near the city, and on the 18th a committee of the subscribers was formed at the Guildhall. A house was taken at Hook's Mills, and on Sunday, February 27th, 1791, the first public service was taken by Dr. Small in the committee-room. Twenty-three penitents in the house were hidden from the gaze of the general congregation by a silk curtain. The first stone of the new chapel was laid on the 19th July, 1791; Dr. Small officiated.

Up to this date the only entrance to Bristol *via* Temple street was through Tucker street, a narrow, crooked, dirty lane, one angle of which still remains; but this year Bath street was built, and many other streets in the city were widened and improved, the corporation having ordered that all bulks, steps, or other projections on the footway should be removed, and that at the corner of each street or avenue there should be affixed a painted board, having in black letters on a white ground the respective names. At the end of Tucker street was the "Fourteen Stars" tavern, Counterslip, which was a favourable resort of the Guinea captains on their return from the Coast. This was one of the houses which Clarkson visited frequently in order to obtain evidence that should aid him in his humane efforts to abolish the slave trade.

November 8th, John Dawes Worgan, poet, was born; he died July 28th, 1809. Richard Smith, sen., surgeon, and the Rev. Caleb Evans died this year. The Rev.

John Collinson, F.S.A., of Long Ashton, published his *History of Somerset*.

19. In 1792, on Wednesday, 12th December, at a common council held in St. George's chapel, a series of resolutions were passed unanimously, the first and second expressive of loyalty to the king and constitution and the determination of the council to uphold the laws of the realm; the third stating their intention to detect and bring to justice all authors, publishers and distributors of seditious writings, to suppress all tumults and riots, and to bring to justice all disturbers of public tranquillity; the fourth called on all good citizens to co-operate with the magistrates to accomplish this salutary end; and the last ordered the said resolutions to be



The "Fourteen Stars" Tavern.

printed in the public papers of this city, of the adjacent counties, and also in the *Star*, *St. James' Chronicle*, and the *General Evening Post*.

Sion spring, Clifton, 246 feet deep, opened by Mr. Morgan. Tresham's painting of Christ raising the Daughter of Jairus presented to Redcliff church by Sir Clifton Wintringham, bart. With this the 33rd year of Geo. III. terminated the printing of Acts of Parliament in Black Letter, or Old English, type. It should be known that none of previous date, except such as were so printed, can be given in evidence as law. James Morgan, mayor; William Gibbons and Joseph Gregory Harris, sheriffs. In this mayoralty commenced the observance of Good Friday by closed shops.<sup>1</sup>

In 1793 the wife of Richard Brinsley Sheridan (*née*

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 298.

Linley), of Bath, died at the Hotwells. Her remains were interred in the cathedral of Wells on July 7th.

On December 10th a duel was fought in a field near the "Montague" tavern, between Lieutenant Brown, of the 54th regiment, and Ensign McDavid, of Captain Sharp's Independent Company of foot. Both fired without effect; at the second shot Lieutenant Brown was wounded in the knee. The cause was a dispute at the theatre. McDavid was a silk mercer in High street.

Henry Cruger declined to contest Bristol in the election that was about to take place, and, leaving this country on the 8th of April in the ship *Bristol*, settled in New York. He achieved renown in 1774, when, having to follow his colleague, Edmund Burke, he attempted no oratory of his own, but was content to say, "I say ditto to Mr. Burke." Later on in the American episode he left Burke in the rear, and declared that "America was independent, will be independent, and ought to be independent."

20. The Bristol bridge riots of 1793 form another blot on the escutcheon of the city. Some persons in authority appear to have blundered in their calculations, and sought to stretch an Act of Parliament so as to make it cover the error, and then, with a wrong-headedness which it is lamentable to contemplate, resorted to force in order to accomplish their end. The Act authorised the Bridge commissioners to collect a surplus sum of £2,000 for preserving the bridge in repair. The commissioners, it appears, as the conclusion of their term drew near, thought this sum insufficient, and, without seeking further powers, determined, on the expiration of the lease, in September, 1793, to re-let the tolls for another year. Aware of this determination, a respectable body of individuals representing the people purchased by subscription of the lessee of the bridge, Mr. Hiscox, the last nine days of the current lease, and at once threw the bridge open. The public, we conceive, had an undoubted right to be satisfied by the commissioners that their conduct was legal, and, in order to test its illegality, to refuse payment of the toll. They had been informed, when the tolls were last let, that the bridge debt would be discharged in September, 1793, and that the letting of 1792 was the last occasion upon which the said tolls would be offered.

In 1792, Mr. Seyer, the broker, declared, "This will be the only opportunity any person would have of bidding for them, as no tolls would be collected after the 29th September, 1793." Mr. W. Harris and Mr. Symons "both declared to me that I certainly should be the last person that would collect the tolls;" they also produced the bridge account, on which I observed "you will have nearly £3,000 in hand." Mr. Harris replied, "We shall have enough to defray every expense of keeping the bridge in repair,"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From a handbill issued by Abraham Hiscox.

Hiscox was the bridge hirer and collector until after the commissioners had advertised the tolls to be let for another year, from September 29th, 1793, when he was bitterly abused by the public, and got no remedy from the magistrates. Nine days before the expiration of his term, on being applied to by a respectable body of citizens to relinquish his right of collecting toll on receiving an adequate consideration, he at once consented. This was done under the impression that if the toll were uncollected for nine days the bridge would become legally free. On September 19th, amidst joyous shoutings, the people thronged over without paying. The gates were the property of the lessor of the tolls, and some foolish fellows cut them down and burned them; they then proceeded to an act of greater madness by pulling down and burning the table of tolls which was at that time a capital offence. The trustees offered on the next day a reward of fifty guineas for the discovery of the offenders; they also stated that there were liabilities of £2,500 still against the bridge, whilst the other side asserted that the corporation had sufficient funds to cover all liabilities if the same were properly applied. No steps were taken to reconcile these differing statements, no offer of submitting the trustees' accounts for scrutiny; but relying on the strong hand, whilst the rentor's term was as yet unexpired, they, on Saturday, September 28th, set up other gates. Mischief was brewing, it was Saturday night; many men were the worse for beer, others were soon made so; the faggots on the Welsh back lay handy, the sleepy "charlies" looked complacently on as a mob gathered, and from the wood-stacks carried and piled combustibles against the new gates, which were soon burned. Hundreds of curious passengers became on-lookers at the bonfire; they were increased into a multitude, when the magistrates, attended by a party of the Herefordshire militia, marched up to take possession of the expiring embers. These innocent arrivals were gathered round the authorities to learn what new steps would be taken, when from outside the circle came volleys of stones aimed at the military and the civic authorities. The Riot Act was read, but was unheard in the *mêlée*; the military fired over the people's heads, and the assemblage then dispersed. The next day, being Sunday, the tolls were again attempted to be taken, and continual strife arose as each vehicle drew up to the toll-houses, the mob ordering the driver not to pay, whilst the newly-appointed collectors demanded the toll, and to the best of their means refused a passage to defaulters. The aid of the constables not being sufficient the magistrates sent for the military, overawed by the presence of whom the populace ceased their contention for a while; as night fell the carriages were allowed to

pass toll free, and again the mob dispersed and the soldiers went to their billets. "Sunday evening at nine o'clock," says one narrator, "a pistol was fired on the eastern footpath while the guard was taking possession of it, without any apparent effect, but a journeyman tiler and plasterer named John Abbott, on reaching his home in Temple street, discovered that he had been wounded. He died on the Sunday following." Two thousand hand-bills were then issued by the civic authorities warning the people not to appear in the streets as the military had orders to fire in case of any tumult. On Monday morning, September 30th, the strife was recommenced as the vehicles entered the city. Finally at eleven o'clock, the Riot Act was three times read, the people were ordered to disperse within one hour, with intimations of a fatal result if more than twelve persons should appear together in a group. But inasmuch as the speakers, in the opinion of the populace, were the law-



*Bristol Bridge, 1793.*

breakers by insisting on the unjust payment of a toll, but little heed was paid to their threats. Early in the afternoon the magistrates returned to assist the collectors, and the work went on amidst a great deal of chaff and banter; then the military were again sent for, and from three to six the toll was collected literally at the point of the sword. Soon after this the magistrates, constables and soldiers retired for the night, as was supposed, upon which some mischievous boys fetched faggots from the Welsh back and made a bonfire at the bridge end; finding no interference from the peace officers they burst the toll-house doors, brought out the furniture and all that was inflammable and threw it upon the fire (the toll-houses were of stone). Then an officer with eight men marched up and the fire was put out, but being assailed with missiles, and having no orders to fire, he and his men had to retreat precipitately. Then the drums beat to arms and the people followed the sound, many of them keeping, as they thought, at a safe distance from the scene of conflict. Some of these were females, a few

with babes in their arms, whilst fathers actually hoisted their children on their shoulders to see the sight. At a quarter past eight there marched down High street a large party of soldiers with some magistrates who endeavoured to clear the bridge. Oyster shells and other missiles being thrown at them from the Welsh back and Baldwin street, some of the military were struck down; enraged, they faced about, and the front rank fired up High street, the mob instantly fell back and jammed up every street; the angry soldiers, it is said, left their ranks in order to single out individuals, whilst others of them kept a desultory fire up every street that radiated from the bridge. This fusillade was utterly unexpected, nine hours had elapsed since the Riot Act had been read, the on-lookers supposed that at least there would be sufficient notice to allow of retreat. Nor were those safe who had kept at a distance, one shot entered the house at the corner of Wine street and passed through the headboard of the bedstead. Eleven persons—whose names are here given—were killed and about fifty wounded.

John Abbott,	James Howell,	James Bennet,
William Morgan,	William Powell,	Isaac Davis,
Humphrey Lewis,	John Jones,	Elizabeth Kegan.
William Aldridge,	Anthony Gill,	

From advertisements in the papers we find that it was John Thomas, William Elton, Matthew Wright, and John Bally who took an assignment of Mr. Wintour Harris' lease of the tolls from the 1st of October.

The following is the justification of the corporation and Bridge commissioners, taken from a broadsheet issued October 1st, 1793, by order of the mayor and aldermen, signed Worrall, town clerk.

Yesterday, at 9 a.m., the toll-gatherers attended to receive the toll for the Bridge commissioners, Mr. Harris, the lessee, having given up the lease for one year which he had taken. They met with interruption, many persons forcing their way and refusing to pay. The constables were sent to aid, and one of the magistrates attended at 10.30. Some of those who attempted to force their way were taken into custody and committed to the Bridewell. On their way thither attempts at rescue were made by a mob. This caused the magistrates to read the Riot Act three times, the last reading being as the clock struck eleven. Mr. Symons, the clerk to the magistrates, addressed the multitude, and promised that the Bridge accounts should be immediately printed and dispersed through the city, and that the toll should cease as soon as the sum authorised by the Act should have been realised.

The people were then given one hour in which to disperse, being assured that at twelve o'clock the civil power would enforce the law.

At the appointed time the magistrates returned and found the mob largely increased and determined to free the bridge. A detachment of military was then ordered down; they were drawn up in two lines on the bridge, where they remained until 6.30. Several magistrates attended, relieving each other at intervals,

to assist the toll collectors until the above-named hour, at which time, being apprehensive of violence, they prevailed on the Bridge commissioners to shut up the toll-houses. The military were then withdrawn, the posts and chains were removed, and the magistrates returned in the rear of the soldiers to the Council-house. Within half an hour they learned that the mob was burning the toll-houses. The military were again sent for; meanwhile an officer, who with a few soldiers had remained in the guard-house, proceeded to the bridge and attempted to disperse the mob, but the party was obliged to return, the officer having been wounded by missiles in two places. Soon after the military arrived, when the mayor, five aldermen, one of the sheriffs, and the peace officers, preceded them to the bridge and commanded the mob to disperse. They were pelted with stones, oyster shells, &c., when the magistrates ordered the military to do their duty; when the front rank fired they were assailed by a shower of stones, &c., from a larger mob that had closed in upon their rear, upon which the soldiers faced about and fired up High street, killing some and wounding others—some of whom were doubtless innocent of evil, but very indiscreet, inasmuch as due warning had been given by printed handbills that the Riot Act had been read, and that the military would be directed to fire if the mob did not disperse.

On the 3rd October another handbill was issued, signed Worrall, town clerk, in which the magistrates call upon fathers not to let their children be loitering in the streets, masters to command their servants, tradesmen and manufacturers to exhort their labourers to pass quietly and not to join the rioters and disorderly in abusing, throwing dirt, or otherwise insulting the military, who have only done their duty. They call on all good citizens to assist the peace officers in apprehending any disturbers of the public peace, who will be dealt by with the utmost severity of the law. Dr. Long Fox, an eminent physician, endeavoured to obtain a meeting for enquiry into all the circumstances, and so to bring the matter before parliament, but, owing to the opposition of the parties in power, he could not obtain the use of any large room in the city.

21. On September 15th, 1794, John Fisher Weare was chosen as mayor, but he declined to serve; on the 2nd of October following Joseph Harford was chosen, but he also declined to serve; finally, on the 20th of that month, Joseph Smith was chosen and was immediately sworn in.

Tontines were now the rage. We find in the *Mercury* advertisements for one in Great George street, another in King's parade, and a third in Royal York crescent. The local literature was chiefly occupied with articles on the late riot. Much of it was in the form of parodies on parts of the Old Testament, the Litany, Te Deum, &c. In May, the Loyal Bristol regiment of 654 men was raised by the city, and presented to Lord Charles Somerset. In January, a stone coffin containing a skeleton was dug up in a garden on Barton hill.

Joseph Romaine Thorn, a somewhat voluminous writer of what would now be deemed very poor poetry,

flourished at this time. A canal fever had set in, a mania similar to that which filled the country with railroad speculators in 1848. One of Thorn's pieces, *The mad gallop to Devizes*, is a satire on this. Other pieces he wrote were *Retirement*, *Clito and Delia*, *Christmas*, *Bristol*, *Lord Howe triumphant*, *The Poor Boy*. He was severely and deservedly satirised by Lovell.

On the 29th June, St. Paul's church, Portland square was opened. The vicar, Dr. Small, was his own architect; the result may be seen. It is probably a unique specimen.

In Stapleton prison on March 15th, 1794, there were confined 1031 French prisoners, of whom 75 were in hospital. The prison was enclosed by high walls, on which at convenient distances there were erected sentry boxes, in each of which a pair of sentinels facing opposite ways was always on duty.

22. On the 14th of April, 1794, before Sir Vicary Gibbs, recorder, there occurred one of those *causes célèbres* which ever and anon crop up, and leave their mark in the legal decisions of our courts of law.

Richard Vining Perry, a young surgeon of respectable family and good standing, was put upon trial for his life for abducting and marrying Clementina Clerke, a young lady fourteen years and eleven months of age, from the school at Bristol kept by Miss Mills, the successor of Miss Hannah More, and the future mother of Lord Macaulay. Miss Clerke was the daughter of a shoemaker at Banff, in Scotland, whose wife was sister to a Mr. Ogilvie, who beginning life as a mason, afterwards amassed a large fortune in Jamaica, returned to this country, placed his niece at the above school and at his death on January 23, 1791, devised the whole of his property, with the exception of two annuities of small amount, to her. Miss Clerke was a beautiful, but as may be surmised very precocious young lady. She appears to have only known Perry a month; he had met and bowed to her twice whilst she was walking on the downs with her schoolfellows; she had received two notes from him and was quite willing to elope. Betty Baker, a servant in the school, was the go-between. She, on the 18th of March, 1791, went out on an errand and did not return. On the 19th, a chaise came to the school, and a note was delivered by a servant in livery to Miss Mills professing to be written by Mr. Gordon, Miss Clerke's guardian. "William Gordon's compliments to Miss Mills, requests she will send Miss Clerke in his chaise to his house, as a relation of hers is just arrived and wishes to see her." Miss Clerke manifested no agitation, she even, as a blind, asked Miss Mills to accompany her, which that lady declined. Miss Clerke left the chaise in Infirmary street, near to Mr. Perry's house, where she joined Betty Baker. A post-chaise and four was in waiting at Stokes' Croft turnpike; Miss Clerke, Mr. Perry, his friend Mr. Baynton, and Betty Baker got in and set off for Newport, thence *via* Gloucester to Gretna Green, where the defendant and nominal plaintiff were married. Miss Mills, accompanied by her brother and Mr. Weeks of the "Bush" tavern, set off in pursuit, and met the happy couple on a Cumberland common. Perry would not allow them to speak to his wife, but at once took her on the continent. The prosecutor would not call Mrs. Perry; but the defendant put her in as a witness, when she deposed that the whole plan was pre-arranged, that she went voluntarily knowing that she was to be married at Gretna, and

that she was perfectly satisfied and never for one moment wished to leave her husband. Verdict, not guilty. The guildhall for half-an-hour resounded with the shouts of the people.

In 1794 *The Mock Volunteers* was published. It is a poetical satire, directed, the author says, "not against those who have actually come forward in support of our king and constitution, but a set of persons who, from a desire to obtain the name of soldiers without experiencing the trouble and danger necessary to deserve it, have presumed to form themselves into a kind of *military association*, without the sanction of Government or of the magistrates." The lines have merit and point, and from them we learn that whilst the volunteers were exercising in Tyndall's park, a watchman, set to guard certain building materials, mistaking them for robbers, fired a blunderbuss and put them instantly to the rout. From its style we judge the author to have been Thistlethwaite.

23. On the suspension of cash payments by the Bank of England, by order of the privy council, on the 26th February, 1795, a meeting was called in Bristol, at the Mansion house, by Mr. J. Harvey, the mayor, on the 27th, at which the said order was read; and it was unanimously resolved—

In order to prevent any inconvenience that may result to the community, and to preserve public confidence in this emergency, that we will accept, and we earnestly recommend our fellow-citizens to take in payment, "*the promissory notes of the several bankers in this city*" in lieu of cash; and we recommend to the several bankers that they do not make any payments in specie, nor demand specie for any bills in their hands from any person who shall tender "*Bristol*" or "*Bank of England*" notes to the amount of such bills; and that this resolution shall be in force until the sense of Parliament on the subject shall be known.

JAMES HARVEY, *Chairman*.

Mr. Mayor,	G. Gibbs,	Geo. Daubeny,
Jno. Pinney,	W. Holder,	Robt. Claxton,
Thos. Tyndall,	Saml. New,	P. Protheroe,
Jas. Tobin,	Rd. Bright,	Ed. Protheroe,
Rich. Vaughan,	M. Harford,	J. Morgan and Co.,
Benj. Baugh,	L. Ames,	Lewis Corser and Co.,
Ph. Miles, jun.,	M. Castle,	D. Wait and Sons
Wm. Gibbons,	Hellicar and Sons,	S. Fripp and Co.,
Jas. Whitehead,	Ph. Elliott,	Lowbridge and Rd. Bright,
J. I. Baker,	Thos. Fielding,	Wm. Fripp,
John Lowder,	Jos. Hall,	Ball, Davis, Vanderhorst
Saml. Edwards,	Thos. Cole,	and Co.,
Henry Tobin,	Jos. Smith,	Tobin, Pinney and Tobin,
Jno. Cave,	Simon Oliver,	Vaughans, Baugh and Co.,
Jos. Harford,	Joel Gardiner,	Wm. Miles and Son,
Jno. Daniel,	Ireland, Wright,	Wm. Gibbons and Co.,
R. Bruce,	and Co.,	J. I. Baker and Co.,
D. Wait, jun.,	Clayfield and Sons,	Edwards, Bown and Ed-
Wm. Clayfield,	Jno. Noble,	wards,
A. Pinney,	E. Baillie,	John Cave and Co.,
J. Ambrose,	S. Worrall,	Harvey, Wason and Co.,
Jno. Morgan,	Jos. Edye,	T. Daniel and Sons,
R. H. Davis,	Wm. Skinner,	Harfords, & Brass Compy.
Jas. Harford,		

On October 29th the city was visited by the highest flood in the memory of man; there was a spring tide and a high westerly wind. Soon after eight o'clock the Quay became impassable, together with the communication between Clare street and the Drawbridge. Broadmead, St. James' back, Old King street, &c., were almost entirely under water to a considerable depth; it flowed nearly up to Baldwin street.

In 1795 the Asylum for Orphan Girls established at Hooke's mills, and the chapel opened; St. Peter's church repaired; the new pump-room of Sion spring opened. James Harvey, mayor; David Evans and John Wilcox, sheriffs.<sup>1</sup>

There was an election in 1796, at which five candidates came to the poll. Amongst the reasons given why Lord Sheffield should not be supported in Bristol are his support of a Corn bill, of a Gaol bill, his opposition to the Kenneth and Avon canal, from Bath to Bristol, and his support of a motion to limit the number of African ships to those already employed in the trade, "on which it may be observed that there is not a single trading ship in the Floating dock—one old hulk only." The Whigs brought forward Mr. Benjamin Hobhouse in opposition to him. The Tory "White Lion" club nominated Mr. Charles Bragge. Mr. David Lewis, an uneducated but spirited tradesman of Bristol, started as a poor man's candidate, and Mr. Thomas was also nominated. This was one of the smartest elections of days of yore in the production of squibs and wall literature. Hobhouse, who started too late, had his name linked with that of Tom Paine, greatly to his prejudice. The Blues coalesced with the old Whigs and supported Sheffield.

24. "In danger ready!" the now familiar motto of our volunteers, was adopted in 1797, when a loyal address to the king having been passed, it was determined that Bristol should act as well as speak; accordingly, on February 17th, a troop of Yeomanry Cavalry was raised. The officers were Captain W. B. Elwyn, Lieutenant B. Baugh, Cornet Mark Harford, Sergeant Edward James, Corporal John Weeks (landlord of the "Bush") and Trumpeter Richard Parry. They numbered fifty persons. On the 18th, at a public meeting in the Guildhall, Evan Baillie in the chair, resolutions were adopted for the formation of a proposed corps of infantry, who were to serve without pay or emolument. The mayor was appointed honorary colonel; the colonel was Evan Baillie; the lieutenant-colonel, William Gore; Thomas Kington and Thomas Haynes, majors. The mayor, Mr. J. Harvey, forwarded the address and resolutions to the Government, and gratifying replies were received from the Duke of Portland

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 301-2.

on March 6th, and from Earl Berkeley, the lord lieutenant, on March 13th. The regiment was forthwith formed, duly drilled, and consisted of ten companies.

Evan Baillie (Park row), colonel; William Gore (Brislington), Thomas Tyndall (Fort), lieutenant-colonels; Thomas Kington (Clifton), Thomas Haynes (Castle green), majors; Stephen Cave (Brunswick square), quarter-master.

GRENADIER COMPANY.—Gabriel Goldney (Clifton), captain; George Hillhouse (Queen's parade), lieutenant; G. W. Braikendirge (Redcliff parade), second lieutenant; William Hassell (Paul street, Portland square), third lieutenant.

FIRST COMPANY.—S. L. Harford (Zion place, Clifton), captain; James Evan Baillie (Park row), first lieutenant; John Barrow (Unity street), second lieutenant; Andrew Smith (Berkeley place), ensign.

SECOND COMPANY.—R. Vaughan, jun. (Berkeley square), captain; Richard Prescott (Brislington), first lieutenant; Thomas Salmon (Old Market), second lieutenant; Frederick Daubeny (Redland), ensign.

THIRD COMPANY.—Thomas Cole (Brislington), captain; R. Montague, jun. (Park row), first lieutenant; Thomas Protheroe (Leigh), second lieutenant; James Morgan (Great George street), ensign.

FOURTH COMPANY.—Robert Bush (College green), captain; J. J. Riddle (Portland square), first lieutenant; Edward R. Clayfield (Great George street), second lieutenant; Robert Bush, jun. (Baldwin street), ensign.

FIFTH COMPANY.—Charles Payne (Queen's parade), captain; George Raxter (Montague parade), first lieutenant; James Palmer, second lieutenant; James W. Chadwick (Ashton), ensign.

SIXTH COMPANY.—A. P. Collings (Cotham), captain; Joseph Hall (Mary-le-port street), first lieutenant; Sir H. Protheroe, knt., second lieutenant; Stephen Horsley (Cotham), ensign. (This company was often called the Custom-house company.)

SEVENTH COMPANY.—Peter Baillie (Berkeley square), captain; George Gibbs (Redland), first lieutenant; William Jacques (Upper Easton), second lieutenant; John Beames (College green), ensign (afterwards a celebrated Chancery barrister).

EIGHTH COMPANY.—John Gordon (Cleve hill), captain; Lionel Oliver (Trinity street), first lieutenant; William Perry (Shirehampton), second lieutenant; Samuel C. Edwards (Redcliff street), ensign.

LIGHT INFANTRY.—John Haythorne (Barton hill), captain; Henry R. Llewellyn (High street), first lieutenant; Charles Gresley (Queen square), second lieutenant; Samuel Whitchurch (back of Park row), third lieutenant.

#### BRISTOL LIGHT HORSE VOLUNTEERS.

FIRST TROOP.—Richard Pearsall (Clifton), captain; John Vaughan (St. Michael's hill), lieutenant; D. Baynton (Old Market street) cornet; William Clarke, quartermaster.

SECOND TROOP.—Levi Ames (Berkeley square), captain; J. Wedgwood (Cote), lieutenant; Charles Harvey (Park street), cornet; William Parsons (Brislington), quartermaster; Samuel Simmons Salmon (St. Augustine's place), surgeon.

We believe the only active service seen by these patriots consisted in mounting guard over the French prisoners, in order to relieve the regulars who, on the tidings that the French had landed at Fishguard, were immediately marched off into Wales. There were no arms ready for the volunteers, but a substitute was found, all the mopsticks in the city being bought up

and turned into pikes with iron heads, which proved thoroughly effective in restraining the prisoners from making any attempt to regain their liberty.

As a further security it was proposed that the 2,000 prisoners should all be lowered into the coalpits of the neighbourhood; this, we need scarcely say, was not done, but the Bristol volunteers continued their services, and, after being armed, for a considerable time furnished the whole or a portion of the guard at Stapleton; for this they received, through the Duke of



Old Bristol Volunteer.

Portland, then lord high steward, one of the secretaries of state, the thanks of the king. When the treaty of Amiens was signed they were marched with military music and flying colours to the "Bush" tavern, and were coolly told by their colonel "that the government had no more need of their services, and they might go." When the war again broke out this ungracious dismissal was remembered and resented, and few citizens at first enrolled themselves, but as danger grew imminent, bankers, merchants and tradesmen rushed to arms. The cavalry force was particularly well mounted. When the Duke of Cumberland reviewed them he said "he never saw finer horses in his life," and the rank and file, their captain boasted, were worth millions. Mr. Stamford Whittingham, who served as a private, left the corps to go out to Spain as wool agent, for the firm of which his brother-in-law, Richard Hart Davis, was a partner. When the French invaded the Peninsula he reverted to arms, formed an irregular corps of cavalry, did good service, attained to the rank of general, and received the thanks of the Duke of Wellington.

In 1807, when the Prince of Wales visited Bristol, the Bristol volunteers formed a guard of honour to H.R.H., who remarked that the grenadiers were the finest company of volunteers that he had seen. The cavalry escorted H.R.H. to Berkeley on his return. The regiment was finally disbanded in 1814, when the corps received the thanks of the Prince Regent and a silver medal in commemoration of their gratuitous services.<sup>1</sup>

A voluntary contribution, in 1798, was also raised in Bristol, for the defence of the country and the aid of government. From a list of the subscribers and balance sheet we learn that the volunteer infantry contributed £1,189 9s. 6d., besides the moneys subscribed in their

<sup>1</sup> Abstracted from Bristol Times.

private capacity as householders. From the latter we learn that the net balance handed to the government amounted to £33,343 8s. 1½d.

On April 26, 1797, a petition for peace, and for the dismissal of his majesty's ministers, was agreed upon at the guildhall, and was left for signature at the guildhall; the West India coffee-house; the market; Jack's coffee-house; Reed's, bookseller, Wine street; the "Druid" tavern, Old market; Biggs's, bookseller, Drawbridge; the "Talbot" tavern, Bath street; Barry's, the Bridge; and John Rose's, printer, Broadmead.

On Saturday, the 30th of September, an inquest was held on the body of James Doe, who was found drowned in Sea mill dock. The deceased had lived some days in the ruined dock warehouse, the walls of which were inscribed with pious meditations, the last date being September 14th; he had been a painter on china at Wedgewood's.

On November 20th, at a meeting held at the guildhall, the mayor in the chair, a subscription was inaugurated for the relief of the wounded seamen and the widows and orphans of such as were killed in the action between Admiral Lord Duncan and the Dutch fleet under Admiral de Winter, on the 11th October, 1797.

In September, 1798, a subscription was raised to procure "comforts for the Royal North Gloucester Militia, who nobly volunteered to proceed to Ireland to defend that kingdom against the attacks of a foreign enemy." Mr. Benjamin Donne died, "master of mechanics to his majesty." Robert Claxton, mayor; Daniel Wait, junior, and William Fripp, sheriffs.

In the *Monthly Magazine* for May, 1798, there is an article written by Coleridge on the state and manners of Bristol. His complaint against the barbarous use of drays had little effect until a reform was begun by Messrs. Vaughan and Longman of Clare street hall, about 1808, who were the first who employed sugar carts in Bristol.

1799.—Vaccine inoculation introduced by Dr. Edward Jenner. The amount of Dr. Jenner's expenses incurred by correspondence was more than £7,000. This, however, was covered by the grant from Parliament of £10,000.

John Morgan, mayor; Henry Bright (sugar refiner) and Worthington Brice, sheriffs.<sup>1</sup>

25. In 1800 the mayor was William Gibbons; the sheriffs, Robert Castle and Samuel Birch. The harvest this year was very wet; the wheat sprouted in the fields, deprived of its gluten, the dough had no stiffness, and when placed in the oven ran out from under the door. Naturally bread rose to famine price, as may be seen from the following notice:—

The price of bread, set the 7th February, 1801, for the city

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 302.

of Bristol, to take place on Monday, the 9th February, and to be in force for the said city of Bristol for the space of seven days:—

	lbs.	oz.	dwt.	s.	d.
The peck loaf ...	17	6	0	is	6 4
Half-peck loaf ...	8	11	0	"	3 2
Quartern loaf ...	4	5	8	"	1 7
Half-quartern loaf ...	2	2	12	"	0 9½
Twopenny loaf ...	0	7	5		
Penny loaf ...	0	3	11		

WM. GIBBONS, Mayor.

N.B.—If bread of inferior kind to the standard now fixed be offered for sale, or bread composed of other mixture than that of flour of wheat, the letter H must be marked upon the inferior, and the letter M on the mixed, and the same must be sold at inferior prices.

On the 20th of December, 1800, Messrs. Thomas Batchelor, deputy-governor of St. Peter's hospital, and Thomas Andrews, poor-law guardian, addressed a public letter to the mayor of Bristol, in which they complained of the treatment of the French prisoners at Stapleton. They were nearly naked; the mud in the unpaved courtyard was inches deep; the bread fusty, the beef carrion, and that only one pound of this bread and half a pound of the beef (bone included) was given every twenty-four hours to each prisoner; that no vegetables were allowed, except to the sick in hospital; that some of the sick lay dying, apparently from famine, and all but naked on the ground in the outer court; that the deaths were six or eight per day; that 250 had died during six weeks, and that, the writers had reason to believe, the contract prices were quite sufficient to give the prisoners better food and greater comforts. The mayor very properly forwarded the complaint to head quarters, stating that the prison was in Gloucestershire, and out of his jurisdiction. On December 31st orders came that the prisoners should be supplied with proper clothing; that a quart of rice or barley gruel for every three men should be given them warm as soon as they rose in the morning, &c. Commissioners were also sent down to examine the prisons, and to enquire into the truth of the accusation. It was found that the statements had been exaggerated, but the evidence produced would not have satisfied a jury of the present day. Mr. Alderman Noble, of Bristol, in his evidence, stated that he acted as agent for the contractor, Mr. Grant, of London, and supplied the provisions on commission; and the witnesses seem to have been all more or less interested. It was given in evidence, however, that the deaths in November were forty-four, and in December, up to the 20th, thirty-seven; the number of prisoners being 2,900. Making every allowance for the gambling away of food and clothing by the prisoners, it is abundantly evident that there was ample room for enquiry.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bristol Tracts, I.

On the 12th of April, resolutions were passed in a public meeting of the deputies of twelve parishes—

First, to assist the magistrates in protecting the free markets of the city, and in bringing to justice any persons who prevent provisions being brought into the city, or who forestall in order to sell at their own prices; second, to pledge ourselves not to consume more than one quarter loaf weekly for each person in our families, to decrease our consumption of fresh provisions by one-sixth, and to attend the markets and give a preference to those who will supply the public on the lowest terms.

In 1801 Joseph Edye was mayor; Samuel Span and Richard Vaughan, sheriffs. The estimated population of Bristol was 63,645. Pestilence followed on the heels of her elder sister famine in the shape of spotted fever; within nineteen weeks twenty-eight people were down with it in one house in Back street, and eight were buried out of another house in Ellbroad street. Sanitary arrangements were neglected; one of the old houses in Back street, which was pulled down in 1879, was a building of four stories, let out in single rooms, the entrance to it being through a passage, one side of which was devoted to open latrines, which communicated direct with the sewer, so that the inward draught of sewer gas swept upwards into every room. In that very dwelling the cholera of 1832 was most deadly.

The chamberlain's salary was, in 1801, raised from £62 to £101, and again to £125.

In 1802 Robert Castle, the mayor, died, and was succeeded by David Evans; J. F. Edgar and Sir H. Protheroe, knt., being sheriffs. The Blind Asylum society laid out nearly £2,000 in the purchase of a house. George Catcott, Chatterton's friend, died November 19th. "*A Life of Hannah More*, with a critical review of her writings, by Rev. Archibald McSarcasm," was this year published, the writer being Dr. Shaw.

26. In 1803 the impress service was keen, and some useful hands having been pressed at Pill in May, most of the other western men lay *perdu*; but on the 14th, as the *Sturdy Beggar* (Cork packet) was attempting to ascend the Avon without towboats, a mob at Pill assailed with a shower of stones the people on deck, wounding many. Three boats also boarded the vessel and prevented her proceeding to Bristol.

On May 15th an embargo was laid on all vessels in the port of Bristol. The French ship *Le Glorieux* was taken by the privateer *Eliza*, Captain Thomas; she had on board the governor of St. Lucia and a crew of forty-one persons.

All the ships from Kingroad came up to Bristol on a report that the enemy's fleet was in the Channel, leaving only the *Arethusa*, guardship, and her tender in the roads. Two armed cutters cruised off Lundy to guard the coasting trade.

Mr. Thomas Wall, brewer, of Bristol, returning from Westbury, was robbed on Durdham down of twenty-seven guineas, chiefly in one-pound notes of the Bristol Banks and the Bank of England. Attempting to defend himself, he was cruelly beaten, kicked, and left for dead.

The first record we have seen of the performance of "The Messiah" in Bristol is the following:—

Third morning's performance, Friday, April 15th, 1803, at St. Paul's church, Bristol, of a grand musical festival for the benefit of the Bristol Infirmary. Directors of the orchestra, Mr. Ranzzini and Mr. R. Broderip; leader of the band, Mr. Weichsell; conductor, Mr. Ranzzini. Principal vocal performers: Mrs. Billington, Miss Sharp, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Knyvett, and Mr. Bartleman. Principal instrumental performers: Violins—Messrs. Weichsell, Richards, Sturge, Loder, Percival; Violoncellos—Lindley and Herschell; Flutes—Ashe and Howell; Oboes—Ashley and Perry; Clarionets—Smith and Wright; Trumpet—Waite; Bassoons—T. Ashley and Stanbury; Trombones—Flacks, Dressler, and Zivingman; Drums—Windsor; Double Drums—Jenkinson; Tenors—Seine and Chubb; Double Basses—Philpotts and Evans; Organ—Mr. Boyton.

N.B.—The band will consist of 120 vocal and instrumental performers.

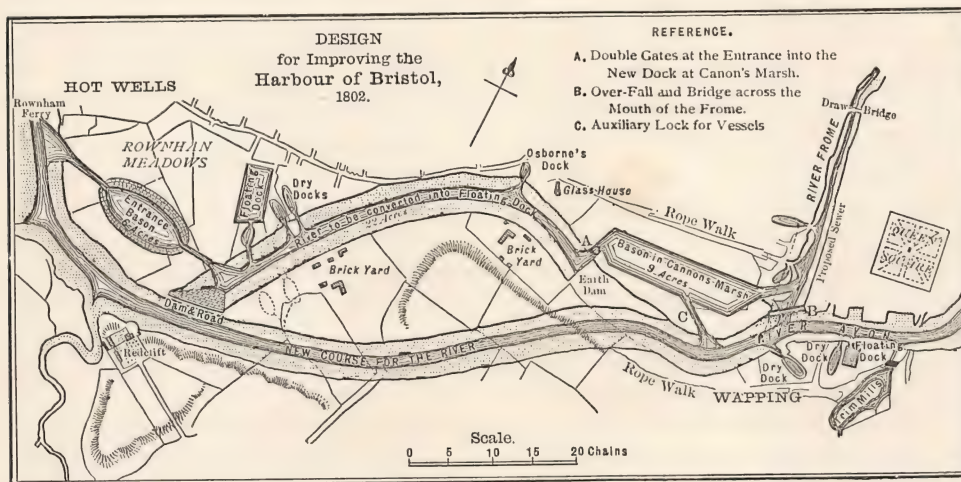
27. The Clifton burial ground, below York place, was opened in 1803. David Evans was mayor; Samuel Henderson, jun., and John Haythorne, sheriffs. The Rev. S. Seyer was presented to the perpetual curacy of Horfield.

The first Act of Parliament for improving and rendering more commodious the port and harbour of Bristol passed on the 11th August, 1803, whereby the mayor, burgesses and commonalty of the city, the master wardens and commonalty of the Merchant Venturers of the said city, and the several persons subscribers towards the sum thereby authorised to be raised, were united into a company of proprietors of the works thereby directed to be made, under the firm of "The Bristol Dock Company;" and a board of directors, consisting of twenty-seven persons, was appointed for managing the affairs of the said company, to consist of the mayor, eight members of the common council, the master of the Society of Merchant Venturers and eight members of the society, and of nine subscribers. By this Act the Dock company was authorised to erect dams across the river Avon to exclude the spring tides from the Floating harbour, to make a new channel for the Avon with entrance basins therefrom into the Floating harbour, and to do all other things necessary for the execution of the said work; and as a remuneration for the monies to be expended in such works, the company was authorised, from the expiration of twelve months after such works should have been begun, to receive tonnage rates upon all vessels entering the port, and upon all goods imported from parts beyond seas, and also to collect £2,400 per annum by a rate upon all houses and lands within the city.

We have already alluded to several plans that were mooted during the 18th century for floating certain portions of the river Avon which wound in a serpentine form through the city. In 1800 another scheme was published, which bears the signature "J. T." The idea was to excavate a dock in Canons' marsh, 480 yards

Mr. Jessop's plan, published in 1802, as will be seen from the illustration, was as follows:

He proposed to carry the water of the Avon through a new cut, beginning at the back of the present gaol, down to the Redclift house near Rownham. To place a dam with an overfall and bridge at the mouth of the Frome, thus diverting the water of that river into a large basin of nine acres dug out of Canons' marsh. This basin at its western end was to communicate with the old bed of the Avon, which, being dammed off at what is now the Liverpool wharf and again at the present dam opposite to Redclift house, was to be converted into a floating-harbour. The entrance to this harbour was to be through an oval basin of six acres,

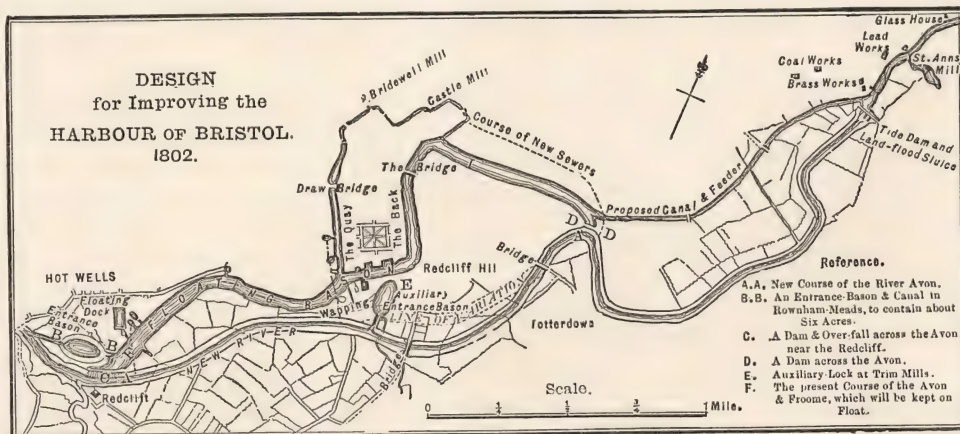


*Jessop's Plan for Floating the Harbour.*

long by 220 wide, which, it was calculated, would hold twenty-six ships. The end of the river Frome was, at Gib Taylor, to be banked up thirty yards in breadth, through which flood-gates were to be placed for scouring the river. A tongue of land 30 yards wide and 300 yards long was to be projected into the new dock, dividing it for three fourths of its length into two portions of equal width. At the west end of the dock three locks were to lead into a floating basin two acres in extent, out of which two other locks were to lead into the Avon, nearly opposite to the present Gas Works offices. The total area of floatage would be about 20 acres, giving room by double berths for 140 ships. The cost was estimated at £53,000.

Another scheme was broached for converting Queen square into a floating basin, with a quay 90 feet in width around it. This would give three and a-half acres of water, and accommodate three tiers of ships on each side.

with double locks at each end. There was offered by this plan a through communication from Rownham mead, *via* Canons' marsh, right up to the Stone bridge. The main entrance into the floated portion was by gates at Rownham, but there was also a tidal lock into the nine-acre, from the top or east end of the newly-cut channel,



*Jessop's (improved) Plan which was adopted and carried out.*

which lock would be just below the present Prince street bridge. Jessop claimed that by this plan ships would be kept afloat at the Quays, and could enter the locks or go to sea at neap tides. The great objection was that it left all the Avon from Prince street bridge still tidal. The cost of the work was estimated at £156,840, with com-

pensation not more than £200,000. It was estimated that the Dock dues would realise £8,600, and the six-penny rate on houses in the city £2,400—£11,000.

Jessop's scheme was improved, and the result was the plan which forms our present floating harbour. A dam was placed across the Avon at Totterdown, the waters of which river were carried by a new cut from thence through the Bedminster meadows as far as the Redelift house, where another dam was thrown across the bend of the Avon that had flowed through the city.

By this scheme the area was greatly enlarged, upwards of eighty acres being floated, and the Frome and the Avon from Totterdown lock to Rownham were made into one continuous float. The waste of water was supplied by the Frome, and by a feeder cut from Totterdown to Netham, where an over-

fall dam was thrown across the Avon in order to keep up a steady head of water. Provision was made for land-floods by a sluice between the feeder and the Avon, as shown in the illustration. The work was begun on June 1st, 1804, the first sod for the New Cut being dug at Wapping, under Mr. Jessop, engineer to the Dock Company.

In 1804 Edward Protheroe was mayor; Levi Ames, jun., and Philip Protheroe, sheriffs. In January this year a gang of robbers who had long been the terror of Clifton and the neighbourhood were captured in the Giant's cave, St. Vincent's rocks. Four of them were fry-]

ing eggs and bacon at a fire, and they had sent two women of the gang for beer. At that time access to the cavern, which they had furnished comfortably with chairs and tables, was by a narrow ledge along the face of the cliff.

The foundations of Bedminster iron bridge were laid by John Scandrett Harford, in 1805. It was opened for carriages July 15th, 1807. Whilst these pages are passing through the press, this bridge is being replaced by a greatly improved structure.

On February 21, 1806, five ribs of another bridge (Hillsbridge), then being erected over the New Cut, fell

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down. Richard Vaughan, jun., mayor; Henry Brooke and Edward Brice, jun., sheriffs. William Fripp declined to serve as mayor, and Vaughan was chosen October 2nd.

On May 5th an Act for enlarging the several Acts for paving, pitching and lighting the streets and other places within the city of Bristol and the liberties thereof was passed.

Henry Bright, mayor in 1807, died during his year of office, and was succeeded by Samuel Birch; Sir Henry Protheroe, knt., and John Haythorne were sheriffs. On

October 6th H.R.H. the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Sussex dined at the Merchants' hall, and were presented with the freedom of the city; they left in the evening for Berkeley.

In 1808 John Haythorne was mayor, and Benjamin Bickley and Philip George sheriffs. On March 1st a school

on Mr. Lancaster's plan was opened, a room having been hired, which was fitted up for eighty boys.

Prince William of Gloucester was made a freeman of the city of Bristol October 27th.

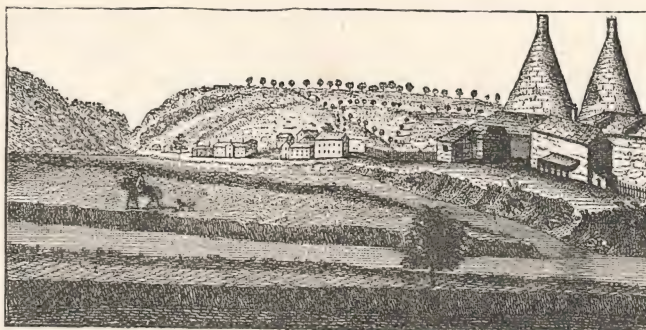
29. In 1809, J. H. Wilcox being mayor, and Michael Castle and George King sheriffs, the New Cut was

opened, and the Floating harbour completed at a cost of upwards of £600,000. The workmen, in forming the New Cut, discovered large quantities of trees about twenty feet below the surface embedded in clay. They were lying mostly in one direction, and appeared as though

they were swept suddenly down by a hurricane.

The foundation of the new Assembly-rooms at the east end of the Mall, Clifton, was laid. On February 1st it was resolved in public meeting "to erect a Commercial coffee-room in Bristol; the shares, which are transferrable, are all taken up." Also this year a number of gentlemen, who had formed a Philosophical Institution, projected the erection of a building to be appropriated to scientific and literary purposes. The project lay in abeyance, however, until 1820.

30. In 1810 Philip Protheroe was mayor; William



*The Hotwells and Clifton Hill in 18th Century.*



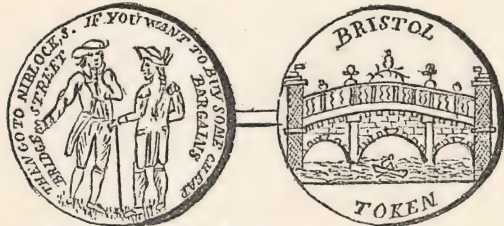
*The Avon, before it was made into a Floating Harbour.*

Inman and James Fowler, sheriffs. Sir Henry Protheroe was chosen, but he declined serving; the corporation then elected Philip Protheroe. The chief events in connection with Bristol this year were the trial of Sir H. Lippincott, bart., and the narrow escape of two aeronauts who ascended from Bristol. On Monday, September 24th, Mr. Sadler, a veteran aeronaut, ascended in his balloon from a field at the back of Stokes' croft, accompanied by Mr. William Clayfield. They crossed the Severn, the wind being from the east, from Woodspring point to Sully island; there meeting a current from the

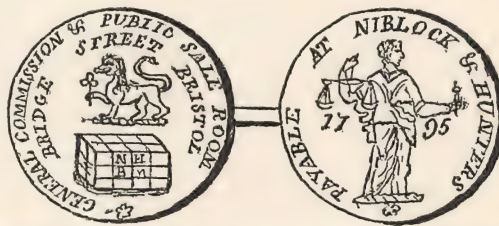
eastward, they were driven to the Nash, when the wind changing to north-east, they were carried across the Channel to Watermouth. The gas failing, they could not surmount the hills, and were caught by a land wind from the south-west, which carried them out to sea. Fortunately, the critical position of the aeronauts had been seen by gentlemen at Lynmouth; these manned a boat and sent her off to intercept the drifting balloon and save its occupants. Temple gate was this year taken down. On September 30th the Commercial-rooms were opened.



Bristol One Pound Note.



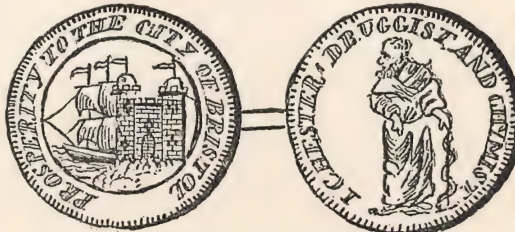
Halfpenny issued by Niblock, Draper, 18 and 19 Bridge Street.



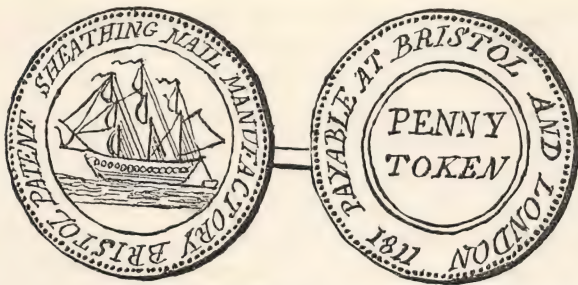
Halfpenny issued by Niblock and Hunter, 18 and 19 Bridge Street.



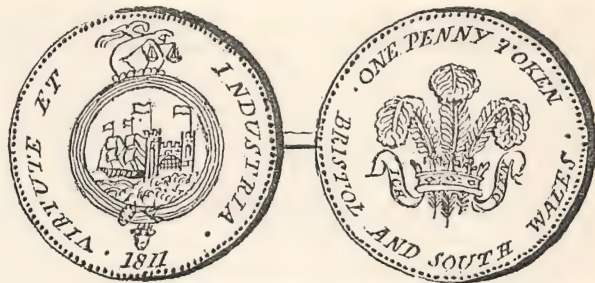
Shilling issued by sundry tradesmen.



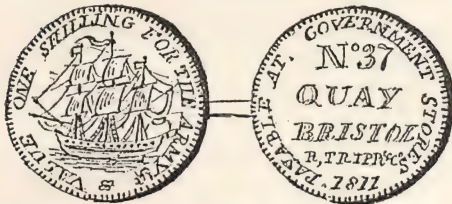
Shilling of John Chester.



Penny Token issued by Saml. Guppy, Patent Copper Sheathing Nail Manufacturer, 34, Queen Square and the Grove Avenue.



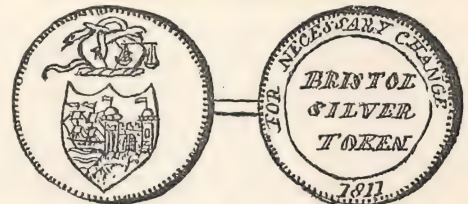
Penny Token issued in 1811 by persons unknown.



Shilling issued by Robert Tripp, Army Clothing Contractor.



Sixpence issued by Wm. Shepherd, Bookseller, Small Street and Corn Street.



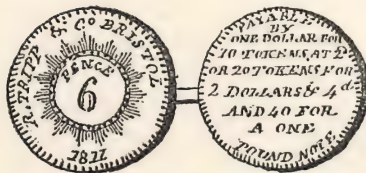
Shilling issued in 1811 by persons unknown.



Penny Token issued in 1811 by persons unknown.



Penny Token issued in 1811 by Harford's and Bristol Brass and Copper Compy.



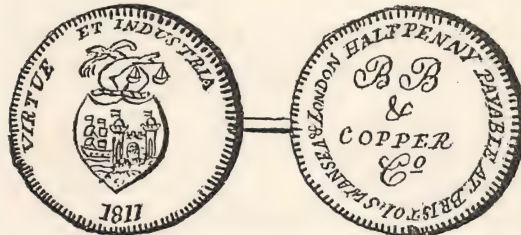
Sixpence issued by Robert Tripp, Army Clothing Contractor, corner of Broad Quay.



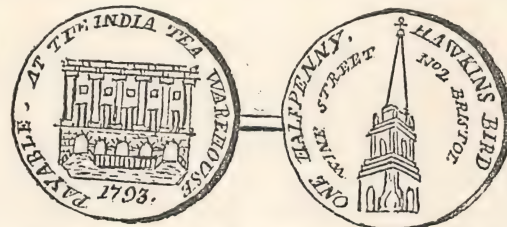
Shilling issued by Wm. Shepherd, Bookseller, Small Street and Corn Street.



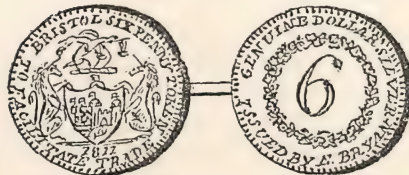
Sixpence issued by Niblock and Latham, Drapers, Bridge Street.



Halfpenny issued in 1811 by Harford's and Bristol Brass and Copper Compy.



Halfpenny issued in 1793 by Hawkins Bird, Tea Dealer, 2 Wine Street.



Sixpence issued by E. Bryan, Stationer, on the Tolzey.



Sixpence issued by sundry tradesmen.



Shilling issued by E. Bryan, Stationer, on the Tolzey (this is the heaviest and best coin of the whole).

31. In 1811 so great was the deficiency of specie that it was almost impossible to obtain change in silver for a guinea, which would then readily fetch 26s. Bank notes for £1 formed the chief circulating medium. Shopkeepers gave a premium of one shilling in the pound to obtain silver from those who had hoarded it. To counteract this evil several Bristol tradesmen issued, with the tacit consent of the Government, sundry silver and copper tokens which were available for the purchase of small articles and the payment of wages. The shilling tokens were worth intrinsically eightpence, and the six-penny, fourpence; some copper tokens had been issued during the scarcity of coin in 1793-5. The vendors bound themselves to take them in payment at their nominal value when presented. We give *facsimiles* of most of these and also of a one pound note.

In connection with these tokens the following public notice was issued:—

Tokens—Redcliff parish. Public notice.—Messrs. Garratt and Co. having publicly declared that after the 2nd of November they will not give for their tokens the value for which they were issued by them, we, the undersigned, have determined that we will not receive them for more than ninepence each after this day:—

S. and J. Fitchew,	John B. Jacques,	John B. Cross,
James Clark,	Samuel Lucas,	Robert Rowland,
John R. Grant,	Brookman and Son,	Thomas W. Hall,
Wm. Frost,	Purnells and Co.,	Thomas Lane,
John Clark,	John Simkin,	Peter Peace, jun.,
E. B. Willmot,	Henry Gwyther,	G. A. Hogarth,
Stephen Doughty,	Wm. Puke,	Richard White.

Bristol, 31st October, 1812.

In 1811 Levi Ames was chosen mayor, but declining to serve, J. H. Wilcox was chosen (for the second time) in October; Edward Brice and Benjamin Bickley, sheriffs.

The population of Bristol, including Clifton and Bedminster, estimated at 71,279; but this, as well as every other census in time of war, was very loosely taken, the disposition being scarcely less strong to evade such an enquiry than to prevent a full assessment of taxes.<sup>1</sup>

In November the Exchange was made into a corn market. The see of Bristol, the income from which was inconsiderable, was very largely augmented by the rectory of Almondsbury being reserved and attached to the bishopric. The weekly assize of bread by the magistrates ceased in Bristol in June this year. The Rev. Charles Lee, master of the Grammar school, died in October, aged seventy-seven.

32. It was in Bristol, in 1812, that the famous Henry Hunt began his career as a candidate for Parliamentary honours. When in that year the Hon. C. B. Bathurst was made chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster three candidates were proposed for the vacant seat in Bristol,

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 30-56.

R. Hart Davis, H. Hunt and William Cobbett, esqs. The poll was kept open for fourteen days, at the enormous expense to R. Hart Davis of £12,000. Serious riots took place, and the city was kept in a constant uproar. After the dissolution in the following October Hunt again contested the city, the other candidates being R. Hart Davis, E. Protheroe and Sir Samuel Romilly. R. Hart Davis and Protheroe were returned. Hunt petitioned, and the proceedings lasted from February 26th to March 11th, 1813; he conducted his own case, otherwise it was thought that bribery might easily have been established and one or both of the sitting members unseated; he obtained a warrant from the Speaker for giving him free access to the city books, and employed John Cranidge, A.M., master of an academy at Upper Easton, who published, in 1818, an 8vo, pp. 296, entitled, "*A Mirror for the Burgesses and Commonalty of the City of Bristol*", in which is exhibited to their view a part of the great and many interesting benefactions and endowments of which the city hath to boast, and for which the corporation are responsible, as the stewards and trustees thereof; correctly transcribed from authentic documents." It was stated during the enquiry that Bristol had more moneys vested in trust for benevolent purposes than the whole empire of France.

Mr. Hunt's reception in Bristol in 1812, when he came, on May 12th, on the invitation of some Radical friends, was most enthusiastic. Riding on a grey horse, he was received by thousands of persons at the entrance to the city. On his arrival at the Exchange he mounted one of the brass pillars and addressed the multitude. He advocated a petition for peace, which was adopted and received some thousand signatures. One hundred and ten persons dined at the new Assembly rooms; amongst the toasts, No. 10, was "The House of Commons in the river Thames and every honest member a cork jacket." Hunt died at Alresford, February 13th, aged sixty-three; he was a first-rate sportsman, an enthusiastic angler, and a good shot.

A broad-sheet published at the *Mirror* office on Tuesday, May 12th, 1812, contains three letters, one to the mayor of Bristol, J. H. Wilcox, by R. Hart Davis, M.P., and one to Jere Osborne, esq., from the same gentleman, also another from H. A. Broughton, esq., narrating the assassination of Mr. Perceval in the House of Commons on the 11th. Mr. Davis was in the House, and saw the assassin seized. "He acknowledged to me almost immediately that it was he that had (as he expressed it) the misfortune to shoot Mr. Perceval."

On April 2nd, 1813, Messrs. Stock and Fry's sugar-house, Lewin's mead, was burnt; it was insured for £12,000. On May 10th, John Harris was tried as an

accessory for pulling down the statue of George III. in Portland square; he was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment and a fine of 40s. The first report of the Adult schools was published. James Fowler, mayor; Benjamin Bickley and Philip George, sheriffs.

33. In 1814, William John Struth was mayor; William Fripp and James George, jun., sheriffs. Peace was proclaimed with America; and the mayor and Richard Vaughan, jun., were knighted on presenting an address to the Prince Regent on that occasion.

Sir William J. Struth served again in 1815, having for sheriffs Benjamin Bickley and Philip George.

J. S. Harford published a pamphlet on prisons, this year, in which he says:—

The moral influence of punishment, as it operates at the present moment in Bristol gaol, is of a monstrous nature—men and women of the most abandoned nature promiscuously mingled through the day, without any employment to interrupt their depraved thoughts and their progress in corrupting each other. I saw the irons put upon a little boy ten years old, who had just been brought in for stealing a pound and half of sugar. He was then introduced into the felons' court, crowded with a set of wretches, among the most abandoned of their class.

From November 20th to December 9th, being a period of twenty days, Mr. John Stokes, of St. James' square, walked a thousand miles on the Bath road at Saltford. The actual time occupied in walking during the twenty days was eight days, twenty-two hours, seven minutes, fourteen seconds.

"The Freemasons purchased by subscription, for £1,600, a house in Bridge street for a hall, and expended £2,000 on alterations and decorations. H. Goldwyn, P.G.M., Henry Struth, D.P.G.M."<sup>1</sup>

June 20th, 1816, an Act of Parliament passed for building a new gaol in the city of Bristol, and for other purposes. It was herein provided that "the expenses of repairing, maintaining and supporting the new gaol and other erections, of the salaries to the governor and other officers, and of maintaining and supporting the prisoners, should be defrayed by the mayor, aldermen, and common council, out of the estates, funds and revenues belonging to the mayor, burgesses and commonalty of the city." Towards the building of the gaol, it was enacted that £60,000 should be raised by a rate of not more than 2s. in the pound on the annual value of all the lands, houses, &c., within the city and county of Bristol. The lands separated from the counties of Somerset and Gloucester, by 43 Geo. III., and added to Bristol, were exempted. The land taken for the purpose of the Act lay in the parish of Bedminster, adjoining, on its north side, sundry messuages, &c., the property of the dean and chapter—anciently Trenelly, Trene, or Trine mill mead.

July 27th, the Duke of Wellington visited Bristol. He entered publicly through Park street, dined at the Mansion house, and was presented by the corporation with the freedom of the city in a gold box. He departed the same evening.

John Haythorne, mayor; Edward Daniel (barrister) and John Barrow, sheriffs. John Loudon M'Adam appointed general surveyor of the Bristol turnpike roads.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> R. Smith.

<sup>2</sup> Evans, 308-9, 364.

The following interesting item is from an old hand-bill of about this date:—

The body of Robert Yeomans was discovered in a leaden coffin in a vault near the vestry on the north side of St. Mary-le-port church, about fifteen feet below the surface, in a good state of preservation. It was wrapped in a blue quilted counterpane, worked with red roses in the bud; no grave clothes, but was dressed in the ordinary costume of the period (1643). He appears to have been a robust man, at least six feet in height. The marks of strangulation could be plainly seen. The body was re-buried in the same vault.

[From broadsheet]—Harry Bonner, printer, 4 Bridewell lane.

In 1816 (56 George III.) an Act was passed for the more speedy and easy recovery of small debts in the city and county of Bristol, to include the parishes and out parishes of Clifton, St. James, St. Paul, St. Philip and St. Jacob; the tything of Stoke Bishop, in Westbury-on-Trym, and the parish of Bedminster, in Somerset. The Bristol assizes being held only once a year, and the distance of the assize towns of Gloucester and Somerset being so great, the expense of recovering small sums exceeded their value. Under William and Mary, a Court of Conscience had been established in Bristol for the recovery of debts not amounting to forty shillings. By this Act powers were obtained to recover debts in the said county and the said parishes, if the sum did not amount to sufficient for an arrest on mesne process. On St. George's day the Bristol Coal Gas company commenced building their works on Temple backs, and began lighting in 1817; the city was lit up in 1818. They were incorporated on March 23rd, 1819. On June 25th the Court of Request Act received the royal assent.

34. A complaint was made that the boys in Colston school were carelessly indentured to Roman Catholics.

St. John's, Newfoundland, July 29th, 1816.

MY LORD,—I beg to inform your lordship that a considerable number of young men educated at Colston school, Bristol, and apprenticed in direct violation of the Founder's will to Roman Catholic masters in this country, have consequently embraced popery with a most bigoted attachment. I am persuaded your lordship will take this subject into serious consideration, and that the recurrence of such abuses will be effectually and speedily prevented.

I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most obedient, faithful, humble servant,

DAVID ROWLAND, Missionary.

The Right Reverend Lord Bishop of Bristol.

The matter was enquired into by the bishop and the Society of Merchants, with the following result:—

Trinity Lodge, Cambridge, November 17th, 1816.

The Right Worshipful the Mayor.

SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the honour of your letter of the 12th instant, communicating to me a copy of the proceedings of the committee of merchants, on the subject of the letter lately received by me from Newfoundland.

It is a very gratifying circumstance to find that the evil complained of, namely, that of the frequent perversion to popery of the young men sent from Colston's school to Newfoundland, has been by no means of the extent intimated by the missionary there; but it is no less gratifying, though perfectly consistent with their characters, to find such an important body of men as the merchants of Bristol employed in the active investigation of so momentous a subject.

I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

W. BRISTOL.

Right Worshipful John Haythorne, Esq.

In 1817 a view of Bristol from Brandon hill was published at Cambridge.

35. A clever impostor named Mary Willcocks, who styled herself "Caraboo, Princess of Javasu," caused great excitement in Bristol and Bath this year.



Mary Willcocks, alias "Caraboo, Princess of Javasu."

"And where did she come from? and who can she be?"

Did she fall from the sky? did she rise from the sea?"

Late one evening in the spring of 1817 the rustic inhabitants of Almondsbury, in Gloucestershire, were surprised by the entrance of a young female in strange attire. She wore leather shoes and black worsted stockings, a black stuff gown with a muslin frill at the neck, a red and black shawl round her shoulders, and a black cotton shawl on her head. Her height was about five feet two inches, and she carried a small bundle on her arm containing a few necessities. Her clothes were loosely and tastefully put on in an Oriental fashion. Her eyes and hair were black, her

forehead was low, her nose short, her mouth wide, her teeth white, her lips were large and full, the under lip projected a little, her chin was small and round, her hands were clean and seemed unused to labour. She appeared about twenty-five years of age, was fatigued, walked with difficulty, spoke a language no one could comprehend, and signified by signs her desire to sleep in the village. The cottagers were afraid to admit her, and sought the decision of Mr. Worrall, a magistrate for the county, at Knole, whose wife caused her own maid to accompany her to a public-house in the village, with a request that she should have supper and a comfortable bed. In the morning Mrs. Worrall found her with strong traces of sorrow and distress on her countenance and took her to Knole, whither she went reluctantly. It was Good Friday, and at the mansion observing a cross-bun, she cut off the cross and placed it in her bosom. Paper and a pen were handed to her to write her name. She shook her head, and when she appeared to comprehend what was meant, pointed to herself, and exclaimed "Caraboo." The next day she was taken to Bristol, examined before the mayor at the council house, and committed to St. Peter's hospital as a vagrant, whither persons of respectability flocked to visit the incomprehensible inmate. From that place Mrs. Worrall removed her once more to Knole. A gentleman who had made several voyages to the Indies, extracted from her signs and gestures and articulations that she was the daughter of a person of rank of Chinese origin at "Javasu," and that whilst walking in her garden, attended by three women, she had been gagged and bound and carried off by the people of a pirate prow, and sold to the captain of a brig. From thence she was transferred to another ship which anchored at a port for two days, where four other females were taken in, who, after a voyage of five weeks were landed at another port. Sailing for eleven more weeks and being near land she jumped overboard in consequence of ill usage, and swimming ashore found herself on this coast, and had wandered for six weeks till she found her way to Almondsbury. She described herself at her father's to have been carried on men's shoulders in a kind of palanquin, and to have worn seven peacock's feathers on the right side of her head, with open sandals on her feet having wooden soles, and she made herself a dress from some calico given her by Mrs. Worrall in the style of her own, which had been embroidered. The late Mr. Bird, the artist, sketched her according to this account, as in the illustration. The particulars connected with these recitals and her general conduct were romantic in the extreme. At the end of two months she ran away, but was found in the same character at Bath and again returned to Mrs. Worrall. Shortly afterwards the imposture which had puzzled so many was discovered, and to the astonishment of persons whose sympathies she had excited the lady Caraboo, a native of "Javasu" in the east, was discovered to have been born at Witheredge in Devonshire, where her father was a cobbler. A very full account of her singular imposition is given in a narrative published by Mr. Gutch of Bristol in 1817, from whence this sketch is taken. After her imposture was discovered, and her account of the earlier portion of her life spent as servant in several families was verified, she was provided, by the generosity of Mrs. Worrall, with a passage to America, which country she had expressed a strong desire to visit, and from which she returned in 1824. Taking apartments in New Bond street she made a public exhibition of herself, at a charge of one shilling each person; but it does not appear that any great number went to see her.<sup>1</sup>

August 25, the theatre in King street was opened, under the new management of Mr. John Boles Watson, of the Gloucester and Cheltenham theatres. John Haythorne, mayor; George and Abraham Hillhouse, sheriffs. November 6th died, in child-bed,

<sup>1</sup> J. M. Gutch's Caraboo, 1817.

the Princess Charlotte, aged 22 years. December 17th, Queen Charlotte, the Princess Elizabeth, and the Duke of Clarence, being visitors at Bath, were invited by the corporation to visit Bristol. They were received at the Mansion-house, rode thence to Clifton; on their return visited Colonel Hugh Baillie and his lady, at their house in Park row; and returned the same day to Bath.<sup>1</sup>

In 1818, the *Bristol Mercury* was purchased of Mr Pine by Messrs. Brown and Manchee for a joint-stock company. Copyright £600, material to be taken at a valuation. The number then printed was 300.

January 20, Sir Robert Gifford, baronet, solicitor-general, chosen recorder of Bristol, on the retirement, through ill-health, of Lord Chief-Justice Gibbs, who had filled that office more than twenty years.<sup>2</sup>

36. A petition was lodged against the return of R. Hart Davis and Edward Protheroe, on the ground that the poll which began on June 16th had been prematurely closed on Saturday the 20th. The petitioners on behalf of Colonel Baillie were Thomas Bale, Andrew Winter and others. The petition was not successful. Henry Francis Brooke, mayor; Thomas Hassell and Nicholas Roch, sheriffs.

On October 16th, 1818, the Bristol Law Library was founded. Each of the members, who were to be either barristers or attorneys-at-law, deposited five guineas for his share; the subscription was two guineas. The room in which the library was kept was once the banquet-room of Hugh Brown, sheriff 1642, mayor 1650.

In the *Bristol Mirror* for October 10th, 1818, or in the succeeding *Bristol Observer*, may be seen an interesting letter, dated on the 3rd from Brislington house, explanatory of a recent article in the *Rouen Gazette*, upon the subject of Dr. Fox's father, Joseph Fox of Falmouth, having persevered in his determination to restore his share of some French prizes, captured by two vessels of which he was part owner, to the suffering proprietors, and in the completion of which liberal purpose the doctor himself was instrumental, after his father's decease.<sup>3</sup>

Dr. Cockin, who kept an academy near Keynsham, refused to bury one of Dr. Fox's children in consecrated ground because the parents were Quakers.

October 27th, arrived the *Albion*, Captain Buckham, the first merchant vessel direct from the East Indies bound for the port of Bristol. November 17th died Her Majesty, Queen Charlotte, aged 75 years.

November 20th, Meerza Jaffir and Meerza Saulih, who three years previously had been sent on a mission to this country by the reigning prince of Persia, Abbas Meerza, arrived in this city. On the 22nd (Sunday) they visited the cathedral, St. Mary Redcliff and other churches, and heard divine service at the Unitarian chapel, Lewin's mead. On the 23rd they visited the Phoenix glass-houses and other manufactories. Their costume was the Persian, but they spoke English fluently. The rites of domestic hospitality were administered to them chiefly by C. A. Elton, esq., at Belle vue.

December 20th, the brother of the Emperor of Austria, the Archduke Maximilian, with a travelling suite of attendants, being in Bristol, attended divine service in the Roman Catholic

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 310.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 310.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, xxxiii.

chapel in Trenchard street. On the Monday the arch-duke visited the principal manufactories.

On March 20th, 1819, Mr. Protheroe announced his determination to decline the future representation of Bristol, in consequence of a misunderstanding with his committee for conducting the late election, upon the subject of his portion of the expenses. "A full Detail of the Facts, relative to the late Election of Edward Protheroe, esq., with a complete Justification of the Conduct of his Committee, by a Committee-man," was printed at the *Bristol Observer* office. This pamphlet produced one from Sir Henry Protheroe; but the dispute terminated in acquittal of the Committee, by a letter from Mr. Wm. Fripp, jun., which appeared in the *Bristol Observer* of May 13.

March 29th, the theatre was re-opened under the management of Mr. William M'Cready.

June 14th, an Act of Parliament passed "for repairing, widening and improving the several roads round the city of Bristol, and for making certain new lines of road to communicate with the same."

September 23rd, the two eldest sons of C. A. Elton, esq., Abraham and Charles, about thirteen and fourteen years old, while amusing themselves apart from the rest of the family, on a small island called Birnbeck, near the bathing place at Weston-super-Mare, by the flowing of the tide on the causeway that separated the island from the shore, were drowned in their attempt to regain it. All search for the bodies proved unavailing. The sympathetic exertions of Colonel Rogers (a Somersetshire magistrate and lieutenant-colonel of the Mendip Legion), for ten hours in an open boat, brought on a fever, of which he died on the 6th of October. The bodies of the two youths eventually floated to the shore of the family estate at Clevedon, where they were buried by their grandfather, the Rev. Sir Abraham Elton, bart., without permitting his son to share the renewed affliction of witnessing their injured remains. Mr. Elton's grief found vent and consolation, as his tone of mind recovered strength, in "The Brothers: A Monody."

William Fripp, jun., mayor; James George, jun., and John Gardiner, sheriffs.

November 2nd, died Edward Bird, R.A., historical painter to the Princess Charlotte. On the 9th his remains were attended from his residence at King's parade by upwards of 300 friends and fellow-citizens, and deposited at the foot of the steps from the cathedral into the cloisters. Mr. Bird having, on his appointment in 1813, presented her royal highness with his painting of "The Surrender of Calais," the royal widower, prince Leopold, gave the widow of the artist £100; and in February and March, 1820, the prince, with the possessors of many other of his pictures, contributed to their exhibition.

December 14th, at night, a fire in High street, at the entrance of All Saints' passage, destroyed, including one occupied by Mr. Rees, bookseller, four houses, unveiled the ancient west window of All Saints' church, and the heat and smoke that issued into the church itself occasioned the discovery of a walled-up recess, in which were found a black letter bible and other books that must have been secreted by the Catholic priests during their alarm upon approach of the Reformation. These, we hope, will at all times be found in possession of the churchwardens.<sup>1</sup>

In 1819 Mr. Henry Savery, sugar broker, was, on the 4th of April, sentenced to death for forgery. He pleaded guilty and was respited, but transported for life.<sup>2</sup> Samuel Gardener, esq., of Combe hall, Oxfordshire, granted to Queen Elizabeth's hospital nine acres

<sup>1</sup> Evans, 312-14.

<sup>2</sup> Monthly Magazine, 1819, XXXVI.

of land in the parish of Congresbury. Mrs. Sutton dying, left £1,750 in Five per Cents. to Temple street school for girls; she was the widow of Alderman John Harris, of Queen square.

In January, 1820, the Floating harbour was frozen, and skating was in vogue over nearly the whole of its surface. On the morning of the 16th, at eight o'clock, the thermometer registered twenty-four degrees below freezing point. On the 23rd of January the Duke of Kent, father of her most gracious majesty Queen Victoria,

died at Sidmouth, Devon, aged fifty-two years, and on the 29th George III. died, aged eighty-one years. On March 7th Mr. W. H. Goldwin, P.G.M., of Bristol, fell down in a fit and died, whilst viewing a fire at Messrs. Dowell's premises, in Wine street. By order of H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, he was buried with full Masonic honours.

37. Appended in tabular form are particulars of Parliamentary elections in Bristol from the earliest recorded date of which we have details, 1734, to the present time:—

Date.	Name.	Politics.	Began	Ended	Votes.	Remarks.
1734	*Elton, Sir A., bart.	Whig	May 15	June 13	2,420	<sup>1</sup> Scrope, afterwards Baron Scrope, lost his election through supporting Walpole's Excise bill.
	*Coster, Thomas	...	...	...	2,071	
	Scrope, John <sup>1</sup>	Tory	...	...	1,866	
1739	*Southwell, Ed.	Whig	Nov. 28	Dec. 12	2,559	<sup>2</sup> This contest ensued on the death of Coster. Combe was in favour of the Excise bill; he had also petitioned against Coster, and sought to lessen the votes of the freemen.
	Combe, Henry <sup>2</sup>	Tory	...	...	2,190	
1741	*Elton, Sir A., bart.	Whig	No Contest			<sup>3</sup> By-election on the death of Sir A. Elton.
	*Southwell, Ed.	Whig	...	...		
1742	*Hoblyn, Robert <sup>3</sup>	...	No Contest			<sup>4</sup> By-election on the death of Beckford.
	*Southwell, Ed.	Whig	No Contest			
1747	*Hoblyn, Robert	...	...	...		<sup>5</sup> He had been made a baronet on May 16th; he was a solicitor in Small street; his house was at Stapleton.
	*Nugent, Hon. Robert	Whig	April 17	May 1	2,590	
1754	*Beckford, Richard	Tory	...	...	2,248	<sup>6</sup> Brickdale was a woollen draper, 20 High street.
	Philipps, Sir J., bart.	Tory	...	...	2,163	
1756	*Smith, Jarritt <sup>4</sup>	Tory	March	...	No returns	<sup>7</sup> Re-elected on his acceptance of the office of Vice-Treasurer of Ireland.
	Spencer, Hon. John	Whig	...	...		
1761	*Nugent, Hon. Robert	Whig	Sept.	No Contest		<sup>8</sup> Sir H. Lippincott was created a baronet July 25th, 1778.
	*Smith, Sir Jarritt <sup>5</sup>	Tory	...	...		
1768	*Clare, Lord (né Nugent)	Whig	March.	No Contest		<sup>9</sup> Cruger retired after the ninth day's polling.
	*Brickdale, Matthew <sup>6</sup>	Tory	...	...		
1768	*Clare, Lord <sup>7</sup>	Whig	June.	No Contest		<sup>10</sup> Peach, who was a linen draper in St. Mary-le-port street, was father-in-law of Cruger, and founder of the Tockington family; he was only nominated to receive the second votes of Cruger's supporters.
	*Cruger, H.	Whig	Oct. 7	Nov. 3	3,565	
1774	*Burke, Edmund	Whig	...	...	2,707	<sup>11</sup> At this election, R. Combe, a tradesman in College green, was put up by the Tories, but being in ill health he retired in favour of Lippincott; Combe died on the first day of polling.
	Brickdale, Matthew	Tory	...	...	2,456	
	Clare, Lord	Whig	...	...	283	<sup>12</sup> By-election on death of Sir H. Lippincott. Daubeney was a sugar refiner.
	*Brickdale, Matthew	Tory	Sept. 8	Sept. 20	2,771	
1780	*Lippincott, Sir H., bart. <sup>8</sup>	Tory	...	...	2,518	<sup>13</sup> This was the most protracted election ever held in Bristol, having lasted five weeks and one day.
	Cruger, H. <sup>9</sup>	Whig	...	...	788	
	Peach, Samuel <sup>10</sup>	Whig	...	...	18	<sup>14</sup> Cruger being in America, Peach was only nominated, as in the election of 1780, to secure Cruger's second votes, and not with any expectation of being elected.
	Burke, Edmund <sup>11</sup>	Whig	...	...		
1781	*Daubeney, George <sup>12</sup>	Tory	Jan. 31	Feb. 24	3,143	<sup>15</sup> To save expense both parties agreed to return one representative each, and the two members were chosen by the Steadfast (blue) and the Constitutional (yellow) clubs. Lewis, as an Independent, was not accepted by the Whigs.
	Cruger, H.	Whig	...	...	2,771	
1784	*Brickdale, Matthew <sup>13</sup>	Tory	April 3	May 8	3,458	<sup>16</sup> Bragge was a barrister; he was brother-in-law to Lord Sidmouth, and had been a member of most of the Tory administrations of his time; he afterwards changed his name to Bathurst. (Bathurst basin is named after him). In 1801, upon his taking office as Treasurer of the Navy, he was re-elected without opposition.
	*Cruger, H.	Whig	...	...	3,052	
	Daubeney, George	Tory	...	...	2,982	<sup>17</sup> Lord Sheffield had, by his support to a Corn bill in the House, cast reflections upon a petition sent against it, which was signed by 5,000 persons; hence the opposition to his election.
	Peach, Samuel <sup>14</sup>	Whig	...	...	373	
1790	*Worcester, Marquis of <sup>16</sup>	Tory	Nov., one day only		544	<sup>18</sup> West India merchant and partner in the Old bank.
	*Sheffield, Lord	Whig	...	...	537	
	Lewis, David	Indep.	...	...	12	<sup>19</sup> On his appointment as Secretary of War.
1796	*Bragge, Charles <sup>16</sup>	Tory	May 27	May 28	364	
	*Sheffield, Lord <sup>17</sup>	Whig	...	...	340	<sup>20</sup> Mr. Bathurst (né Charles Bragge) having been appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Richard Hart Davis, a Russia merchant and member of a banking firm, was selected by the Tories as his successor. Hunt, the other candidate, was a blacking manufacturer, of London, and a Radical leader.
	Hobhouse, Benjamin	Whig	...	...	102	
	Thomas, S.	Whig	...	...	2	
	Lewis, D.	Whig	...	...	1	
1801	*Bragge, Charles	Tory	Nov. 23.	No Contest		
1802	*Bragge, Charles	Tory	July 7.	No Contest		
	*Baillie, Evan <sup>18</sup>	Whig	...	...		
1803	*Bragge, Charles <sup>19</sup>	Tory	Aug. 6.	No Contest		
1806	*Bathurst, Charles Bragge	Tory	Dec. 13	No Contest		
	*Baillie, Evan	Whig	...	...		
1807	*Bathurst, Charles Bragge	Tory	May 20	No Contest		
	*Baillie, Evan	Whig	...	...		
1812	*Davis, Richard Hart <sup>20</sup>	Tory	June 30	July 13	1,907	
	Hunt, Henry	Rad.	...	...	235	

Date.	Name.	Politics.	Began	Ended	Votes.	Remarks.
1812	*Davis, Richard Hart <sup>21</sup> ..	Tory	Oct. 6	Oct. 16	2,895	<sup>21</sup> Sir S. Romilly retired on October 14th, in consequence of the friends of R. Hart Davis and Protheroe having coalesced.
	*Protheroe, Edward ...	Whig	...	...	2,435	
	Romilly, Sir S. ...	Whig	...	...	1,683	
	Hunt, Henry ...	Rad.	...	...	523	
1818	*Davis, Richard Hart ...	Tory	June 16	June 20	3,377	<sup>22</sup> Col. Baillie, 5 Park row, who was son of Evan Baillie, was nominated by the more conservative Whigs in opposition to Protheroe. He petitioned on the ground of a premature return by the sheriffs. March 19th, the House decided that the conduct of the sheriffs was correct.
	*Protheroe, Edward ...	Whig	...	...	2,250	
	Baillie, Col. Hugh <sup>22</sup> ...	Whig	...	...	1,684	
1820	*Bright, Henry <sup>23</sup> ...	Whig	March 7	March 8	2,997	<sup>23</sup> Protheroe having declined to stand, the Whig West India merchants selected Bright, one of their number. The Steadfast club refused to help R. Hart Davis, but invited Philip John Miles, who issued an address, but did not stand; this caused the dissolution of the Steadfast club. Bright's mansion is now the Sailors' Home, Queen square. Davis, being second, refused to be chaired.
	*Davis, Richard Hart ...	Tory	...	...	2,811	
	Baillie, James Evan <sup>24</sup> ...	Whig	...	...	115	
1826	*Davis, Richard Hart ...	Tory	July 25	...	3,887	<sup>24</sup> J. E. Baillie was brother to Hugh, the late candidate; he was nominated without his consent, and withdrew on the second day.
	*Bright, Henry ...	Whig	...	...	2,315	
	Protheroe, Edward <sup>25</sup> ...	Whig	...	...	1,873	
1830	*Davis, Richard Hart ...	Tory	July 30	Aug. 5	5,012	<sup>25</sup> Protheroe was nominated without his knowledge in opposition to Bright, the freemen being determined to have a contest. His house is now the House of the Sisters of Mercy, Dighton street.
	*Baillie, James Evan ...	Whig	...	...	3,377	
	Protheroe, Edward, jun. ...	Whig	...	...	2,840	
	Acland, James ...	Rad.	...	...	25	<sup>26</sup> R. Hart Davis issued an address as an Anti-Reformer, but did not stand.
1831	*Baillie, James Evan ...	Whig	April 30	No Contest	...	
	*Protheroe, Edward, jun. <sup>26</sup> ...	Whig	...	...	...	
1832	*Vyvyan, Sir R. R., bart. <sup>27</sup> ...	Cons.	Dec. 12	Dec. 13	3,695	<sup>27</sup> The polling days were now limited to two.
	*Baillie, James Evan ...	Whig	...	...	3,160	
	Protheroe, Edward, jun. ...	Whig	...	...	3,028	
	Williams, John ...	Libl.	...	...	2,739	<sup>28</sup> J. E. Baillie coalesced with Hobhouse; the Tories nominated P. J. Miles, who was carried at the head of the poll. The Municipal Reform bill, passed on September 9th, 1835, destroyed the system of elections by the corporation, and placed the management of municipal affairs in the hands of the citizens.
1835	*Miles, Philip John ...	Tory	Jan. 7	Jan. 8	3,709	
	*Vyvyan, Sir R. R., bart ...	Cons.	...	...	3,313	
	Baillie, James Evan <sup>28</sup> ...	Whig	...	...	2,518	<sup>29</sup> The polling was now reduced to one day. This was the last occasion on which the poll was taken in Queen square.
	Hobhouse, Sir J. C. ...	Libl.	...	...	1,808	
1837	*Miles, P. W. S. <sup>29</sup> ...	Protec.	July 24	...	3,838	
	*Berkeley, Hon. F. H. F. ...	Libl.	...	...	3,212	<sup>30</sup> Fripp was opposed to Miles on the ground that the friends of that gentleman had not supported him at the election of 1837. He was in a firm of free traders. Miles was a Protectionist.
	Frripp, William ...	Cons.	...	...	3,156	
1841	*Miles, P. W. S. ...	Protec.	June 29	...	4,197	
	*Berkeley, Hon. F. H. F. ...	Libl.	...	...	3,743	<sup>31</sup> The old Tories being Protectionists, and the Conservatives Free Traders, were unable to agree in their support of either Miles or Fripp. McGeachy, the son of a Barbadoes planter, was invited to contest the election on their behalf.
	Frripp, William <sup>30</sup> ...	Cons.	...	...	3,689	
1847	*Berkeley, Hon. F. H. F. ...	Libl.	July 30	...	4,381	
	*Miles, P. W. S. ...	Protec.	...	...	2,595	<sup>32</sup> Sir Morton Peto accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.
	Frripp, William ...	Cons.	...	...	2,476	
	Pellatt, Apsley ...	Libl.	...	...	171	
1852	*Berkeley, Hon. F. H. F. ...	Libl.	July 9	...	4,681	<sup>33</sup> On petition, J. W. Miles was unseated June 24th. Seat vacant till the general election.
	*Langton, W. H. G. ...	Libl.	...	...	4,531	
	McGeachy, F. A. <sup>31</sup> ...	Cons.	...	...	3,632	
1857	*Berkeley, Hon. F. H. F. ...	Libl.	March 27, no Contest	...	...	<sup>34</sup> On decease of the Hon. F. H. F. Berkeley a test ballot was held, on March 23rd and 24th, to decide on the merits of Messrs. Robinson, Hodgson and Odger, when Robinson received 4,502, Hodgson, 2,861, and Odger, 1,335 votes. Robinson being chosen by the Liberal party, was opposed by S. V. Hare. On petition, Robinson was unseated June 9th for bribery at the test ballot by some indiscreet friend.
	*Langton, W. H. G. ...	Libl.	...	...	...	
1859	*Berkeley, Hon. F. H. F. ...	Libl.	April 29	...	4,432	
	*Langton, W. H. G. ...	Libl.	...	...	4,285	<sup>35</sup> By-election on K. D. Hodgson's accepting Chiltern Hundreds owing to ill health.
	Slade, F. W. ...	Cons.	...	...	4,205	
1865	*Berkeley, Hon. F. H. F. ...	Libl.	July 13	...	5,296	
	*Peto, Sir M., bart. <sup>32</sup> ...	Libl.	...	...	5,228	<i>The asterisks (*) indicate the persons elected.</i>
	Fremantle, T. F. ...	Cons.	...	...	4,269	
1868	*Miles, J. W. <sup>33</sup> ...	Cons.	April 29	...	5,173	
	Morley, Samuel ...	Libl.	...	...	4,977	<i>** The foregoing figures, which differ somewhat from others that have been published, are taken from the poll books. Where the date is not given the election must be taken as circa.</i>
1868	*Berkeley, Hon. F. H. F. ...	Libl.	November 17	...	8,759	
	*Morley, Samuel ...	Libl.	...	...	8,714	
	Miles, J. W. ...	Cons.	...	...	6,694	
1870	*Robinson, E. S. <sup>34</sup> ...	Libl.	March 28	...	7,832	
	Hare, S. V. ...	Cons.	...	...	7,062	
1870	*Hodgson, K. D. ...	Libl.	June 25	...	7,816	
	Hare, S. V. ...	Cons.	...	...	7,238	
1874	*Hodgson, K. D. ...	Libl.	February 2	...	8,888	
	*Morley, Samuel ...	Libl.	...	...	8,732	
	Hare, S. V. ...	Cons.	...	...	8,552	
	Chambers, G. H. ...	Cons.	...	...	7,626	
1878	*Fry, Lewis <sup>35</sup> ...	Libl.	December 14	...	9,342	
	Guest, Sir Ivor, bart. ...	Cons.	...	...	7,795	
1880	*Morley, Samuel ...	Libl.	April 2	...	10,704	
	*Fry, Lewis ...	Libl.	...	...	10,070	
	Guest, Sir Ivor, bart. ...	Cons.	...	...	9,395	
	Robinson, E. S. ...	Indep.	...	...	4,100	

Prior to the passing of the Reform bill, for months before the time when an election was to take place public-houses were open to freemen in all parts of the city and its suburbs, in which, almost without limit, they could drink at the cost of one or other of the contending parties. Bands of music paraded the streets, ever followed by a noisy and mischievous rabble. Bludgeons, painted with party colours, were kept in stock, ready to be put into the hands of hired ruffians, for use rather than for show. It needed no ostensible cause for the "lambs" of one party to wreck a house opened by the opposition, if the aggressor were the stronger; the "Bush," "White Lion," "Rummer," and other houses were thus stormed repeatedly, the windows all broken, and on divers occasions the ground floor was cleared out after everything practicable had been destroyed. The magistrates, if not powerless to restrain, were in too many instances partisans, and looked upon such enormities as letting off the steam of political excitement. Freemen were made by the thousand literally, for at one election, that of 1812, out of 3,896 who voted 1,689 had taken up their freedom in the four weeks prior to the election. These were all made at the cost of the candidates, the average of each being about three pounds. Marriage with the daughter of a freeman made the husband free immediately, and there is no doubt but that women were found who, by a bigamous contract, made several men, within a month, freemen of the city.

Besides unlimited drink, freemen were paid 7s. 6d. each for polling, also money for chairing and other ostensible reasons, about 20s. to 25s. each, together with a new hat. The seat was virtually in the hands of the most corrupt individuals, and the candidate most in favour was the one who pledged himself to keep the poll open as long as there was an elector who had not voted. Hence the expense of a contest was something enormous, and men like Brickdale, Cruger, the elder Protheroe, James Evan Baillie and R. H. Davis spent fabulous sums. Brickdale was reduced to dependence on his son, the comptroller of customs in Bristol; Cruger in straitened circumstances retired to New York, his native city; Protheroe spent

£70,000 in his three contests; and Baillie's election, in 1830, cost him about £27,000; whilst R. H. Davis spent a princely fortune in six contested elections for the city, which he represented from 1812 to 1831, when, like a squeezed lemon, he was discarded. Thoughtful and responsible men on both sides were disgusted at a system which for months hindered and at times entirely suspended business, and which placed the representation of a great city in the hands of a drunken rabble. The nomination days were scenes of boisterous horse-play, ending in violence; partisanship disgraced high places; even sheriffs were known to admit their friends by a secret entrance, so as to pack the Guildhall before the doors were opened to the public, in order to carry the show of hands.

The successful candidate was chaired, by being borne in a kind of triumphal car upon men's shoulders; behind him stood a friend with an umbrella bearing his colours, shielding him from the weather, and, if the election had been a close one, from the rotten eggs and harder missiles, such as oyster shells, of his opponents. If he were a favourite with the clergy the bells rang out deafening peals; otherwise they were dumb, save when his men could storm a steeple. Thus preceded and followed by bands of music, by trade processions carrying banners and emblems of their craft, the new member passed through the principal streets, bowing right and left to the vast multitudes who thronged them to the very roofs of the houses.

The half century which has passed since the last old Bristol chairing occurred has witnessed many changes, but few more striking than that which the Ballot and the cessation of open nomination has caused in our Parliamentary elections; and the tendency of legislation is to carry on the reform in this direction, to place the man who finds the money in the same category as the man who accepts a bribe, to put a stop to canvassing and other kinds of wasteful expenditure, and to bring into our elections orderly behaviour and thoughtful responsibility in the room of strife and chaos.

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*Bristol: Past and Present* having now been brought to a period within living memory, we propose, before continuing the local occurrences that follow the accession of George IV., to treat of certain special subjects in their entirety rather than in the fragmentary manner in which they would have been mentioned if their chronological order had been followed; for instance, under the heading of Streets, Domestic Architecture, Public Buildings, Charities, Colleges and Schools; Municipal Government; Eminent Men and Women; Maritime Adventures and Discoveries, special chapters will be given, and finally the chronological history from the present chapter to present date will be continued.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

# STREETS, OLD INNS, DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE, CHARITIES, SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

FROM THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

1. *Early Maps and Streets.* 2. *Mediæval Houses. Cellars and internal arrangements.* 3. *Mural Decorations of the latter part of the 16th Century. Sites of Ancient Houses.* 4. *The Old Inns of Bristol. Bill of Fare.* 5. *Ale Houses and Dram Shops. Hotel Bills. Signs and Badges of Trades.* 6. *Modern Improvements, New Streets, Waterworks, Warehouses, Manufactories, Potteries, etc.* 7. *The New Docks at the mouth of the Avon. Provision and Timber Trades. Banking Companies.* 8. *Public Buildings.* 9. *Charities and Almshouses in Bristol under management of Charity Trustees.* 10. *Charities other than those under Charity Trustees.* 11. *Educational Organisations, viz., Baptist College, Bristol College, Bishop's College, Cathedral School, Congregational and Theological Institute, Grammar School, Trade and Mining School, Clifton College, Colston's Boarding School, Free Libraries, Orphan Houses, Ashley Down, Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, Red Maids' School, School Board, University College.*



THE map of Bristol, shown in Vol. I., p. 214, has been carefully laid down from the topography of William Wyrcestre; it is especially interesting, inasmuch as it is the first attempt to delineate correctly the ichnography of Bristol in William Wyrcestre's time. Ricart's plan, taken from the *Mayor's Calendar*, is fanciful, but worthless. Hoefnagle's map, published in Braun's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1581, has been recently proved

to be an inaccurate copy of one "measured and laid down in platforme by me, W. Smith, at my being in Bristow the 30th and 31st of July, Ano. Dmi. 1568."<sup>1</sup> Speed's, Millerd's (III., p. 64), Rocques' (III., p. 87) and Donne's are of more recent date. By the map of 1480 (I., p. 214), and that in outline in Vol. I., p. 129, will be readily seen the plan of the streets and the situation of the public buildings. The main thoroughfares, which seem so in-

<sup>1</sup> Sloane's MS., 2596. W. George, Brist. and Glouc. Archæ. Soc., IV., pt. 2, 298.

conveniently narrow, sufficed for a traffic that was carried on chiefly by manual labour, the use of wheeled vehicles being prohibited in the city, and commerce with inland towns being transacted by means of packhorses. The lateral branches from the main streets were still narrower, St. Mary-le-port street (III., p. 212), John street and Tower lane being specimens that are still extant. The thoroughfares were further narrowed by the projecting bulks, or outside counters, and also by the steps which led down into the *souterrain* or cellar of most of the houses. Only a few of the roadways were paved or pitched with round cobblestones. Each householder had to keep his frontage swept, but, inasmuch as there were no middens, the rubbish had to be carried by the rainfall down the open gutter which led through the middle of each street to the river. In wet weather the spouts and gargoyles from the gabled roofs poured their cataracts on the pedestrians, and after sunset, with a cry thrice repeated, by order of the commonalty, of "Take care!" the nuisances from the upper stories were hurled into the street. In humid weather the odour was insufferable; pigs, ducks and geese revelled amidst the garbage, and shared with the few aged outcasts the office of scavenger. Until the Jews were banished from England, their poor were usually employed as nightsoil men.

The darkness of the early night would be feebly broken by the candlelight from the houses, and at irregular intervals the municipality ordered that each householder should hang out a lantern of horn or paper with a lighted candle before his door. On the occasion of a visit by royalty the route taken was sanded or gravelled (this curious custom is still retained in several ancient thoroughfares when a corpse is being borne to its grave).

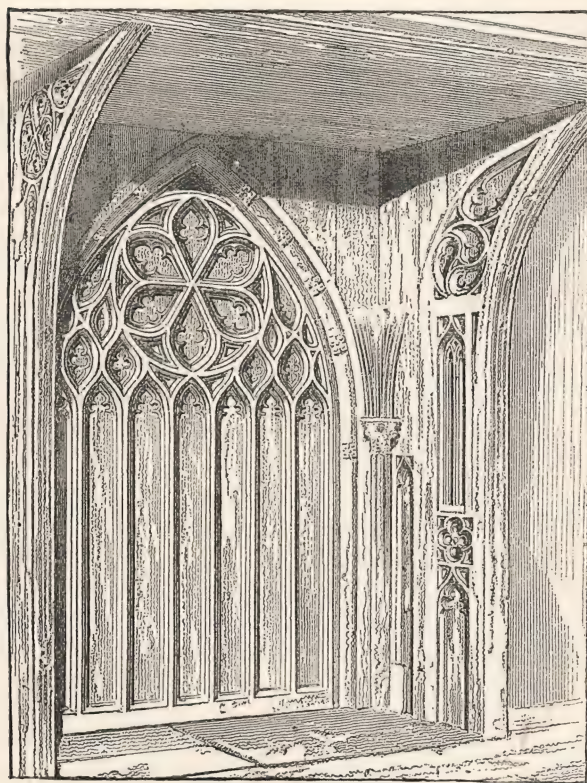
The principal streets within the most ancient wall were High street, Wine (Wynch) street, Broad street and Corn street. From High street, beginning at Bristol bridge, there branched off on the right hand Worship street, the Shambles, and St. Mary-le-port street; on the left hand, the Welsh back, Baldwin and Nicholas streets, and Cook's alley. From Wine street, on the north side, branched off the Pithay. Corn street had, on the south side, Venny and Cock lanes, which connected it with Nicholas and Baldwin streets, and on the north side Small street. Broad street had, on the west, Bell lane, and on the east, Ciderhouse passage, John street and Tower lane. Within the second, or north wall, were Nelson street (Grove lane) leading to Monken bridge, and Christmas street (Knifsmith street) leading to Frome gate and bridge. The third wall erected enclosed the Broad quay, Fisher lane and Pylle street,

which followed the meandering, ancient bed of the Frome to its junction with the Avon on the Welsh back. Marsh (Skadpulle) street and Back (Bafft) street were also within this area. On the bank of the Avon there were slips for shipbuilding, and also a public "lavandery" for the washerwomen. A raised causeway of red earth ran along the bank of the Frome from Gib Taylor, past several slips and shipyards and a public latrine, to the Quay head; there were other latrines in Nelson street, near the foot of the Pithay, and the Welsh back and Bristol bridge. The tongue of land between the river outside the walls was planted with trees, and on it were the archery butts and a bowling green; this was the recreation ground for the townfolk.

Bristol bridge (I., p. 91, and III., p. 218) was one of the wealthiest streets in the city. It gave access to the transpontine district; Temple, Thomas, and Redcliff streets radiated from its southern point—the two latter direct, the former *via* Tucker street, of which a small portion containing the "Pilgrim" inn yet remains. These trifurcated streets were traversed from the river's banks and connected with each other by narrow lanes, which served as boundaries to the orchards and gardens in which the wealthy had their country seats, or for the rackhays (fields with racks of wood), on which the weavers dried their woollen cloth. Temple back skirted the river on the eastern, and Redcliff back on the western, side of this district. Outside the south or Redcliff wall Redcliff church stood on its hill, and beyond it the village of Bedminster. On the eastern side of the town stood the Castle, beyond which was Old Market street. To the north-east from the foot of Newgate hill Merchant (Marshal) street led through the Barrs to Kingsdown. In the 15th century Pownham's great house stood at what is now the junction of King street and the Horse-fair, Cheddar's mansion was in Broadmead, at the corner of St. James' back, and Vyelle's, with its tower, stood at the corner of the Broad quay and the Drawbridge; Vyelle's was finally demolished in 1772. The northern suburb was nearly all monopolised by the religious houses, save that between them and the town wall there were a number of narrow lanes thickly inhabited by the very poor. Shrined images of the Virgin adorned conspicuously some of the streets, and the fragment of the sculptured lion of St. Mark, at the corner of Pipe lane and Trenchard street, gives one instance of the manner in which the monks defined the boundary of their habitation.

2. Of the picturesque Decorated style of architecture employed in the earlier mansions of the wealthy there are but few specimens left; the most notable, if not

the very earliest, is the handsome door of Spyce's hall (for the roof and mouldings of which see Vol. I., pp. 149, 174). The fantastic gables, projecting oriels, with richly carved caryatides and multitudinous angles, which threw many a darkling shadow, have ever been choice studies for the artist. The beauty of the mediæval dwellings was the growth of necessity. Given a circumscribed space covered with dwellings (privileges were confined within the liberties), an ever-increasing population, and a trade that came with leaps and bounds, and we see the natural result. First, the burgesses would excavate in the hill below their dwelling. Beneath many of the houses in High street are cellars, some of



*Spyce's Door, Welsh Back.*

which have their oaken beam roofs supported by massive lozenge-shaped pillars of solid oak that stand on stone plinths; others have groined vaultings, with stone ribs of the Perpendicular period; others again have ribs of stone which spring from single quadrangular pilaster columns, whence they branch out after the manner of the crypts of a church, with bosses at the intersections. Pointed arched doorways led from these into smaller apartments. Between Small street and St. Stephen's street the hill below the surface is like a honeycomb. Massive in their proportions and solid in their structure, these cellars were used as storehouses for heavy goods

and wines. In Wyrcestre's time some of those in Corn street were used for the sale of wine by retail. Having made the most of their subterranean, the next effort of the townsmen's ingenuity was to gain space as their building rose upwards; this they effected by extending the stories laterally as they advanced in height. Shut closely in by neighbours on each side who were in a similar plight to themselves, they could only thrust out their transom beams over the street or from the back of the dwelling. On these beams they raised a light framework of timber, which, with the exception of the bay windows, was pargetted or filled in with lath and plaster. The second, and often the third, stories were projected still further over the street, and some foot or more of additional space was gained by the oriel, which was thrust out in advance. These overhanging structures were supported by cantilevers, or brackets, which were often handsomely carved, or by caryatides, as in the case of St. Peter's hospital (III., p. 150). To reduce the weight when yet another story was added, they ran the front up into an acute gable, which was generally adorned with barge-boards cut into arabesque figures, with a carved finial and pendant at the angle. The close proximity into which the opposite dwellings of a narrow street were thus brought necessitated an additional element of the picturesque in the form of glass, which also added to the security of the building by a reduction of the weight; hence frequently the whole street front of the second story grew to be one huge window with casements, having at times an oriel with stained glass in the centre for ornament. Glass was but rarely used on the ground floor (never in the business houses until the 17th century); there the *shops* (shops) were open to the street, having a bulk or counter outside sheltered by a penthouse and the overhanging upper stories (III., p. 141). Here the daily retail traffic was carried on by the apprentices, who used every touting artifice to extol their wares and to attract customers. Behind the shop in the merchant's house was the *aula* (hall), a large, lofty room, with a carved oak roof, of which Spyce's (I., p. 174) and Canynges' (II., pp. 215-6) are good specimens. In such halls as these the wholesale business was transacted, and here at a cross table on the dais the merchant entertained his more notable guests, whilst his household sat below the salt. Above the ground floor were the *camera* (parlour), bedroom and kitchen, unless, as was sometimes the case, this latter was on the ground floor behind with the offices. Above these, in one or two floors, were the *solaria* (garrets), the upper ones being in the high-pitched gables. The doorways were deeply recessed, with numerous mouldings and carved work, and as

wealth increased the walls were hung with costly tapestry, which in the 16th century began to be superseded by oak wainscot. The ceilings about the same period were elaborately moulded in geometric patterns; they had bosses or pendants at their intersections, and the whole was framed in a deep cornice, which was relieved at intervals by figures of animals, or at times by the monogram of the owner. Good specimens of these remain, notably in Small street, St. James', the Quay, St. Peter's hospital, and on the Welsh back. The earth floors of the shop and hall in the 13th century soon gave place to finely rammed white clay, then to a concrete of lime and ashes, which were covered with straw or rushes; Erasmus, in his day, describes them as having the bottom layer unchanged often for years, and full of garbage and filth. These were superseded by wood, but in some cases, such as Canynges' (still extant), by a handsome arrangement of encaustic tiles. The fires of wood were on a hearth-stone, the billets being kept in place by iron dogs. In the kitchen was a cosy ingle nook (I., p. 205), where a favoured few might sit and watch the steam from the iron crock, suspended by long hooks that were fixed in the chimney; but these were luxuries of the 16th century.

Three things be marvellously altered in Englonde within sound remembrance. One is the multitude of chimnies lately erected, whereas in their young days there were not above two or three in uplandish towns of the reaulme, but each one made his fire against a reredoss, in the halle where he dined and dressed his meate. The second is the greate amendment of lodgings for sayde they our fathers, and we ourselves have lyen full oft upon strawe pallettes covered only with a sheete under coverlets made of dagswain, or hopharlets (I use their own termes), and a good round logge under their heads instead of a bolster. If it were so that our fathers or the good man of the house had a matteres or flock bede, and thereto a sack of chaffe to rest hys hedde upon, he thought hymselfe to be as well lodged as ye lorde of ye townne. Pillowes, sayde they, were thought mete onely for women in childebed; as for servantes, if they had any sheete above them it was well! for seldome had they any under their bodys to keep them from ye prickinge strawes that ran oft thorow the canvas and raced their hardened hides. The third thinge they tell us of is the exchange of treene platters into pewter, and wode spoons into sylver or tin. Now they have learned to garnish their cupbords with plate, their beddes with tapistrie and silk hangings, and their tables with fine naperie.<sup>1</sup>

When, as in the days of the Tudors, corn was prohibited to be exported, and money lent out on interest was, by law, liable to have one-half forfeited to the Crown, and there could be no investment in public securities, successful men turned their superfluous cash into jewels and plate, and the corner cupboard became their bank of deposit. "The small innkeepers served you on silver dishes, with silver tankards, and each

tavern, however humble, would contain one hundred pounds' worth of silver plate."<sup>1</sup>

The merchants also expended their wealth on towers to their mansions, and often had a portcullis over their gates; Canynges' tower at the Rudde house, Vyelle's, on the Quay, and others, are instances. Early in the 17th century, mantel-pieces (so named from the practice of the couriers hanging up their mantles therein to dry) were introduced from Italy. Bristol can boast of a large number of beautiful specimens; they may be found in conjunction with the moulded ceilings to which we have alluded; those at St. Peter's hospital in Small street and on the Welsh back are the most elaborate.

3. Puritan æsthetics seldom commend themselves to the taste of the present generation; witness I., p. 239 and on opposite page, the mural decorations of ancient dormitory in the Deanery, which are late Elizabethan; full size they measure about fourteen inches in diameter.

Most of the choice specimens of mediæval architecture in Bristol have disappeared of late before the march of improvement; numbers of these have been enshrined in the present work, which will, as the years roll on, become, perchance, their only repertory. The following are a few of the best examples that are left:—St. Peter's hospital, the Pithay—notably an old house at the top with the brewer's arms in the front—several others in St. Mary-le-port street, the house at the corner of High and Wine streets, Romsey's house in New King street (the date on the door is 1664), the "Pilgrim" in Tucker street, houses in Whitsun court, St. James', at the foot of Christmas steps, in Lewin's mead, in Host street, in Temple street, in Castle ditch. There are some good specimens of 18th century work in Prince street, for instance the front of the Assembly rooms; the Merchants' hall, the City library (III., p. 126) and Cooper's hall, in New King street, the Exchange, Protheroe's mansion in Dighton street, one or two on St. Michael's hill, others in Dowry square, on Clifton hill, and other parts of the city. The growth of trees was encouraged in the city in the days of old, and down to the 19th century some remained to cast their shadows over several of the courts in Small street; there was also a mulberry tree in Broad street, opposite the "Guildhall" tavern. Four rows of lime trees adorned the Grove; an ancient oak stood in front of the "Stag and Hounds," in Old Market street, under which the Pie Poudre court (III., p. 37) was held; one grew at the foot of the High Cross in the 13th century. Those in Queen square were first planted in 1705, the cross rows in 1710; Brunswick square in 1788; those in College green are recent, but one which stood near the

<sup>1</sup> Holinshed, 85-6, 1577.

<sup>1</sup> Italian Relation, 29-42.

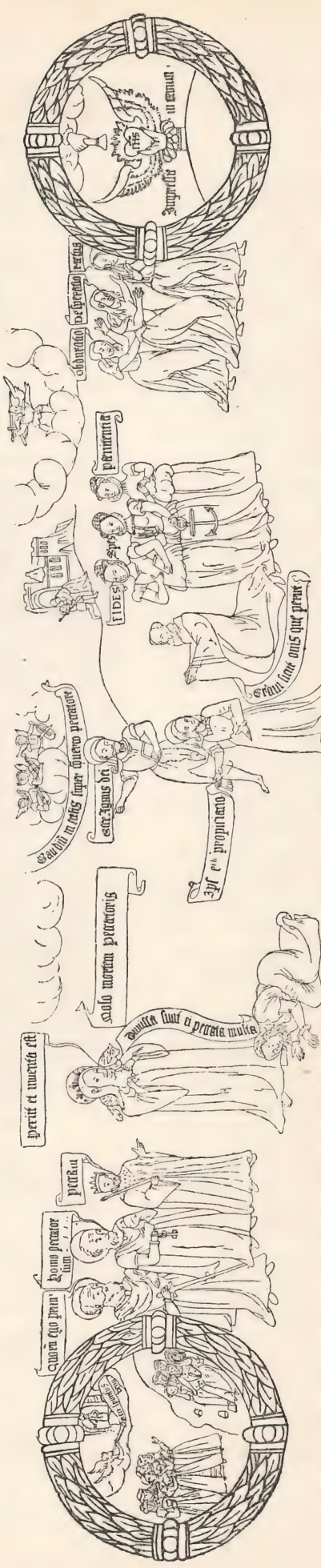
Uro famem lactentis

Adolescens unde ruina

Dir tela maligna



"Vito famem lactentis, adolescens inde ruinas."—"I escape starvation as a babe, then as a boy being crushed by a ruin." Inscription—"God hath heard the voice of the bad." (Gen. xxi. 17.)



The first wreath.—"Behold the Bridegroom cometh." (Matt. xxv. 6.) Exclamation Scriptural mottoes.—"Of whom I am chief" (1 Tim. i. 15); "I am a sinful man" (Luk. x. 8); "Was lost and is found" (Luk. xv. 24); "I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked" (Ezek. xxxiii. 11). The kneeling female figure.—"Behold the Lamb of God" (John i. 36); "He is a propitiation" (1 John ii. 2); "There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth" (Luk. xv. 7); "He ran and fell upon his neck and kissed him. The kneeling male figure.—"I have gone astray like a lost sheep; Faith; Hope; Repentance; Obduracy; Despair; Fear. Second wreath.—"The heart sealed for ever."

Mural Decorations of Ancient Dormitory in the Deanery.

western steps was old; in 1850 it was still known as the "Abbot's Tree," from a seat at its root having been a favourite resort of Abbot Elliott.

4. In 1552 the number of taverns was limited to six, but in 1606, on the 1st of March, the following inns were authorised:—The "Black Bear," "White Horse" and "Red Lion," in Redcliff street; the "Lamb," "Antelope" (*alias* the "Black Horse"), "White Lion," "Three Kings" and the "Bell," in Thomas street; the "Saracen's Head," Temple gate; the "Crown" (*alias* the "Guilders"), High street; the "Swan," St. Mary-leport street; the "Lamb," "Dolphin," "Horseshoe," and "Elephant" (*alias* the "Spur"), Wine street; the "White Lion" and "White Hart," in Broad street; the "Abyndon" (*alias* "Jones," *alias* "New Inn," *alias* the "Rummer"), in Venny lane and High street; this last is mentioned as the "Greene Lattis" as early as 1241.

The "Swan" is mentioned in 1434; the "Virgin" tavern was well known in 1445; it gave its name to the lane, which the Commonwealth changed into Maiden lane. A tavern called the "Bell" was built in 1569, in Broad street, by John Willis, the chamberlain; the "Pelican" ("Talbot") was in existence in 1573, at the time of the visit of Queen Elizabeth. The "Fourteen Stars," Counterslip (demolished after the late Conrad Finzel bought the premises in 1857), the "Queen Bess," in Nicholas street, which stood opposite the present Fish market, the "Cat and Wheel" ("Catherine Wheel"), Castle green, were all of them Elizabethan. Why these, six of which were probably standing in 1552, are not enumerated in 1606, is difficult to understand, unless they claimed a prescriptive right as existent under the first charter of the company, which was dated 1449. The first mayor whose trade is mentioned in the *Calendar* was William John, a brewer, 1518–19. Later on, in the 17th century, we find the names of the "Green Man," Lawford's gate (pulled down 1768), the

"Man of War," Back street, the "Prodigal Son," the "Plume of Feathers" (*alias* "Princess Arms"), Wine street (changed into "The City of Bristol Arms" by the Commonwealth men; the city arms are still over the fire-place in the dining-room; there was another of same name in Redcliff street). The "Nag's Head" is mentioned in 1643, and again in 1743 it is named as the place where the Mercers and Linen Drapers' company were wont to dine. The "Ship" inn, in Steep street (III., p. 10), was not built until after the siege in

1643. The "Lamb" inn, West street, was the house in which James Naylor slept in 1655. An inn named the "George," in Castle street, was built in 1657 (the Coalbrookdale company's premises are built upon its site). In 1655 the "Mermaid" is mentioned as infected by the plague. The "Three Tuns," in Wine street, was kept by Mr. Oliff, who was twice mayor (there was another of the same name in Corn street, at which the Pope's Nuncio dined in 1687, the Exchange stands on its site). The "Angel" inn (*alias* the "Bull"), in High street (III., p. 33), dated from the 13th century. The "Fountain" was patronised by the Drapers' company in 1643; it was in High street. The "Gout" was outside St. Leonard's gate, in what is now Clare street. The "Rose" inn, Temple street,



*Guildhall Tavern, Broad Street.*

is also mentioned in 1643 as the meeting-place of the Royalist conspirators, Yeomans and Boucher; it had a large embossed rose in the centre of its panelled ceiling; possibly this occasion and this room might have given birth to the proverbial saying for secrecy, "Under the rose"; there, at a subsequent date, the notorious Beef steak club held their symposium, and there the equally notorious Duke of Norfolk paid his memorable visit. The first mention of the "Bush" (III., p. 116), immortalised in *Pickwick*, and celebrated for its coaching and its dinners, is in 1743. Bills of fare at Christmas time were published by Weeks, a later proprietor, that

for 1799 was, he said, "perhaps not to be equalled in Britain." Besides a boar's head, a bustard, red and white grouse, turtle, salmon and turbot, there were five haunches, five necks, ten breasts, and ten shoulders of venison; also forty-two hares, seventeen pheasants, forty-one partridges, seventeen wild geese, eighty-one woodcocks, one hundred and forty-nine snipes, seventeen wild and forty-four tame turkeys, eighteen golden plovers, a swan, a peacock, four peahens, one hundred and sixteen pigeons, nineteen ducks; and fifty-two barrels of oysters, in addition to beef, veal, and a great variety of other comestibles. The "Star," in Cock and Bottle lane (III., p. 157), has been mentioned under date 1704 in connection with Defoe. The "Three Queens," Thomas street, the "Raven," in St. Mary-le-port street, and the "Lamb," in Broadmead, are mentioned by name in historical documents, 1643.

In 1656 the master wardens and brethren of the fraternity and company of innholders obtained a confirmation of their charter under the hands and seals of the Lord Chancellor, Lord High Treasurer, and Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, under the ordinances of which they declare a certain number of ancient houses to be "common inns and hostelries within the cittie and liberties thereof, and that noe more, or noe other than are particularised, should be made use of as inns or hostelries." By exercise of their right they in that year proceeded to certify that "the 'Angel,' Redcliff street [re-built 1880], without Redcliff gate, should, upon the application of the owner and occupier, Anne Pruett, be then made and allowed as one of the common inns and hostelries," &c. Many of these inns, like the "Tabard" in Chaucer's *Pilgrimage to Canterbury*, were built in a quadrangular form, having for the centre a large yard, around which ran open galleries which gave access to the chambers. The innkeepers, by their charter and the by-laws of the town, were restricted in their charges, they might not take more than 6*d.* for a night's pay for a horse, or 2*s.* for a bushel of oats.

5. References to alehouses, &c., are given in Vol. I., pp. 227, 254, &c. Holinshed described ale in 1577 thus: "Ale sometyme our onely, but now taken with many onely for olde and sicke men's drinke (*i.e.* thought by many to be only fit for); . . . it is not at all or very little sodden, and without hopps, is more thicke, fulsome, and of no such continuance, which are the three notable thinges to be consydered in beere."

In 1651, hot-water houses, a species of dram-shop, began to creep into use in the city; frequented by the idle and the drunken it was ordered, "that every keeper of such house, and every person found tippling therein, should be fined 6*s.* 8*d.*" The houses were not, however,

abolished, as we find that in 1682 a "dreadful fire broke out in one of them, and the brandy and other strong waters flowed into the street, and so to St. John's gate along the channel, all on fire." In a city which for centuries imported perhaps one-third of the wines and spirits that were consumed in the kingdom, it is not surprising that taverns flourished, innkeepers grew rich and merchants bibulous. At no time or place was the propensity for good living and high drinking more indulged in than in Bristol about the beginning of the present century, and by no class of men so much as by the members of the old close corporation. Three-bottle men were the rule rather than the exception, and many a man holding a high position would be ashamed to acknowledge that he had gone to bed sober overnight. Illustrative of this is the following bill made out by the mayor as chairman of a private dinner party held at Reeves' hotel, College place, June 25th, 1807:—

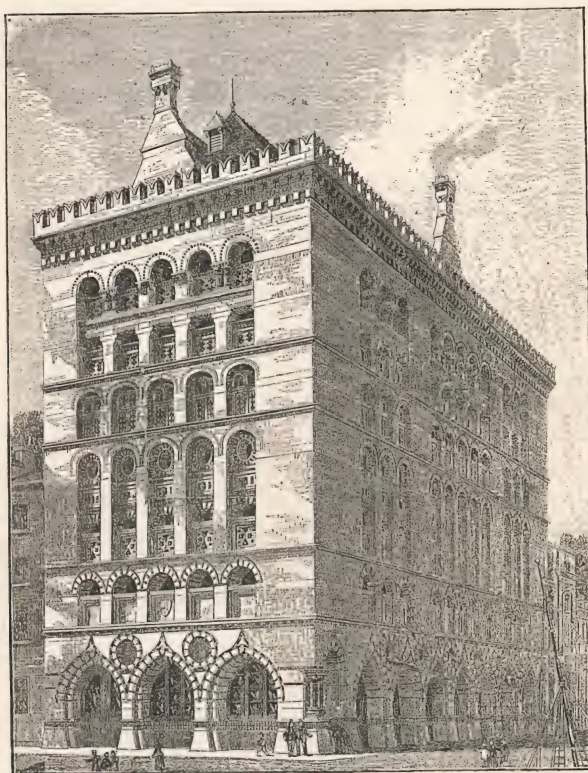
	£	s.	d.
22 dinners at 25 <i>s.</i> . . . . .	27	10	0
12 bottles of sherry at 5 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> . . . . .	3	6	0
12 bottles of port at 5 <i>s.</i> . . . . .	3	0	0
12 bottles of hock at 10 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> . . . . .	6	6	0
20 bottles of claret at 11 <i>s.</i> . . . . .	11	0	0
6 bottles of champagne, paid for by Sir R. Vaughan, the mayor . . . . .			
	£51	2	0
Waiters . . . . .	1	3	0
	£52	5	0

This dinner was consumed by twenty-two persons, of whom sixteen were members of the corporation, six of them at the least being magistrates, four were officers in the army, one an admiral and one a private gentleman.

Another peculiarity of the city during the 18th century was the number and oddity of the signs that hung over the shops and which were engraven on bill-heads and cards. In an unlettered age such outward and visible signs as the "Golden Leg" to represent the hosier, the "Wheat Sheaf" the corn merchant, &c., was no doubt necessary; an ignorant messenger or buyer could understand the representation although not able to read. As trades multiplied, the ingenuity of younger shopkeepers was tasked to find out new and striking emblems to distinguish their shops; some placed their late master's with their own, hence grew up such badges as the "Eagle and Child," others struck out such grotesque combinations as the "Cock and Bottle," others were perverted by the populace until the "Swan and the Lyre" became the "Goose and Gridiron." Besides the overhanging and the wall signs, the mercers, hatters, shoemakers, &c., used also to thrust out poles like that of the barber chirurgion with its spiral tape, upon which they hung samples of

their goods. In 1792 a local Act of Parliament was obtained which compelled the removal of all projecting or overhanging signs, but it has evidently fallen into desuetude.

6. So rapid and marked has been the progress of improvement in the city during the last twenty or thirty years in its business, domestic, and ecclesiastical architecture that some notice must be taken, however brief, of a change which, although a loss to the antiquary and the artist, has been an immeasurable gain to our sanitary condition, a convenience to men of business, and has added greatly, in our estimation, to the beauty and comfort of every-day life. The Floating harbour is no



Granary of Messrs. Wait and James, Charlotte Street, Queen Square.

longer converted into a cesspool to receive the sewage of the whole city, but our *cloacæ* now carry their contents into the sea by the tidal river. New streets have cut through and let the sunlight and fresh air into what were once unhealthy courts and alleys crowded with demoralised inhabitants. Pure water in abundance is brought from the springs of the Mendips at Chewton, East Harptree, Barrow and Chelvey; conveyed by stone aqueducts from Chewton, fifteen miles from Bristol, to the storage reservoirs at Barrow, which are 66½ acres in extent, the water is thence carried by pipes, for six miles, into the city. There are five service and four compensation reservoirs at different points of the works,

and the water is driven with a force that raises it to the level of the highest chambers in Clifton. The poor were never so well cared for or so clothed and fed; criminals are recognised as brethren, although fallen, and are no longer treated as savage beasts of prey; the children of the poorest are receiving an education of a kind and in such buildings as few, even of the wealthy, could command for their children forty years ago. The dim light from the oil lamp has given place to the brilliant gas light, which in its turn awaits its fate as an illuminator from the lamp of electrical force. The rattle and lantern of the many caped "charlie" has been superseded by a well-disciplined police force. Men of temperate and business habits and known probity of character sit daily in the seat of justice and hold the balance with truth and equity. The broad-wheeled wagon and the lumbering coach, the majestic wall-sided old West Indiamen, sugar and rum laden, have passed into the limbo of forgotten things, forced thither by the magic power of steam. If Bristol no longer builds Leviathan steam ships for ocean traffic she at least can say that she pioneered the way and that in a style and quality of workmanship that has never been surpassed; pity indeed it is that whilst she set the world an example in building colossal vessels for inter-ocean traffic she had not then, neither has she yet, in the old city the means to receive and to despatch them with celerity and profit. Of high grade educational establishments, institutes, halls and buildings, erected specially for and devoted to instruction, amusement, science and art, we shall have occasion hereafter to treat. The huge warehouses, granaries and mills, on the banks of the Floating harbour, store and grind the staple of life, some of them combining architectural beauty, with great storage capacity, notably the granary of Messrs. Wait and James, Charlotte street, Queen square. The leather trade of Bristol is famous all over the world, and the manufacture of boots and shoes has thriven so as to be surpassed in quantity by few towns, in quality of workmanship by none; situated chiefly in the north-east portions of the ancient city the trade is breaking up and monopolising the squares which merchant princes built in the last century for their dwelling-places, and its ramifications extend to Kingswood and the suburban villages. We no longer, as of old, manufacture the woollen fabric, but the home and export trade of clothing, as carried on by some dozen firms in the city, is certainly equalled by only a few towns in the north of England. The corset manufactories of the city employ a large number of hands; the soap manufactories maintain the ancient fame of Bristol for that most useful article; whilst "Bristol Bird's eye" has an ever increas-

ing reputation, as is evidenced by the numerous tobacco manufactories in the city. The refined sugar trade, once a principal staple of the city has, it is to be regretted, greatly declined through unfair foreign competition; the immense works of Messrs. Finzel have the fires blown out, yet several refineries still employ a large amount of labour. Like a giant oak amidst saplings, the colossal works of Messrs. J. S. Fry and Sons, cocoa and chocolate manufacturers, overtop the surrounding buildings. In 1820 the consumption of cocoa in the United Kingdom was under 300,000 lbs., and the duty was 2s. 2d. per lb.; in 1882 the duty of one penny per lb. was paid on 10,897,795 lbs. The northern bank of the Avon, from Totterdown to Hanham, is fringed with alkali and other chemical works.

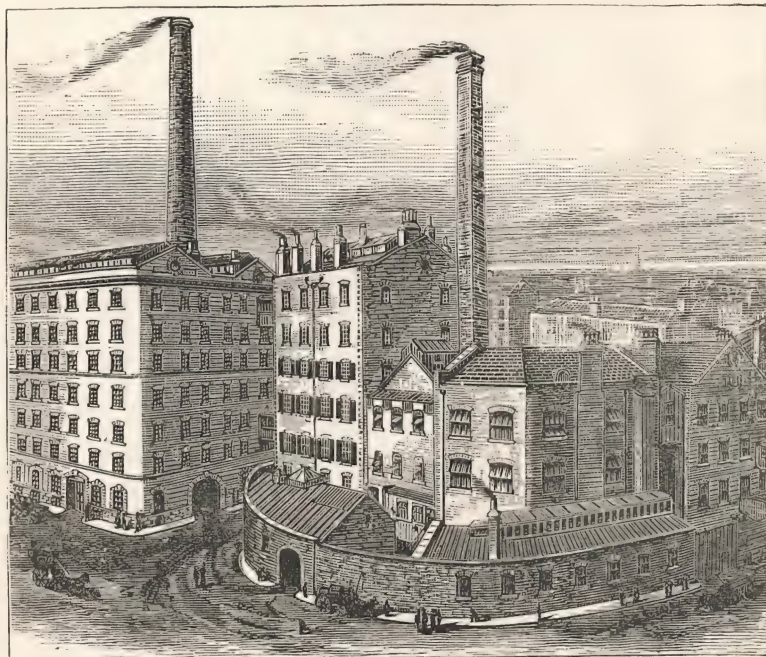
Another manufacture of world-wide renown is that of floorcloth. On the southern bank of the Avon immense sheds have of late years been erected for the storage of mineral oils, of which the import trade into Bristol has become very extensive. The Bristol wagon works employ about 700 hands; they have a cosmopolitan trade, and export largely to India and South America.

The first record of Bristol pottery is in the reign of Edward I. About the close of the 17th century "China ware, far beyond white Japan," was advertised as made and sold by Pattenden, of Corn street. Examples of the ceramic art of the dates 1702 to 1723 are well known to collectors. From 1738 to 1750 Richard Frank had his delf works first on Redcliff back, then at Temple back; these were continued by Ring until 1788, then by Ring and Carter to 1793, by Pountney and Allies to 1818, Pountney and Goldney to 1837, J. D. Pountney to 1851, and as Pountney and Co. to the present date in connection with the Victoria pottery; some of Ffield's drawings on tiles, of the date 1820, are preserved by the firm with jealous care. Champion's Bristol china works

were in Castle green; begun about the year 1765, the pottery was finally closed in 1777. The glazed "Bristol ware," which superseded the old salt glaze, was the invention of Mr. William Powell, and was first made at the pottery in 1833 at Temple gate, which is still carried on by his sons. The glazed vitrified stone ware is manufactured by Messrs. Price and Co., in Victoria street; their establishment dates from 1740. The once famous manufacture of glass bottles, which, during the 18th century, made certain portions of the city remarkable from the number of conical furnaces, is now represented by one house alone, that of Powell and Ricketts, which, since 1853, has been the representative of the Cooper's and the Phoenix glass bottle works; their

output, however, equals very nearly that of the whole of the glass manufactories in the 18th century.

The iron manufacture is well represented by the blast furnaces at Ashton gate, the rolling mills at Ashton and Barton hill, St. Vincent's corrugated iron works, St. Philip's, and galvanised iron works at Barton hill, with other well-known firms. The Bristol Distilling Company Limited continue a business founded in 1780.



*Messrs. J. S. Fry and Sons' Manufactory, Nelson Street.*

7. For about five and a-half miles from the Cumberland basin, at the Hotwells, the Avon forms a rapid tidal river full of curves to its junction with the Severn, from which point to Lundy Island it becomes the Bristol Channel, that portion of it which lies north of the Steep and Flat Holms, up to Avonmouth, being in the port of Bristol. The rise and fall of the tide in the river varies considerably; whilst at spring tides there is an abundance of water, at neap tides there is much difficulty in bringing ships of great length and heavy tonnage up to the Floating harbour, and this led to the formation of docks at its mouth, with a railway communication between them and the city.

The Bristol Port and Channel docks, at Avonmouth,

on the north side of the river, were commenced in 1868, four years after the Act had been obtained. One hundred and forty acres of land were secured; the water area is about 16 acres; the dock is 1,400 feet  $\times$  500 feet; quayside, 3,200 feet; depth in dock, spring tide,  $32\frac{1}{2}$  feet; neap,  $22\frac{1}{2}$  feet; over the cill, spring tide, 44 feet; neap, 36 feet; the lock is 454 feet  $\times$  70 feet. Ships drawing 26 feet can enter during six hours, and those drawing 16 feet nine hours of each tide. Communication with the Midland and Great Western railways is by a tunnel under Durdham down, and there is also a short line to the Hotwells.

The Portishead Dock, Pier and Railway company obtained their Act in 1871. The situation is on the south side of the mouth of the Avon, to the east of Portishead hill, which effectually shelters the harbour from west and south-west gales. The land obtained was 50 acres, and the works were commenced in 1873. The water area is about 20 acres, the depth on the cill at spring tides nearly 34 feet, with 30 feet average depth along the quay wall. There is a timber pond at the inner end 13 acres in extent; the total length of the floatage from the pier to the end of the pond is 4,533 feet; the quayside, inclusive of the pier (550 feet), is 3,363 feet; the lock is 583 feet  $\times$  66 feet; the entrance is to the north-east. To this undertaking the corporation of Bristol, who are large landowners at Portishead, contributed £100,000. The railway communication is by the Portishead Railway company, a short line which is worked by the Great Western Railway company.

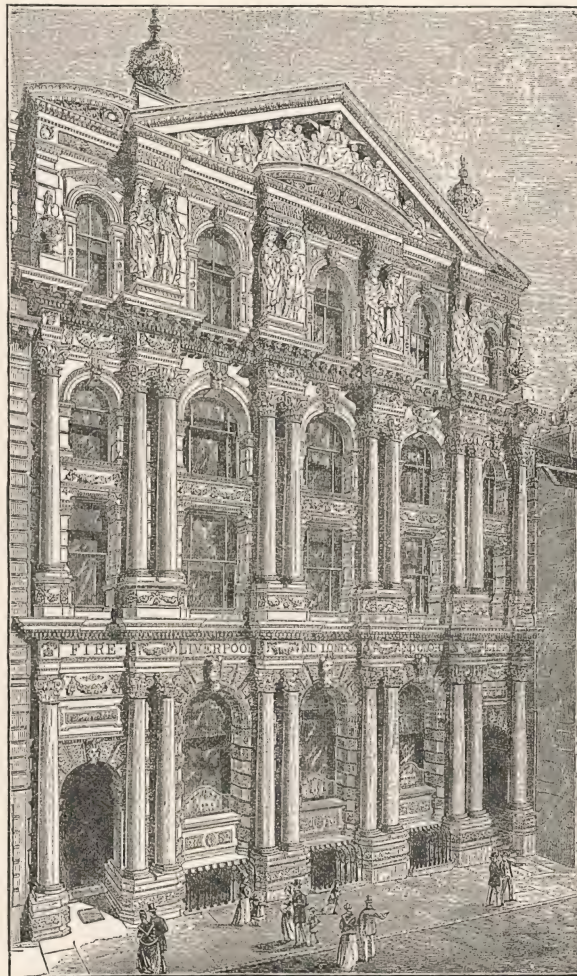
The provision trade has of late years assumed very large proportions in Bristol since the establishment of the Great Western and the Bristol City steamship lines to America. The Bristol Steam Navigation and other companies supply regular lines of communication coastwise; also to Ireland, Scotland, and the Continent.

About thirty acres of land adjoining the Float is absorbed by the timber trade, which, in 1842, under the old *régime*, employed only 42 ships, with an aggregate tonnage of 18,393 tons; these, under more favourable auspices, had increased, in 1874, to 202 ships, with a tonnage of 109,000.

The banking companies are the Bristol Branch of the Bank of England in Broad street, the Bristol and West of England Bank Limited, the London and South

Western Bank Limited, the National Provincial Bank of England Limited, the Old Bank (Miles, Cave, Baillie, Edwards and Co.), Stuckey's Banking Company and the Wilts and Dorset Banking Company, in Corn street; these being built especially for banking purposes, possess every needful internal accommodation, as well as handsome elevations on their exterior, which render them a credit to the city. The Capital and Counties' Bank Limited is in Victoria street; the Bristol Savings' Bank, which is the oldest in the kingdom, in St. Stephen's avenue; the Bristol Penny Savings Bank is held at the Guildhall, and the Post Office Savings' Bank at the head office in Small street.

The offices of the insurance and assurance companies are principally located in the central part of the city, in chambers whose elevations are for the most part elaborately ornamented, and one of which is



The Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Office, Corn Street.

shown in illustration given above.

8. The city has some good architectural specimens in its public buildings. The Council-house, Corn street, is from a design by Sir Robert Smirke, R.A., and was erected in 1827; it is surmounted by a beautiful statue of Justice from the chisel of E. H. Baily, R.A.; the staircase and Council chamber are chastely decorated, and the handsome staircase has its steps inlaid with brass and coloured enamel. The Exchange has been already noticed (III., pp. 188-9). There is a beautiful

Ionic portico to the Commercial rooms in Corn street, over which is a *bas relief*, by Bubb, which represents Britannia, Neptune and Minerva receiving tribute from the four quarters of the globe, whilst symbolical figures of commerce, navigation, and of the city of Bristol, adorn its summit. The Chamber of Commerce has its location in St. Stephen's buildings, in the street bearing the same name. Across the Drawbridge, on a gentle acclivity to the right, and on the site of the Great house, afterwards Colston's school (III., p. 136), stands Colston hall. This magnificent pile contains, besides the large hall (which will accommodate 2,250 persons in the body and galleries, and 400 additional in the balconies and orchestra, or 6,000 standing, being 146 feet long, 80 feet wide and 70 feet high), two other halls, one with sitting accommodation for 700, the other on the ground floor for 400. The organ in the great hall cost over £3,000. The building, which was erected by spirited citizens to supply a great want, rather than as a speculation, has cost upwards of £45,000. Four medallions of well-beloved citizen shareholders, who will not soon be forgotten in Bristol, Conrad Finzel, George Thomas, Henry Overton Wills and Robert Charleton, have been placed in the spandrels over the arches of the great hall. On another small hill to the left, in front of College green, is the Civic Cross, designed by Norton, erected 1850. Near the foot of Park street, on the left hand, is the Freemasons' hall, the finest in the provinces; it was built for a Philosophic institution in 1820, C. R. Cockerell, R.A., being the architect. The frieze under the portico is from the chisel of E. H. Baily, R.A.; the ceiling of the staircase was painted by E. Bird, R.A. This hall is highly decorated; it has an organ, and a carpet that cost £200. The highest degrees of Masonry have been worked in Bristol from time immemorial; the Freemasons of America claim descent from the lodges of Bristol. In Great George street, Park street, stands St. George's church, having a handsome Grecian Doric portico, the ascent to which is by a noble flight of steps. At the upper end of the street is Bethesda chapel, where the orphans' friend, George Müller, has ministered for so many years. At the top of Park street is the Church and Asylum for the Blind, wherein sixty inmates of both sexes find a comfortable home and are taught divers trades; adjoining the church is a fine building, originally the Bishop's college, but now devoted to other purposes. The next building is the Bristol Library and Museum, in the vestibule of which is Baily's "Eve at the Fountain." The library was founded in 1772; the librarian is Mr. John Taylor, author of *A Book about Bristol* and the ecclesiastical portion of the present work, &c. The Bristol Institution, established in 1823,

for the promotion of science and art, has been for some years amalgamated with this library. The institution now includes a museum of zoology, geology, archaeology and industrial products, a library of 50,000 volumes, a newsroom, and a lecture-room that will hold 400 persons. The building is in the Venetian style, and occupies a commanding position on a broad platform, with flight of steps. The museum contains an admirable collection of fossils, marbles from the antique, and a fine selection of objects in natural history; the geological collection is the finest out of London. Near to, and in the rear of this building, are the Bristol University and the Bristol Grammar school, which will be referred to in future pages. On a commanding site which is formed by a spur of Clifton hill stands the Roman Catholic Pro-Cathedral and the convent of St. Catherine. The Victoria rooms, occupying the finest site in Clifton, cover the main approaches to Clifton and Redland at the junction of White Ladies' and Queen's roads and Richmond hill. The noble portico of this fine façade is supported by massive Corinthian columns, which bear a rich entablature and pediment, with classic carvings in high relief representing the "Advent of Morning." The broad flight of steps leading up to the building, which is flanked by colossal sphinxes on either hand, gives it a most imposing effect; it was erected in 1840, at a cost of £20,000. Near to the Victoria rooms is the Bristol Fine Arts Academy, with its ornamental front. The elevation is handsome, in the Venetian style, profusely decorated and embellished with statuary; it was erected in 1858, at a cost of £5,000, exclusive of ground, and in 1877 some additional rooms were erected at a cost of about £600. The academy was founded by the munificence of Mrs. Sharples, a widow lady residing at the Hotwells, in the year 1844. Hearing that efforts were being made to establish an exhibition of pictures, she generously came forward with a donation of £2,000 for that purpose, and, assisted by some of the most eminent of the citizens, established the society. At her death, in 1849, she bequeathed to the society about £3,000. The present building was completed in 1858, and contains a collection of pictures by Mr., Mrs. and Miss Sharples, amongst which will be found portraits of General Washington and many other eminent Americans, and likewise several pictures of particular interest to Bristol. On the ground-floor is the Government School of Science and Art. The Clifton club has an imposing frontage on the north side of the Mall, Clifton. The New Theatre Royal, Park row, was opened on October 14th, 1867; on Boxing night, 1869, the pit and gallery entrance was the scene of a terrible catastrophe, eighteen persons losing their lives through overcrowding. Not

far from it to the east, on the descent of the hill, is the Certified Industrial School for Boys, sentenced by the magistrates under the Industrial Schools' Act. This institution, with an average of 80 inmates, has during its existence sent forth 200 lads, of whom 90 per cent. are known to be doing well. Near this is the Jews' Synagogue, adjoining which is the Asylum for Hopeful Discharged Female Prisoners. At the upper corner of Lodge street stands the Red lodge, erected by Sir John Young about 1600, which contains a splendid Elizabethan panelled room, with rich carvings and ceiling and a richly decorated fireplace. It is now used as a Reformatory for Girls. This was instituted by Mary Carpenter; it was the first in the kingdom certified for the reception of convicted girls, and the house was given to Miss Carpenter for this purpose by Lady Byron, the widow of the poet. At the bottom of Lodge street is situated the commodious chapel founded by Selina, Countess of Huntingdon; re-erected in 1831. The roof forms a nave and side aisles without pillars. The Coopers' hall in New King street, and the Assembly-rooms in Prince street, have each a noble façade; both buildings are now used as warehouses. The City library (III., p. 126) has a good front; it, also, is in New King street. Near it, at the corner of Marsh street, is the exquisite front of the Merchant Venturers' hall, which was erected in 1701. At the corner of Excise avenue, Queen square, are the Inland Revenue offices; and not far distant, in the centre of the north side of the square, stands the Custom-house, a good solid piece of architecture. On the eastern side of the Float, and on the edge of Bathurst basin, there stands the Bristol General Hospital; founded in 1832 it was re-built in 1858, in the Italian style, of blue lias with Bath stone dressings, two worthy citizens, Joseph Eaton and George Thomas, having been the chief contributors. Not far distant to the west is the Protestant convent of the Sisters of Charity. St. Peter's hospital has been fully described in Vol. II., p. 135; it lies back from Peter street, in the shadow of the church. The Royal Infirmary (an account of which will be found in Vol. III., p. 182) is in Marlborough street. The Guildhall, Broad street, a building in the Tudor style, has a façade adorned with statues of Victoria, Edward III., Charles II., Foster (recorder of Bristol), Colston and Dunning (recorder of Bristol). In Tailors' court, nearly opposite, is the Temperance hall (II., p. 268).

In 1881 a magistrates' court of Petty Session, a neat but handsome pile of buildings, with every necessary convenience for magistrates, officials and prisoners, was erected in Bridewell street, adjoining the Central police-station. In 1850 public baths and wash-houses were

erected on the Weir; and in 1873 others were opened on the New Cut, in the Mayor's paddock. These belong to the corporation; they contain admirable swimming baths, and every requisite is furnished for laundry purposes at a merely nominal charge.

The Cattle market, Temple mead, will accommodate 7,000 sheep, 500 pigs, 300 horses and 1,000 oxen. In the city there are also markets for corn, fish, hay and straw, leather and provisions.

The works of the first or Coal Gas company, incorporated 1819, which was the second formed in England, are in Avon street, St. Philip's. In 1823 the Oil Gas company was established in Limekiln lane. These amalgated in 1853, under the title of the Bristol United Gas Light company; their works are at Avon street, St. Philip's, Canons' marsh, and Stapleton road.

Amongst the modern buildings which adorn the city, in addition to those already specified, we briefly mention the elevations in great varieties of style of architecture in Corn street, Wine street, Baldwin street, Redcliff street (notably those of E. S. Robinson and Co. and W. D. and H. O. Wills), Bridewell street (H. H. and S. Budgett and Co.), and others in Victoria street.

The hotels are exceedingly commodious, and many of them are palatial in style. The principal are the Grand, the Royal, Queen's, Imperial, Clifton Down, St. Vincent's Rocks', Montague, and the Royal Talbot.

9. THE BRISTOL MUNICIPAL CHARITIES were, previous to the year 1836, administered by the corporation, but by 5 and 6 William, cap. 76, known as the Municipal Corporations Act, their management was removed from the corporation and vested in a body composed of twenty-one trustees, to be thereafter specially appointed to that duty. By an order of the lord chancellor, dated the 19th October, 1836, the first board was formed, of which Mr. James Cunningham was elected chairman. In the years 1852, 1865 and 1875, appointments were made to fill vacancies on the board occasioned by death or resignation, and Messrs. George Thomas, Frederick Terrell and Herbert Thomas have successively occupied the chair—the last-named gentleman being the present chairman. The two first appointments of trustees were made under orders of the lord chancellor, and the two last by the charity commission, to which body the appointment had in the interim been transferred. The net annual income of the charities thus dispensed may be roughly stated at about £27,000.

The following are the various charities, the object of each trust, and the mode of administration. Alderman Whitson left, besides his endowment of the Red Maids' school, the following:—

CHILD-BED CHARITY.—Income, £52 per annum, which is

bestowed in gifts of £1 to poor lying-in women residing within the boundaries of the ancient city.

**GIFTS TO POOR HOUSEKEEPERS.**—Donations of £1 each are given annually to one hundred and five poor men, being householders residing within the ancient city.

**GIFT TO WIDOWS.**—Fifty-two poor widows, resident in the ancient city, are annually selected to receive this charity of ten shillings each.

In addition to the charities enumerated above, Alderman Whitson bequeathed small annuities for poor scholars at Oxford (now paid over to the Grammar school scholarship fund), the Merchants' almshouse, the Redcliff free school, the poor of Burnett, the poor of Clewerwall, the master of Newland Grammar school, and to St. Nicholas church.

**TRINITY HOSPITAL.**—The foundation and endowment of this hospital, situate in Old Market street, is believed to date from the reign of Henry V. The founder was John Barstaple. It is recorded that a committee appointed to enquire into the charities at that time under the management of the corporation, which sat from the year 1737 to 1739, examined some of the old deeds in relation to Trinity hospital, and ordered the charter founding the said almshouse to be copied and "Englised," as far as it was possible, it being very much decayed. Of this copy the following is a correct transcript:—

Henry the 5th by the grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland. To all whom these presents shall

come heulth. Know ye that whereas our most dear father, the Lord H., late King of England, by his letters patent and out of his espetial grace had granted . . . for him and his heirs as much as in him lay to John Barstaple . . . That in a certain void place in the suburbs of Bristol a certain perpetual hospital or almshouse . . . for the scituation and wholesomness of the air . . . for certain poor . . . an hospital or almshouse for the fraternity or gild of brethren and sisters . . . And that each of the hospitals or almshouses of the said fraternity or gild . . . and that the said . . . should be guardian of

the hospital or almshouse aforesaid, as also guardian of the hospital or almshouse of the Holy Trinity, nigh Lawford's gate, within the suburbs of Bristol . . Divine service, by prayers and preaching, to be performed . . That each of the chaplains should be master and guardian of the fraternity or gild aforesaid, and of the Holy Trinity, near Lafford's gate, within the suburbs of Bristol . . . to receive and take the profits of the lands and other possessions to them and their successors for ever . . without intermeddling of others . . . and that each of the guardians and brethren and sisters of the gild aforesaid . . . as farr as they are able . . . cause to be made and established laws and ordinances for the regulation of the Society . . . To the guardian of the fraternity or gild aforesaid . .

of the same fraternity or gild . . . for the augmentation, sustaining, and reception of the same fraternity or gild of brethren and sisters . . . be assessed on the goods and chattles of the brethren and sisters . . . and all and every of them the like sums . . . which payments . . . to the aforesaid John Barstaple . . . of the hospital or almshouse . . . to him and his successors for ever . . . give, grant, and assign . . . and also, notwithstanding the letters patents of our said dear father . . . the aforesaid John . . . for the more wholesome . . . of the brethren and sisters of the fraternity or gild of the Holy Trinity . . . Robert and Nicholas . . .



Alderman John Whitson.

and of our especial grace have granted for us and our heirs as much as in us lyeth to them the said . . . Thomas, John . . . Robert, David, Robert and Nicholas . . . or any four of them . . . in honour of the Holy Trinity and St. George . . . to establish . . . the fraternity and gild aforesaid . . . incorporated for ever . . . yearly a certain master . . . of the almshouse of the fraternity of the Holy Trinity and St. George in Bristol should take for ever . . . brethren and sisters of the gild or fraternity . . . and take and receive the lands, tenements, and other possessions whatsoever . . . To be had and holden to him and his successors for ever . . . And that the aforesaid master of the said gild or fraternity and the brethren and sisters of the fraternity or gild aforesaid . . . founded and appointed . . . And we have moreover granted for us and our heirs as much as in us lyeth to the aforesaid . . . That the master . . . of the fraternity or gild and their successors . . . for the augmentation, sustaining, and relieving of the said . . . fraternity and gild . . . when and as often as need shall require . . . And the same sums so assessed on the goods and chattels of any the brethren and sisters aforesaid . . . to the payment of the same . . . Robert and Nicholas and their heirs, or the aforesaid master of the brotherhood or gild, or his successors . . . aforesaid, or other the premises aforesaid by us or our heirs, justices, estheators, sheriffs or others . . . on occasion thereof be in any manner molested or aggrieved . . . us and our heirs . . . in the least due and accustomed. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents.

Witness ourself at . . . day of February, in the fourth year of our reign.

This endowment has been largely augmented by the gifts of Francis Codrington, a Bristol merchant, and Richard Reynolds. The net income is about £2,000, arising from lands and hereditaments at Chew Magna, Dundry, Portishead, Congresbury, Wick St. Lawrence, Winterbourne, &c.; from certain house property in the city of Bristol, and the dividends arising from monies invested in consols. The hospital, on the south side of Old Market street, was re-built in the year 1856, and considerable additions have been made thereto since that date. The present handsome structure provides accommodation for thirty-six inmates, viz.:—thirteen men and twenty-three women, who have each two living rooms and a scullery. A neat chapel has been recently erected on the site of a former structure, and underneath are interred the remains of the founder and his wife (II., p. 116). On the north side of the street is a more ancient building, wherein twenty women are housed, each person having one apartment only. The inmates all receive seven shillings per week each.

#### FOSTER'S ALMSHOUSE, Colston street.—

John Foster, by Will of the 6th August, 1492, directed his Executors to find a Priest to sing in the Chapel which he had built to the honour of God and The Three Kings of Coleyne, for his Soul, and distribute weekly for 40 years after his decease among the poor dwelling in 13 chambers of said Almshouse 2s. 2d., being for every chamber 2d. weekly, and he willed that certain lands in Gloucestershire should be sold, and the money applied in pur-

chasing the King's license to found in said Chapel a perpetual chantry, and in purchasing an estate for building an Almshouse.<sup>1</sup>

The present rent-roll represents house property in the city, and farm-houses and land at Chew Magna, Bishop's Sutton, &c. The net annual income is about £1,300, which includes an endowment from Dr. George Owen's charity. There are twenty-four alms-folk on the foundation, of whom twelve are men and twelve women, each of whom receives seven shillings per week. The mayoress of Bristol for the time being is entitled to the nomination of four of the women. The almshouse building, which is of ancient date, has been partially re-built in a very ornate style, and it is intended to complete the works as soon as the funds of the charity will permit. In the old building the inmates have one room each, while in the new portion each person has two living rooms and a small scullery. There is no limit as to qualification, but the trustees do not usually elect applicants under sixty years of age. Annexed to the building at the entrance is a small pre-Reformation chapel, in which service is conducted once a week by the vicar of the parish, who is also chaplain of the almshouse.

BENGOUGH'S ALMSHOUSE.—Alderman Henry Bengough, by his will dated the 9th April, 1818, gave certain lands and hereditaments, situate in the parish of Nempnett, Somerset, for founding and endowing "a hospital, as a perpetual place of refuge for the maintenance and support of the aged and infirm when destitute of any other means of subsistence." It was expressly provided that no action should be taken to fulfil the charitable intentions of the donor until the several leases granted by former proprietors for terms of years determinable on lives, for which the property was held, should fall in and determine; and in the meantime the rents and profits of the estates were to be invested from time to time, when and so often as the money in hand should amount to the sum of £50, in the Three-per-cent Government bank annuities. The last of these leases fell in hand in the year 1878, when the trustees proceeded to the erection of a handsome almshouse on a property in Horfield road, in the parish of St. Michael, purchased by them for that purpose from the Society of Merchant Venturers. The directions of the founder required that the trustees should

Elect and appoint in the proportion of three women to one man, and so in proportion the women being always three-fourths of the total number of persons from time to time in the said hospital; so many men and women being unmarried (except with respect to the men in the cases hereinafter mentioned) at the time of admission, to be respectively of the age of fifty-nine years or upwards, being Protestants and British born subjects (no foreigner being considered as eligible to be admitted).

<sup>1</sup> Municipal Charities—Inspector's Report, 55.

It is further provided that the trustees

Shall from time to time, as near as may be, elect and appoint one-half, consisting of persons professing the religion of the Established Church of England, and the other half always to consist of Protestant Dissenters of any denomination tolerated by law, including the people called Quakers, if an adequate number of persons of those persuasions, eligible in every other respect, shall from time to time duly petition for admission; and that no person shall be admitted who hath ever received parochial pay from any parish or place as a pauper.

And further, the trustees are empowered—

If they shall at any time or times think fit (but not that it shall be imperative or obligatory on them so to do), at the election of any man or men to be admitted into the said hospital, instead of electing an unmarried man or men, therein to elect and appoint any married man and his wife jointly, with benefit of survivorship to the longest liver of them, each being of the age of fifty-nine years or upwards, and eligible in every other respect, agreeably to the restrictions hereinbefore contained; and that in every case of the so electing any such married couple to be admitted into the said hospital instead of an unmarried man, every such married couple shall be deemed and considered as one person and as representing one man only, and there shall be paid to them jointly and to the survivor of them such and the like clear weekly stipend, pay or allowance, and no more, as an unmarried man would have received if elected; yet, nevertheless, that such weekly stipend, pay or allowance shall in every such case, upon the death of either the man or his wife so elected, be continued to be paid to the survivor of them during his or her continuance in the said hospital.

It is further provided—

That no election shall take place for filling up or supplying any vacancy or vacancies occasioned by the death of any man or woman admitted into the said hospital, until the expiration of six calendar months after his or her decease at the least, and that the pay or allowance of every such person so deceased shall, in the intermediate space until another person shall be elected in his or her or their places, be applied in augmentation of the funds of the said hospital.

The income is about £500.

OWEN'S CHARITY.—Dr. George Owen, by indenture of the 2nd May, 1553, granted certain lands to the corporation to find ten poor men to be placed in Foster's almshouse and to have seven pence per week paid to them. Under an order of the Court of Chancery of the 2nd June, 1843, a new scheme for the appropriation of the income of the charity was established, whereby it was ordered that five-sixths of the said income should be applied for the use of the Grammar school and the remaining one-sixth for the support of the almshouse, called Foster's almshouse, and the Three Kings of Cologne and the poor people therein. The income, which at the present time amounts to about £1,200, is thus applied. The property of the charity consists of warehouses and tenements in Bristol (principally in the parish of St. Mary Redcliff), and farmhouses and land at Chew Magna, Dundry and Bishop's Sutton, in the county of Somerset.

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#### HANNAH LUDLOW'S CHARITY.—

Hannah Ludlow of the City of Bristol, Spinster, by her Will dated the 11th December, 1863, gave and bequeathed all her residuary personal Estate, as therein mentioned, to the Trustees of the Bristol Charities, and she declared that—"The Trustees for the time being of the said Charities should stand possessed of and interested in such estate upon trust, to invest the same in the purchase of 3 per cent. Consolidated Bank Annuities, and to stand possessed thereof, and also of the Bank Annuities which should compose any part of her residuary personal Estate, upon trust to pay and apply the dividends thereof, after deducting the needful expenses of carrying the trusts of her will into execution, in annuities of Thirty pounds each, payable in equal quarterly or monthly payments as the Trustees should think best, to such Widows and Single Women as the Trustees for the time being should think proper, being natives of the City of Bristol, and above the age of fifty years, who should have been well educated and brought up, and lived respectably, and should be of irreproachable character but become reduced in their circumstances, and who should not have been for the greater part of their lives domestic servants. And from time to time for any immoral conduct, but not otherwise, to discontinue such annuity to any of the persons who should have enjoyed the same, and to exclude such person or persons from all further benefit under the trusts of her will. And from time to time, upon the death or discontinuance of any such person or persons who should from time to time have enjoyed such annuity or annuities respectively, to elect another or others in their or her places or place, and so from time to time, in order that the said dividends should be constantly enjoyed by such persons as aforesaid."<sup>1</sup>

The income of the charity amounts to £570, and there are eighteen annuitants.

#### GIST'S CHARITY.—

Samuel Gist, by Will of the 22nd of June, 1808, gave to Trustees £10,000 £3 per Cent. bank annuities upon Trust, out of the Dividends to maintain Six Poor Men and Six Poor Women, to maintain, educate, clothe, and apprentice Six poor Boys in Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, and Six poor Girls. And upon further trust to pay £5 yearly to such poor Men and Women, and £10 for an apprentice fee, and in case there should be any overplus of the interest to apply same towards the maintenance, education, clothing, and putting apprentice so many Poor Boys of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, as far as such overplus would extend.<sup>2</sup>

In discharge of this trust three poor men are paid £20 12s. per annum each, viz., £15 12s. for maintenance and £5 for lodgings, and three female annuitants receive £18, being £13 for maintenance and £5 for lodgings. Candidates must be over fifty years of age, natives of the ancient city of Bristol, without any income for life amounting to £20 a year. The persons selected by the trustees are generally those who have been in somewhat better circumstances than the ordinary poor.

By an order of the Court of Chancery, dated the 14th November, 1820, the payment to Queen Elizabeth's hospital of the sum of £100 annually and to the Red Maids' school of the sum of £72 yearly was approved as satisfactory performance of the trust for poor boys and girls.

<sup>1</sup> Municipal Charities—Inspector's Report, 139.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

Gist was a slave-holder in Virginia, U.S.A., but his slaves were, by a direction contained in his will, manumitted. He died on or about the 16th January, 1815, in Gower street, London, and was, by his desire, buried under the church at Wormington, Gloucestershire. He left certain monies, the interest on which was to be devoted to the maintenance of a schoolmaster and minister for the benefit of the descendants of his manumitted slaves (300 in number) who were also to have assistance in the shape of food and clothing. The community which can now lay claim to these benefits numbers upwards of 500 persons.

BONVILLE'S CHARITY.—Thomas Bonville, by an indenture of the 20th October, 1819, gave certain bank annuities for the several purposes thereafter set forth. It is directed that the proceeds and interest of £4,000 consols be paid to and for the support and maintenance of the Benevolent schools established in the parishes of St. James and St. Paul, the remainder of the income to be divided into two equal moieties, the one to furnish five annuities of £21 each, and the residue to be divided into equal portions, so that no portion shall exceed £10 10s., and may be as near to that sum as an equal division will admit, the same to be paid half-yearly to such poor housekeepers of the ancient city of Bristol as shall from time to time be elected thereto. It is directed that the other moiety shall be divided into equal portions not exceeding £5 5s. each, and to be as near to that amount as an equal division will admit, the same to be paid to poor housekeepers half-yearly as above. This gift is not an annuity, but the recipients thereof are elected annually. The receipt of parish pay is a disqualification, widows or single women, of not less than fifty years of age, are always to be preferred. The present disposition of the fund is as follows, viz., five recipients of £21 per annum, seventeen of £10 10s. and fifty-three of £5 5s.

By indenture of the 1st June, 1822, Thomas Bonville further gave certain bank annuities and other stocks, the income of which is to be applied from time to time in yearly sums of not exceeding £21, nor under £5 5s., each, payable to poor lodgers residing in the ancient city of Bristol. The conditions of payment are similar to those as set forth under the first-named deed. There are fifty-one recipients of this gift, viz., fifteen of £10 and thirty-six of £5 5s. per annum each. The income of this charity is about £1,060.

JOHN MERLOTT'S CHARITY.—Alderman John Merlott, by his will of the 14th January, 1784, gave £3,000 upon trust, to pay the interest to blind persons of fifty years and upwards, in sums of £10 each yearly, without regard to the place of birth of any of such objects provided they

be residents in Great Britain, and in every other respect upon the like terms and conditions as in Hetherington's charity in London, whereby it is required, *inter alia*, that applicants shall have been "stone" blind for upwards of three years; and further, that they be of sober life and conversation, not receiving parochial alms, not being common beggars, and not having any annuity, salary, pension, estate, or income for life amounting to £20. The petitioners are divided into four classes, the first consisting of persons who have attained the age of eighty years, the second of persons of seventy and under eighty years of age, the third of persons of sixty and under seventy years of age, and the fourth of persons of fifty and under sixty years of age; and provided there is a sufficient number of eligible candidates in the older classes the first class is to be preferred to the second, the second to the third, and so forth. The funds of this charity were largely augmented by the gifts of Richard Reynolds and Miss Elizabeth Merlott, the former of about £2,400 and the latter of £5,000. The present income is about £490, and there are forty-seven recipients of the charity.

DR. THOMAS WHITE'S CHARITIES.—This benevolent donor, a native of Bristol and Vicar of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, London, bequeathed (1622) estates in London and Essex for various charitable purposes in London and Bristol. The present appropriation of the funds applicable to Bristol, and which are under the control and management of the trustees of the Bristol Municipal charities, is as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
The minister of All Saints, Bristol, to preach four sermons in the said church yearly	10	0	0
The minister of St. Werburgh's, Bristol, to preach four sermons in the said church yearly	10	0	0
The minister of Temple parish, Bristol, to preach one sermon in the said church yearly on St. Thomas' day in the forenoon, and one sermon likewise on the Feast of St. John the Baptist in the forenoon	6	0	0
The poor of Temple hospital, for the increase of their alms there and other purposes	12	0	0
On St. Thomas' eve, to and for the relief of poor prisoners in Newgate gaol, Bristol ( <i>vide</i> Prisoners in Gaol fund)	2	0	0
Marriage portions of £10 each to four poor maidens of good character, who have lived at least five years in one place, or have been for a like period steadily engaged in the pursuit of some trade or other calling, upon their marriage	40	0	0
Grammar school endowment fund	100	0	0

(This last amount was formerly appropriated to the repair of the highways leading to the city of Bristol within the compass of five miles round every travelling and market way, and also the ways to the baths and ten miles towards Oxford, but inasmuch as the local board is bound to repair all roads which are made and placed in proper order, an Act of the 21st and 22nd Victoria, obtained under the Charitable Trusts Act, 1858, provided that the

income should be invested from time to time in the public funds, in augmentation of the endowment of the Grammar school.)

A sum of £660 is applicable for loans, viz., a capital sum of £600 and an annual income of £60, which latter, after having been once lent, is applicable to making good any losses arising from non-payment of any loans, and, subject thereto, the amount so repaid is applied to the augmentation of the Grammar school exhibition. This fund is lent out in sums of £30 each for two years, free of interest, to persons carrying on business within the Parliamentary boundaries of the city of Bristol upon the bond of the borrower and two or more satisfactory sureties—£60.

The residue of the income is ordinarily paid over annually to the governors of Temple hospital, but should there remain in any year a balance after the satisfaction of their claim it is appropriated, under the Act previously quoted and the scheme of the Endowed Schools' commissioners, 1875, to the augmentation of the Grammar school endowment fund. The present income, which fluctuates considerably, amounts to about £500.

Dr. White further founded, and placed under the control and direction of the court of Zion college, London, an almshouse at London wall, London, for twenty persons, of whom four persons, viz., two men and two women, were to be received from Bristol. By a sale of certain of the lands, out of which such income issued, including the almshouse building, the revenues were considerably increased, and thereupon a scheme was framed for the management and regulation of Sion hospital and the application of the income thereof, which was approved by order of the High Court of Justice, Chancery Division, on the 23rd of July, 1877, whereby the trustees were empowered to make arrangements with the then existing inmates of the almshouse to commute their residence and weekly payment into pensions, and thereafter to apply the income of the charity in the bestowal of pensions of not exceeding £50 per annum each. One fifth of the number of pensions is allotted to Bristol, and eight inhabitants of this city, viz., four men and four women, now receive pensions of £35 each. Candidates must be poor and impotent folk, so reduced in strength as to be unable to work, and who shall have attained the age of fifty years at least at the date of election, provided that no person shall be elected who shall have been in the receipt of parochial (other than medical) relief within twelve months next preceding the time of election. The Bristol pensions are bestowed by the governors of Sion hospital, on the nomination of the Bristol charity trustees.

**LOAN MONEY CHARITY.**—This charity is composed of the gifts of fourteen donors, viz.:—Sir Thomas White, John Heydon, Robert Thorne, Robert Aldworth, George White, John Whitson, Robert Rogers, John Dunster, Thomas Jones, Robert Kitchen, Robert Redwood, Francis

James, John Doughty and Thomas Pearce Allison. Sums of from £50 to £500 are lent out at a nominal rate of interest to persons carrying on business in the ancient city of Bristol, upon satisfactory personal security and for a term not exceeding six years. Under a scheme of the Endowed Schools' commissioners, dated the 13th May, 1875, one moiety of the funds of this charity was added to the endowment of the Grammar school. The present loan fund amounts to the sum of £3,400, added to which a sum of £1,000 is invested as a sinking fund for making good occasional losses. The loans are obtained upon petition.

**KITCHEN'S CHARITY.**—Alderman Robert Kitchen, by his will of the 19th June, 1594, devised to trustees his capital mansion house, situate in Small street, within the city of Bristol, with the appurtenances to the same belonging, upon the special trust that his executors or their successors should, at any time they should think most fit, sell the said capital messuage and premises for the greatest price they could have for the same; and after such sale, dispose and employ the money which should be made or received for the same to the best benefit, relief and sustentation of poor people.

And by an indenture of the 27th March, 1631, the surviving executors of the will paid £1,000 to the corporation (being the proceeds of the sale of the mansion house aforementioned), to the intent that "there should be for £600 of that sum a rent charge of £32, issuing out of the lands of said Corporation, to pay 10s. a week every Saturday to some one poor householder, either a Burgess, or the widow of a Burgess inhabiting in the seventeen Parishes of the City, mentioned in a Schedule, making £26 a year, such householder to be nominated by the Mayor and Aldermen, and the Churchwardens and Overseers of the poor of the Parishes respectively, one after another, in the order in the Schedule, going over the same Parishes in order again and again, week by week for ever; and the remaining £6 a year, residue of the £32, to pay £3 at Lady Day, and £3 at Michaelmas, yearly, for the preferment in marriage, or for a stock to set up a trade of such of the poor kindred of himself or his wife, a Kitchen or Sathfield, as should dwell in Bristol, for ever, and for want of such kindred, for the placing of three fatherless or friendless children, dwelling in Christchurch, Temple, or St. Stephen's Parishes, at the discretion of the said Mayor, Aldermen, Churchwardens, and Overseers. And for the other £400 of the said £1,000, £125 thereof to be yearly lent to merchants of Bristol in sums of £25 gratis, £250 to be lent to Six or Seven Burgesses for five years together, in sums of £5 or £10, and the remaining £25 to be lent to the Mayor gratis every Michaelmas, with a basin and ewer, double gilt, 90½ ounces, which Humphrey Hook the then Mayor had; to the intent that the Mayor should have a care to the Charitable Trust. The Corporation covenanted faithfully to execute the trusts, and that if they failed it should devolve on the Corporation of Bath.

Abel Kitchen, the surviving Executor of the Will of Alderman Kitchen, by his Will dated in 1639, directed that the rents of the New Market or Shambles, in Bristol (which he described as being of the gift of the Alderman, but whether to himself, the testator, or to the Charity does not appear), should be settled, after payment of the quit rents therein mentioned, for placing out

seven poor boys or girls at £2 10s. a piece,"<sup>1</sup> and for the following gifts annually, viz. :—

	£	s.	d.
To the parish of Westbury-upon-Trym : 6s. 8d. to the poor of the parish, and 6s. 8d. for a sermon to be preached there annually ... ..	0	13	4
To the parish of Christchurch for bread ... ..	1	6	0
To the minister of St. Stephen's for a sermon ... ..	0	10	0
To the vicar of Kendal, in the county of Westmoreland, for a sermon ... ..	0	10	0

So far as regards the annual payment of £26, distributed in pursuance of the trusts, in gifts of ten shillings each amongst the poor of the several parishes of the city, the method of award is as follows :—

The Churchwardens of the Old Parishes, together with a Committee of the Corporation who represent the ancient Mayor and Aldermen (under the Municipal Corporation Act, 5 and 6 William 4th, c. 76, sec. 73) meet at the Council House in March or April (generally some time before Easter). The Town Clerk has previously sent a precept to the Churchwardens, which is affixed to the Church door, giving notice that on a certain day the Committee will sit for the receipt of the applications. The Churchwardens fill up the recommendation, and bring it to the meeting, and, if approved of, the order to pay on the same form is signed by the Chairman. This order is taken to the Charity Trustees.<sup>2</sup>

By an Act of Parliament, 21 and 22 Vic., cap. 30, schedule sec. 6, it is enacted that the annual surplus, if any, arising from this sum, not required for distribution in the manner prescribed by the founder of the charity, shall be placed by the trustees to the credit of a fund for general charitable uses belonging to the same charity, and be applied and disposed of by them for such charitable objects for the benefit of the poor of the city or borough of Bristol as the trustees shall from time to time determine. From this fund accordingly annual subscriptions are given to the Infirmary, the Hospital, and the Dispensary. A grant is also made therefrom annually for coals for the poor, and grants of not exceeding five pounds each are bestowed on distressed citizens.

ELIZABETH LUDLOW'S GIFT.—Miss Elizabeth Ludlow, by her will of the 11th February, 1805, gave the sum of £1,000 three per cent. bank annuities, directing that the dividends arising therefrom, and amounting to two sums of £30, be yearly divided on the 2nd February amongst five poor widows and widowed daughters of free burgesses residing within the limits of the ancient city. The trustees observe the directions of the testatrix's will, but do not as a rule give this gratuity two years following to the same person, or until at least three years have elapsed.

LADY HABERFIELD'S CHARITY.—Dame Sarah Haberfield, by her will dated the 25th day of April, 1870, gave to the trustees of the Bristol charities the sum of

£500 for the purposes set forth in the following extract therefrom :—

I GIVE to the Bristol Charity Trustees Five Hundred Pounds to be invested in Consols, and the annual income thereof to be divided equally on the twenty-seventh day of December in every year among such Ten Poor Married Women not receiving parish relief as the said Charity Trustees may select. And I declare that this Legacy is given by me in memory of my late Husband, Sir John Kerle Haberfield, who died on the twenty-seventh day of December, One thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven, and who six times served the office of Mayor of the said City of Bristol.

The bequest came into the possession of the trustees by the death of the testatrix in June, 1875, and has been distributed annually since that date in sums of thirty shillings each to ten poor married women.

GEORGE HARRINGTON'S GIFT.—The trustees receive £27 per annum from the corporation, which is distributed, on the nomination of the churchwardens of the several parishes, among free burgesses and housekeepers of the ancient city in gifts of 10s. each.

ALDERMAN JOSEPH JACKSON'S CHARITY.—The corporation pay the trustees annually £22 10s., of which the latter distribute gifts of 4s. to forty-four housekeepers in the ancient city, being freemen, or widows of freemen, recommended by the overseers and churchwardens. The sum of £12 is paid annually to the minister of St. Werburgh "for the encouragement of preaching the word of God in that parish." The surplus balance is carried to the credit of Queen Elizabeth's hospital under Act of Parliament.

DR. CHARLES SLOPER'S GIFT.—For Bibles to be distributed amongst the poor in the ancient city of Bristol. The income is £15 per annum.

ANN THURSTON'S CHARITY.—Nine gifts of £1 each are nominated by the mayoress, or the mayor, if he be unmarried, to as many women in child-bed, being the wives of freemen of Bristol, without distinction of residence.

THOMAS HOLBYN'S GIFT.—Income, £5 per annum, £4 10s. of which is distributed in gifts of 10s. each to poor people in St. Thomas' parish, and 10s. a year is paid to the vicar for a sermon.

FRANCIS FULLER'S CHARITY.—The corporation pay about £11 per annum to the trustees, who distribute in sums of 10s. at the discretion of individual members of their body.

EDWARD COX'S GIFT.—The corporation pay £10 per annum to the trustees, who give it away in sums of 10s. or £1 to poor persons resident either in the parishes of St. Philip, St. James, or Redcliff.

SIR ABRAHAM ELTON'S CHARITY.—The sum of £2 is distributed annually in gifts of 4s. to the poor of All Saints, and a similar sum is appropriated for the Grammar School Exhibition Fund.

<sup>1</sup> Municipal Charities—Inspector's Report, 103-4. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 127.

THOMAS CHESTER'S CHARITY.—Income, £8 per annum, which is distributed in gifts of 10s. a-piece to seven inmates of St. John's almshouse and of 5s. to eighteen poor parishioners of St. John's, the names of the latter being furnished by the vicar.

MATTHEW HAVYLAND gave a rent-charge of £4 for the preaching of twelve sermons in the Common Jail, and RICHARD HOLWORTHY added £20 to the foregoing, for 20s. a year to be given to the poor prisoners (*vide* Prisoners in Gaol fund).

GEORGE WHITE'S GIFT.—The trustees receive £5 per annum from the corporation for the relief of prisoners (*vide* Prisoners in Gaol fund).

JOHN PEARCE gave 20s. a year for a sermon on the 5th November in St. James' church.

THOMAS JONES' CHARITY.—The trustees pay £4 a year to the vicar of Stowey, £2 for four sermons annually and £2 for the poor of that parish.

HUMPHREY BROWN'S CHARITY.—The trustees pay to the trustees of the Consolidated Charities (Westbury-on-Trym) the sum of 10s. per annum for a sermon to be preached in that church, and £2 for the poor of the parish; to the churchwardens of Iron Acton, 10s., and £2 to be distributed as at Westbury; to the rector of St. Werburgh the sum of £2 for four sermons, and to the vicar of St. Nicholas £20, for a sermon on every Lord's day in the afternoon.

MARY ANN PELOQUIN'S CHARITY.—Mrs. Pelouquin, by her will of the 27th April, 1768, gave the sum of £19,000, to be placed out at interest to pay the income of £300, to the rector, curate, clerk and sexton of St. Stephen's. To pay the interest of £15,200 amongst thirty-eight poor men and thirty-eight poor women, freemen, or widows or daughters of freemen, housekeepers in the ancient city of Bristol, not receiving parochial alms or keeping alehouses, in sums of £6 6s. each. To pay the interest of £2,500 amongst poor lying-in women, wives of freemen, 30s. to each. (These gifts are in the nomination of the mayoress of Bristol for the time being.) And the interest of £1,000 residue amongst twenty poor widows and single women and ten poor men, to be annually nominated by the minister and churchwardens of the parish of St. Stephen. Under a scheme of the Endowed Schools' commissioners, dated the 13th May, 1875, the sum of £10,000, being a part of the aforementioned sum of £15,200, was applied—£5,000 towards the augmentation of the endowments of the Grammar school, and £5,000 towards the augmentation of the endowments of the Red Maids' school. The unapplied balance of this charity (if any) is annually transferred to the credit of Queen Elizabeth's hospital, in pursuance of Act of Parliament.

JOHN HEYDON'S GIFT.—John Heydon, by his will in 1579, gave £100 to be lent to young men trading over the seas, who were to pay £3 6s. 8d. annually for the use of the same, which amount was to be divided amongst poor persons in prison. The capital sum is incorporated with the loan money charity previously mentioned, and from that amount the sum of £3 6s. 8d. is carried yearly to the Prisoners in Gaol fund.

THOMAS WHITE'S CHARITY.—Mr. Thomas White, by deed of the 14th January, 32nd Henry VIII., granted to trustees certain lands and hereditaments at Henbury. The sum of £13 is paid by the corporation of Bristol in respect of this endowment to the municipal trustees, who administer the gifts in the following manner, agreeably to the intentions of the founder:—

	£	s.	d.
To Foster's almshouse, annually	2	8	0
" Almshouses in the parish of St. Thomas, annually...	2	8	0
" Almshouses in the parish of St. John the Baptist, annually...	2	8	0
" Almshouses in the parish of St. James, annually	2	8	0
" the churchwardens of All Saints, for the maintenance of the conduits, annually	1	0	0
" the Prisoners in Gaol fund, annually	1	1	8
	£11	13	8

PRISONERS IN GAOL FUND.—This fund is made up of sundry gifts, as follows, viz.:—

	£	s.	d.
Dr. T. White—annually	2	0	0
John Heydon "	3	6	8
Thomas White "	1	1	8
Richd. Holworthy "	1	0	0
George White "	5	0	0
	£12	8	4

The above gifts are applicable to the redemption or relief of poor prisoners. Since, however, the abolition of imprisonment for debt the fund has accumulated, and such accumulations were, in the year 1875, by a scheme of the Endowed Schools' commissioners, dated the 13th May in that year, applied in augmentation of the endowments of the Grammar school. The accumulations of the income since that date are in the hands of the trustees.

10. The following are not under the Charity trustees: WHITE'S ALMSHOUSE, in Temple street, where once stood the hospital of the Knights Templars, afterwards that of the prior and brethren of St. John of Jerusalem, was, until 1882, a quaint parallelogram of small gabled buildings, with a narrow grass-plot running up its centre, entered by a gate-house in the Perpendicular style, in which resided the ancient brother. This hospital was founded by Thomas White, D.D., in 1613, to bear the name of "The Ancient Brother, Brothers and

Sisters of the Temple hospital in Bristowe." Originally intended for ten poor and impotent people, its property has so augmented that thirty-two occupants now have two rooms each, 7*s.* per week, and a number of other donations. A curious paragraph in the doctor's will specified the annual dinner that was to be eaten by the governors, of which the inmates of the almshouses were to have the reversion; it consisted of a belly of boiled pork, with peasen pudding, an apple pie baked in a pewter dish, a suet pudding, a loin of veal, and a baron of beef, which was to be brought in on an iron gallows.

ALL SAINTS ALMSHOUSE was built in 1350, it is said, by Stephen Gnowsall, in All Saints lane; removed, when the Exchange rose partly on its site, in 1740, to St. John's parish. City improvement again removed it to All Saints street in 1813. Eight aged women receive 5*s.* 3*d.* per week, besides sundry gifts.

BLANCHARD'S ALMSHOUSE, in Milk street, provides a home for "five poor old maids whose labour is done; and, for want of such poor maids, for widows of the Baptist persuasion." Each inmate receives 4*s.* per week. Founded by Miss E. Blanchard, 1722.

BURTON'S ALMSHOUSE.—On an ancient building in Long row is an inscription ascribing its foundation to be by Simon de Burton, 1292, who is said also to have been five times mayor of the city and the founder of St. Mary Redcliff church. The name appears in the list of mayors six times, but that Simon Burton founded this almshouse is about as mythical as the statement that he founded the church. The honour belongs to John Burton, bailiff, sheriff, mayor, and afterwards M.P. for Bristol, between 1416 and 1450. Sixteen poor women receive each, weekly, 5*s.*, besides a few small gifts.

CLIFTON ALMSHOUSE, erected and endowed by T. W. Hill, for twelve old persons, stands in the vale between Brandon and Clifton hills.

COLSTON ALMSHOUSES and CHAPEL, on St. Michael's hill. Founded by Edward Colston in 1691, for twelve men and sixteen poor women; these each receive 7*s.* a week and coals; the elder brother has 10*s.* Prayers in the chapel twice a day.

FRY'S HOUSE OF MERCY, Colston parade.—Eight single women here receive 3*s.* each per week.

MERCHANT TAILORS' ALMSHOUSE, Merchant street.—Founded by charter of Richard II., 1399. The edifice was erected 1701. Six shillings per week is paid to each inmate of the nine apartments, the same being tailors or tailors' widows; a similar amount is distributed to out-pensioners.

The MERCHANT SEAMEN'S ALMSHOUSE, in New King street, is a quadrangle, founded 1696. Nineteen sea-

men and twelve seamen's widows receive—the elder brother 10*s.*, the rest 6*s.*, weekly, besides donations.

REDCLIFF HILL ALMSHOUSES, of which Canynge is the "reputed" founder, give accommodation to fourteen persons, who receive 1*s.* 6*d.*, and some of them 2*s.*, per week, each.

The REDCLIFF POORHOUSE for eleven persons; three of these have 2*s.* 3*d.*, and nine 2*s.*, each, per week.

RIDLEY'S ALMSHOUSE, in Milk street, founded by Miss Ridley, built 1739. Five bachelors and five maids inhabit here, each receiving 9*s.* every fortnight.

ST. JAMES' has a poorhouse, wherein are twelve poor women, who each receive 4*s.* per week.

SPENCER'S ALMSHOUSE, in Lewin's mead, founded in 1493, was endowed with 2*d.* per week for each of its twelve inmates. Sixteen aged persons now receive each 2*s.* 6*d.* per week from St. Peter's hospital.

ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST'S ALMSHOUSES are on St. John's steep. These are said to have been founded, about 1490, by Robert Strange, thrice mayor of Bristol; rebuilt, 1721. Seven aged women receive each 3*s.* 5*d.* per week and sundry small donations.

ST. NICHOLAS' ALMSHOUSE, in New King street, a many gabled building, dated 1652, forms a home for sixteen aged women, supported by gifts and a weekly sum from St. Peter's hospital.

ST. RAPHAEL'S ALMSHOUSE, Cumberland road.—Six aged seamen receive a small weekly allowance and coals.

Alderman Stevens, in 1679, founded an almshouse for freemen's widows or daughters. It is situated in the Old Market. Sixteen persons have apartments herein, and they each receive, weekly, 5*s.*

STEVENS' TEMPLE ALMSHOUSE was founded by the same benevolent individual. Here there are twelve apartments, and each inmate receives, weekly, 5*s.*

The UNITARIAN ALMSHOUSE, in Stokes' croft, was founded by Abraham Hook in 1722; here twelve poor women each receive 12*s.* 11*d.* per month.

11. The BAPTIST COLLEGE, an institution for educating young men for the ministry in connection with the Baptist denomination, was commenced in 1679, when Mr. Terrill, by deed, devised a large portion of his estates for the maintenance of "a holy learned man, well skilled in the tongues, viz., Greek and Hebrew, one who doth own and practise the truth of believers' baptism." He was to devote three half days in the week to the instruction of "some young men, not exceeding twelve, who were members of any baptised congregation in or about Bristol, for two years at the most." The bequest did not come into operation until the year 1720; Rev. Bernard Foskett was tutor, and the first student was Thomas Rogers, of the Pithay church.

In 1770 the Bristol Education society was formed through the exertions of Dr. Caleb Evans, as an additional aid to Mr. Terrill's bequest, with which it continues united. During the early part of the present century it became well known as the Baptist academy, Robert Hall having been its president, as well as Dr. Ryland and others of note. There are some choice treasures amongst the stores of its library, the chief being the only perfect copy of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, and a miniature on ivory of Oliver Cromwell, by Cooper—illustrations of these two being given in this work. This college has been very successful, many of the most eminent scholars and preachers of the Baptist persuasion having been trained therein. The course is four years, and the number of students averages about twenty-five; the Rev. F. W. Gotch, D.D., one of the revisers of the *New Testament*, is the principal.

"BRISTOL COLLEGE was opened on the 17th January, 1831 (as the prospectus said), 'in the house formerly occupied by Matthew Wright, esq., in Park row,' and which house has since been razed for the construction of Perry road. The first principal was Dr. J. H. Jerrard (fellow and classical lecturer of Caius college, Cambridge), Mr. Charles Smith, of St. John's college, in the same university, being vice-principal and mathematical professor. The Rev. Dr. Conybeare (afterwards, we think, dean of Llandaff, and father of the writer of the once famous essay 'On Church Parties'), was visitor. The age of admission was twelve or thirteen; and for lads not advanced enough in the rudiments of Greek and Latin, a preparatory class (or junior school) was opened to fit them for taking their places in the regular classes of the college. The terms of admission were £18 for the nominees of proprietors, and £21 for other students, with an entrance fee of £1 10s. In the July following the opening of the institution there were public examinations of the pupils, there having been three days' private trial previously 'conducted on the Cambridge plan by written translations and answers to questions on the subjects on which they had been occupied since the opening of the college.' The public examination, which was *viva voce*, conducted by the visitor, was confined to those who had most distinguished themselves. These were taken in Pindar, Æschylus, Plato, Aristophanes, Thucydides, Juvenal, &c. Amongst the prize-boys in this first public display we find the then and since familiar names of Swayne, Fripp, Prichard, Clarke, &c. Bristol college just ran out its ten years, and closed at Christmas, 1841, during which time there were several changes of masters. Mr. F. W. Newman (now Professor Newman), succeeded Mr. Smith as vice-principal at an early stage of its history, and

Mr. Newman was replaced by the Rev. J. E. Bromby, now head-master of a large collegiate institution in Australia, and who, upon Dr. Jerrard resigning, took the post of acting-principal, but not principal. Mr. (now Dr.) Bromby afterwards resigned and opened a school in Clifton, when Dr. Booth, of Trinity college, Dublin, became principal, and Mr. John Exley vice-principal. Both these gentlemen, on the college closing, opened schools for themselves; but Dr. Booth soon after left to accept a head-mastership in Liverpool. During its ten years' existence Bristol college did good work, and turned out boys who afterwards distinguished themselves as men in various departments; amongst them we may mention the Rev. S. W. Wayte, master of Trinity college, Oxford; Professor Stokes, senior wrangler of his year; Mr. Edward Fry, Q.C.; the Rev. George Swayne (to whom we are indebted for the Herodotus in Blackwood's present series of 'Ancient Classics for English readers'); Mr. Walter Bagehot, of the *Economist*, &c.

"BISHOP'S COLLEGE and BRISTOL COLLEGE had a contemporary existence for about six months, the former having been opened on the 17th of August, 1840—temporarily in a house in Bellevue, Clifton, until the building, now known as the Drill hall, was purchased by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, Dr. Monk, and conveyed to the college on the security of mortgage. The structure was originally erected for a Red Maids' school, but was never occupied for that purpose, the boys of the college being the first inmates. The late Duke of Beaufort and the bishop were the patrons; the Rev. H. Dale, M.A., Demy of Magdalene college, Oxford, being the first head-master, at a salary of £400; the second master was the Rev. Dr. Woodford, now vicar of Leeds, and so well known as one of the most eloquent preachers in the English church. The terms for pupils were, with a nomination, £24; without, £25. Bishop's college—whose duration as a *public* school might have been about that of Bristol college—was in some sense started in opposition to the latter, which was largely, but not wholly, in the hands of Liberals and Dissenters. Bishop's college was emphatically a Church of England school, the bishop being visitor. The last head-master, we believe, was Dr. Robertson."<sup>1</sup>

The BRISTOL CATHEDRAL SCHOOL, founded in the thirty-sixth year of Henry VIII., was re-organised under a scheme approved by the queen in council, February, 1875. The governing body consists *ex-officio* of the dean of Bristol (chairman), the lord bishop of the diocese, five governors nominated by the dean and chapter, one by the lord president of her majesty's council, one by the governing body of the Grammar

<sup>1</sup> Saturday Bristol Times and Mirror, July 29th, 1871.

school, one by the governing body of Colston's hospital, one by the head masters of the Grammar school, Colston's hospital, and Queen Elizabeth's hospital. The head master is Rev. Henry W. Pate, M.A., St. John's college, Cambridge; there are four assistant masters. The number of boys is limited to one hundred. The aim of the school under the scheme is to provide instruction for the choristers of the cathedral church and other boys, being day-scholars, who seek an "education higher than elementary, in accordance with the doctrines of the Church of England." All scholars pay a tuition fee of £2 per term, which includes all subjects taught in the school. Boys are admitted as choristers on the appointment of the precentor. Boys other than choristers are not admitted under eight years of age.

The CONGREGATIONAL AND THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE seeks to train for their special work, village pastors, home missionaries and evangelists. The institute is in Upper Byron place. To students unable to defray the full cost of their maintenance, pecuniary help is given; and those who evince the possession of qualifications for a classical training, are recommended to one or other of the colleges. The course of study extends over three years; Greek is an optional subject. The number of students in residence is twenty-two. The principal is the Rev. J. P. Allen, M.A.

The GRAMMAR SCHOOL.—In the reign of Henry VIII. there was established in Bristol a family of the name of Thorne. Robert Thorne was a Spanish oil merchant and soap maker, and a wealthy member of the woollen cloth trade. He was a descendant of Rollo, Duke of Normandy, and his family claimed consanguinity with the noblest in the kingdom.<sup>1</sup> In 1515 he became mayor of Bristol, and in 1523 represented the borough in parliament. During his attendance on this parliament in 1523, Robert Thorne died, and was buried in the Temple church, London, wherein, Hakluyt says, stood his monument, bearing a Latin inscription of which the following is a literal translation:—

Here lies Robert Thorn, whom sometime the City of Bristol deservedly selected to discharge the office of Mayor, for the commonwealth was always an object of great care to him, and his native land was dearer than all wealth.

To give aid to the helpless, to allay the bitterness of private strife

To help every one with his prudent counsels was always his delight.

Do Thou, O Christ, who graciously hearest the prayer and vows of the distress'd

Grant to him a place in the Country of Heaven.

By will he devised certain property for the erection, foundation, continuance, and supportation, of a Free School of Grammar to be established in Bristol.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> History of the Thorn Tree and Bush, 62.

<sup>2</sup> Nicholas Thorne's Deed Poll, 1st July, 1561.

He left two sons, Robert and Nicholas, who with John Goodryche were his executors. Goodryche was one of the priors who afterwards preached against Latimer, when in 1526-7 he denounced purgatory, &c., in the streets of Bristol.<sup>1</sup> At the time of his father's death Robert Thorne, jun., was residing in Spain. Born and bred in Bristol he had become a merchant tailor of London, but his great wealth was accumulated at Seville, where he lived in friendly intimacy with the most scientific seamen and geographers of his day. (For further particulars of the Thornes, see Vol. I., pp. 231-3, 240-1.) On March 17th, 1531, the king granted to Robert Thorne, jun., Nicholas Thorne and John Goodryche, the right to purchase from George Croft, the master, and Sir Thomas West and Lord de la Warr, the patrons, the whole estate of the Bartholomews for the founding of the Grammar school; and they, as executors of the elder Thorne, began to carry out the testator's wishes.

Nicholas Thorne died on the 19th August, 1546, and was buried at the east end of St. Werburgh's church; his ashes, if they have not been disturbed, now lie under the middle of Small street, at the Corn street end. On a monumental cross in the chancel of the church there was this inscription:—

In this tomb, gentle reader, lies Nicholas Thorne, formerly a famous and upright merchant, whose words were governed by truth, and whose deeds were ruled by justice and virtue. Born in Bristol, there also he died, being more worthy of the gift of everlasting life, for he ruled the city as chief magistrate, and enriched it with a noble school at his own and his brother's expense, and the whole community of Bristol acknowledged him as a munificent father, by whose bounty they were blessed.

The old and the young, boys and maidens, and the inhabitants at large, weep and lament that he should so soon have been taken from them; but the Almighty hath seen fit to remove him from these scenes of misery, blest though he was in the affection of his second wife and ten children.

This tomb contains only his earthly remains; his soul has entered the region of the skies.

The same tomb contains the ashes of his first beloved wife, and also of their firstborn son.

On the death of Nicholas (the last surviving executor of the elder Robert Thorne) the conveyance of the property was still incomplete; "there was no further assurance or establishment of the premises, which descended in that state to his sons, being his heirs, John Harris being the master of the school at a salary of forty marks."

Robert, the third of the name, and eldest son of Nicholas Thorne, succeeded to the estate; but ere any settlement could be effected he, too, died without issue, and the next son, Nicholas Thorne, jun., became the possessor of the property.

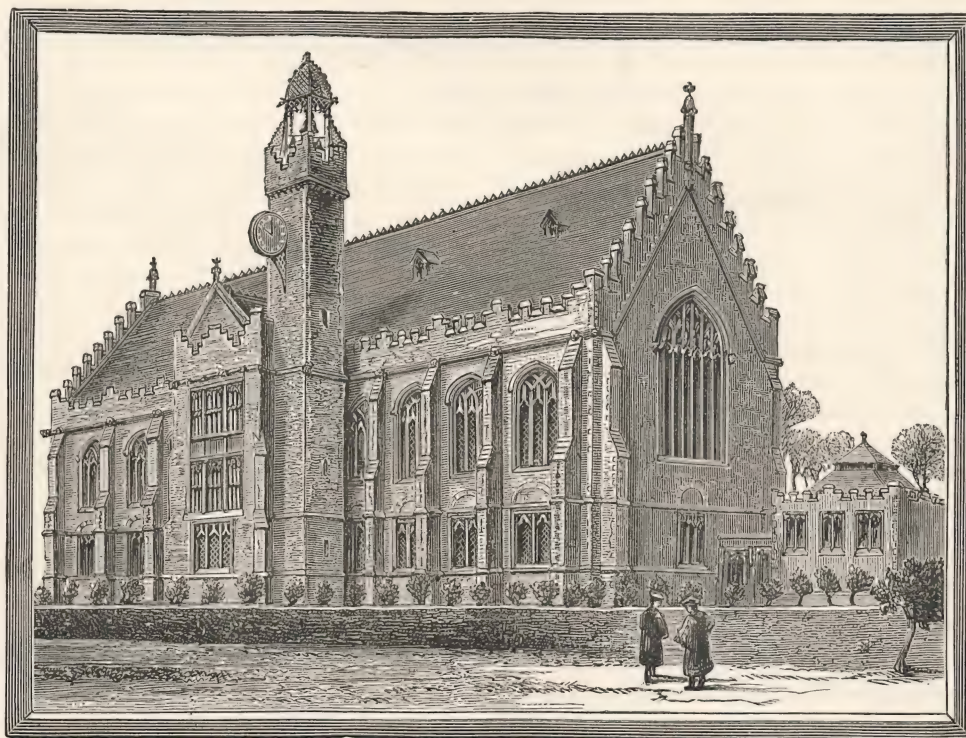
<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 217.

For the next fifteen years the property was in abeyance, and it would evidently have been lost to the city but for William Carr, mayor in 1561, by whom Nicholas, jun., was compelled to come to a settlement, and by a deed poll of the year 1561 it appears that there were granted to the mayor, burgesses and commonalty of Bristol, the house and hospital of the Bartilmews, and the possessions thereof, which King Henry the 8th had previously, by letters patent of the 23rd year of his reign, granted the corporation of Bristol his license to take, and wherein Nicholas Thorne, the said nephew and heir of Robert, had made a Grammar school, and placed a schoolmaster to teach grammar. The uses declared by the grant were to find a schoolmaster and one or two other persons sufficiently learned and virtuous to teach grammar and other good learning, and for the better education and bringing up of youth in knowledge of virtue, without anything to be taken other than 4*d*. for the first admission of every scholar. This grant is followed by a grant from the corporation to Nicholas Thorne, in fee of the same hospital, and part of the possessions thereof at a rent of £30 a year, to be received by the corporation for the maintenance of the Free school. This conveyance was the subject of an inquiry by commissioners under the statute of Charitable

Uses, and it was determined to be a fraud on the charity, but it appearing that the defendant, Alice Pykes, the daughter of Nicholas Thorne, and her two sisters, Catherine and Mirabel had made a partition of the lands which descended to them from their father, and that the said two sisters and their husbands had levied fines and suffered recoveries of the Estate allotted to them in the partition, and that the whole rent of the charity lands in the possession of Alice was only £55 yearly, and "she was utterly barred of all remedy for any part of the other lands which descended to her and her sisters, and the mayor and commonalty, being moved with the remembrance of the many good acts and deeds of charity done by the ancestors of the said Alice unto the city, and viewing her great charge, having 7 daughters to provide for, and only the lands in question left her," agreed to accept £40 yearly rent for the maintenance of the schoolmaster, and £1 6*s*. 8*d*. for reparations, an agreement which was confirmed by a decree of Lord Chancellor Ellesmere. In 1617 (15 James 1st), the corporation purchased for £650, and took a

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conveyance to nominees, of the interest of Alice Pykes in the lands the subject of the commission. The corporation thenceforward applied the rents and fines generally for the maintenance of the school. In 1769 (not in 1745, as stated by the Commissioners of Inquiry, Vol. 20, p. 5), an Act of Parliament was obtained for the removal of the Grammar school in Christmas street to Unity street (adjoining the Red Maids' school). The Act for this purpose enabled the corporation to exchange the building called Queen Elizabeth's hospital for the building called St. Bartholomew's. In 1814 considerable property in Brislington, in Somersetshire, part of the estate of the charity, which had been outstanding on leases for lives, fell into possession. Between that time and 1833 the corporation received between £4,000 and £5,000 from sales of timber, and from fines in respect of new leases for lives.<sup>1</sup>



Bristol Grammar School, Tyndall's Park.

Up to the year 1617 there was no restriction as to eligibility for admission to the school; it was "for all children and others that would repair to the said school for learning, &c.;" but in 1634 Geo. White gave an exhibition at Oxford of the value of five pounds yearly for

the maintenance and support in that university of such poor scholar or scholars who should be sent there from this school, the same being sons of freemen of Bristol.

Mrs. Snigge's two exhibitions of the value of six pounds each, given in 1636, had a similar restriction. Alderman Whitson gave, in 1627, two ten pound exhibitions "towards the maintenance of two poor men's sons at Oxford or Cambridge that had first had their education and bringing up in the Free Grammar school."

Two fellowships at St. John's, Oxford, were founded by Sir Thomas White, knight and alderman of London, in 1566, for each of the grammar schools of Coventry, Reading and Bristol. By the ordinance of 1860 these

<sup>1</sup> Municipal Charities—Inspector's Report, 18, 19.

fellowships were changed into a similar number of scholarships, tenable each for five years, and of the yearly value of £100.

The school was closed from the year 1844 until 1848; on the 12th January in that year it was re-opened with about three hundred boys, a new scheme, of the 25th June, 1847, having given the right of admission to the school to boys resident within the enlarged boundaries of the city and county of Bristol, or within two miles of the Exchange. The history of the school since the year 1848 has been one of unbroken prosperity. In the year 1875 a scheme framed by the Endowed School commissioners, having been approved by her majesty the queen in council, was established, under which the school has attained still greater eminence. In the year 1879 the school vacated the old premises in Unity street and took possession of the present magnificent building in Tyndall's park, which had been erected for its occupation. On this occasion the Right Hon. W. E. Forster delivered the opening address, to listen to which a company of two thousand present and past scholars and visitors was assembled in the great hall of the school. The number of scholars immediately increased to upwards of four hundred, the full complement for which accommodation has been provided, and this number is still maintained. The school is intended primarily for day boys, but about fifty boarders are admitted, each of whom is required to reside in one of the master's boarding houses, or with a near relative. It is a first-grade classical school, with a modern department. The present head-master is the Rev. J. W. Caldicott, D.D., formerly tutor of Jesus college, Oxford. The estates are vested in the municipal trustees, who pay over the net income annually to the governing body of the school appointed under the scheme of 1875, and composed as follows, viz.:—The municipal trustees for the time being, who are life governors; two gentlemen appointed by the Bristol town council; two by the Bristol school board; one by the masters of the school; and one by the masters of Queen Elizabeth's hospital and the mistresses of the Red Maids' school, who all hold office for a term of six years. The income from endowment is about £1,800, and from tuition fees about £4,000. Under schemes of the date of that for the management of the school, for the diversion of portions of the funds of certain charities, the Grammar school benefited to the extent of £9,605 10s.<sup>1</sup> On consideration of the gift of £5,000 from Peloquin's charity, the Grammar school provides seven free entrance scholarships annually, to be competed for by boys of Queen Elizabeth's hospital and the elementary schools of Bristol,

<sup>1</sup> Peloquin's, Loan Money, and Prisoners in Gaol Charities.

failing suitable candidates from which they are open to all comers. There are also various other school and college scholarships, the aggregate amount of the whole being about £900 per annum.

With regard to results, and the sterling solid character of the education imparted to its *alumni*, the Grammar school may challenge comparison with any of the other public schools of the three kingdoms, as witness the following list of honours attained during the last ten years, viz.:—

A public examinership of mathematics at Oxford; two mathematical tripos moderatorships and a classical tripos examinership at Cambridge; a senior studentship at Christ Church, and fellowships at Merton, Queen's and Worcester colleges, Oxford; a fellowship at Caius, and two fellowships at Trinity college, Cambridge; a tutorship at Christ Church, and a lectureship at Wadham college, Oxford; a professorship at University college, London, and the second Smith's prize at Cambridge; six university mathematical scholarships (three senior and three junior); four Lady Herschel's astronomy prizes, and eight mentions of *proxime accessit* for the same scholarship, at Oxford. Among other honours the school has had in the same time are the third Wrangler's place thrice, and also eighteen first-classes and twenty second-classes in the degree examinations, and forty-four college scholarships and exhibitions in the two universities. At London university, among the honours have been the gold medal for mathematics in the M.A. degree examination, five first-classes in classics and mathematics in the B.A. degree examination, several exhibitions and prizes, and the first and other high places in honours in the matriculation examinations. Besides these honours, other students have gained the gold medal of the Royal Geographical society in its examination of the public schools, and numerous distinctions in the examinations for the military and civil service, and for admission to the different professions.

The buildings of the school consist at present of the great hall and nine class-rooms for teaching, and the private house of the head-master. It is intended that a hostelry shall be hereafter built for the reception of boarders, who at present live in the private houses of certain of the masters. In the great hall is a very fine organ, the gift of Mr. W. H. Wills, M.P., one of the governors of the school.

THE BRISTOL TRADE AND MINING SCHOOL provides an education based on the teaching of the Applied Sciences, and such other subjects as afford a proper preparation for those to be engaged in engineering or the constructive arts, in manufactures or in commerce. It was established in 1856 at the suggestion of the late Canon Moseley, himself a distinguished man of science. The master is T. Coomber, F.C.S. The following is the present organisation of the school:—

- I.—The primary division, for boys not under nine years of age.
- II.—The secondary division, for boys not over eighteen years of age. In this division there are two sections:—(1) For the study of mathematics and the applied sciences. (2) For commercial studies.
- III.—The higher division. This division also includes two

sections:—(1) For the teaching of mining, civil and mechanical engineering known since the establishment of the institution as the Bristol Mining school. (2) The chemical laboratory, for the study of practical chemistry, analysis and assaying. [This is open to other persons who do not ordinarily attend the school.]

IV.—The evening classes, for adults and youths not under sixteen years of age.

The number of students and scholars who received instruction in the day and evening classes during the year ending Midsummer, 1882, was 572.

The institution was one of the first to take advantage of the aid towards instruction in science offered by the Department of Science and Art; and Earl Granville, who was then at the head of the department, indicated his sense of the importance of the work that was proposed to be done by coming to Bristol on the 28th of March, 1856, to open the schools with a public expression of his approval.

Ten years after this, in the report presented by Earl Granville's successor, the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, to her majesty in council, his grace thus expressed himself:—"That the Trade school of Bristol should, with its 120 pupils, carry off four out of the eight gold medals awarded, besides two silver and four bronze medals and ninety-seven prizes, redounds greatly to its credit, and places it decidedly at the head of the list of science schools." And to mark his gratification with the results that had been attained, his grace came to Bristol, on the 8th of January, 1867, to distribute the prizes earned in the examinations he had reported on.

A sufficient proof of the continued success of the school is afforded by the fact that of the sixty royal exhibitions at the Royal School of Mines and the Royal College of Science in Dublin, during the last ten years, twelve have been taken by pupils of the Bristol Trade school.

When the Endowed Schools commissioners settled a scheme for the educational endowments of Bristol, they appointed the Society of Merchant Venturers trustees of the Trade and Mining schools. The society has ever since taken a warm interest in the institution, and (its requirements having outgrown the accommodation afforded by its present premises) is now erecting new buildings, which were thus referred to in an article in *The Times* on the 18th of June, 1882:—

The trade guilds of London are not to stand alone in their generous efforts to improve the technical and scientific education of the country. At Bristol, the centre of the manufacturing, mining and engineering industries of the West of England and South Wales, the Merchant Venturers' Company, the only remaining trade guild of that city, has lately entered into a contract for erecting a handsome and very complete building on the site of the old Bristol Grammar school, at a cost of more than £30,000, in addition to that of the site. It is to contain chemical, physical

and metallurgical laboratories and lecture-rooms, machine and geometrical drawing-rooms, and engineering lecture-rooms and workshops. The organisation and arrangement of the school courses will be the same as in the old building, and it is hoped that the increased and improved accommodation afforded by the new building will enable the Merchant Venturers' school (as it is now to be called) to retain the position it has so long held in the first rank of technical schools in the kingdom. As already stated, the building now in course of erection will cost more than £30,000, and the fitting and equipment of the class-rooms, lecture-rooms, workshops, laboratories, museum and library will, it is expected, require some £10,000 more. Certainly when a provincial guild like that of the Merchant Venturers of Bristol can set so splendid an example of munificence and public spirit, there should be no fear for the future of technical education in the country.

CLIFTON COLLEGE.—At a meeting held in the Subscription-rooms, Clifton, on May 16th, 1860, Mr. John Bates, mayor, in the chair, resolutions were carried to the effect that the want of a public school for the education of the sons of gentlemen had long been felt to be a serious detriment to Clifton, and it was desirable that such a school should be forthwith established. Accordingly, on September 13th, 1860, a limited liability company was formed, with a capital of £10,000, in 400 shares of £25 each; these shares were divided into two classes, "A" shares to nominate a boy to the school, and "B" shares to receive £4 per cent., or to be paid their capital on notice from the company. The magnificent site now occupied by the college, consisting of about thirteen acres (to which about two acres has been subsequently added), was purchased, and the Right Hon. the Earl of Ducie was elected president; with him were associated twelve distinguished vice-presidents, and the following council, upon whom devolved the task of carrying out the undertaking, was appointed:—Rev. Canon Guthrie (chairman), W. H. Harford (vice-chairman), John Bates, F. Black, M.D., F. N. Budd, M.A., Lieut.-Colonel Bush, John Colthurst, George Cooke, Rev. J. Heyworth, T. L. Jenkins, Joshua Saunders, J. A. Symonds, M.D., W. Gale Coles (treasurer), H. S. Wasbrough and Alfred Cox.

The council expended £100 in prizes in a public competition for a suitable design, and that of Mr. C. Hansom was approved. The building was at once commenced, and in about a year the school-room (which will accommodate 800 persons seated) and class-rooms, together with the head-master's house, were completed; these buildings, with the subsequent additions and the chapel, form a quadrangle facing the close. The council were fortunate in securing the services of the Rev. John Percival, fellow of Queen's college, Oxford (who had been for two years an assistant-master at Rugby) as head-master; and the college was opened on September 30th, 1862, with sixty-nine boys who had attended the

preliminary school. The constitution of the college vested in the head-master (who had the appointment of assistant-masters) the uncontrolled management of the school; and that the council exercised a wise discretion in the steps they took is evidenced by the early success of the college.

In 1865 Canon Guthrie, who had been chairman of the council from the commencement, and had been indefatigable in promoting its interests, died. His death was severely felt by the council and the head-master, and at the ensuing annual meeting a perpetual scholarship of £50 per annum was founded, to be called the "Guthrie scholarship," as a tribute to his memory. The canon had been most anxious that a chapel should be added to the college, and his widow, who had shared his interest in the institution, intimated her wish to defray the cost of the chapel herself; this was acceded to, and on the 15th June, 1867, the present handsome building, in the Early Decorated style, was opened for divine service. The college added the tower; an organ was given by the head-master; the pulpit by the assistant-masters, and other gifts were made of windows and church furniture.

Canon Moseley, one of the founders of the Bristol Trade and Mining school, succeeded Canon Guthrie in the chair of the council; and he, having resigned in 1868, was succeeded by Rev. James Heyworth, who, dying in 1879, was succeeded by F. N. Budd, M.A.

In 1863 a junior school was attached to the college, and the boarding arrangements were extended. In 1864 a second master's house, a house for the Bachelor masters and three fives-courts were built. In 1865 two more houses were secured for boarders, and the sanatorium was opened. In 1866 a new wing was added to the college building, and the erection of a third master's house was begun. In 1867 the physical science school, with the chemical laboratory and the gymnasium, were added to the buildings. In 1868 considerable additions were made to facilitate the teaching of physical science. In 1869 the swimming baths were added; swimming has been included in the curriculum. In 1870 the library (the gift of the head-master), additional class-rooms and a second sanatorium were built. In 1871, through the support of friends, several cases of scientific specimens for the museum were placed in the library, the botanical garden was added, and in that year and the following the workshop and physical laboratory were completed and opened.

The following statement, presented at the annual meeting in 1872, as to the growth of the number of boys, calculated to July in each year, will be found interesting:—In 1862 they were 69; in 1863 they in-

creased to 134; in 1864, to 222; in 1865, to 255; in 1866, to 289; in 1867, to 307; in 1868, to 342; in 1869, to 361; in 1870, to 374; in 1871, to 422; and at July, 1872, to 433. The school had already come to be recognised at the universities, in London and elsewhere, as having taken its place in the first rank of those great English schools which belong not to any particular locality, but to the country at large, whilst by many leading scientific men it was looked upon as one of the very few schools which had as yet made any successful endeavour to give natural science its proper place in the higher education of the country.

In 1874 a preparatory school for very young boys was added. A museum, the gift of masters, boys and friends of the head-master, was added to the library, the sole condition being that these, with the library, should be called "The Percival buildings." In this year the council successfully arranged a comprehensive plan for increasing the scholarships. In 1875 a new building for the junior school was provided; new boarding-houses were erected, and 600 boys thronged the schools. In order to avoid the danger of the college drifting into the position of a merely commercial speculation, the council determined to apply to the Crown for a charter. A meeting took place on the 18th December, 1876, the Right Hon. the Earl of Ducie, the president, in the chair, when the application for the charter was approved, and the shareholders agreed to wind up the limited company, and that each shareholder should become a life-governor under the royal charter; this was sealed by her majesty on the 16th March, 1877. The statement presented to the privy council with the petition for the charter set forth that about fifteen acres of land had been acquired, school-buildings with all modern appliances erected, and between £70,000 and £80,000 had been expended in establishing the school; that the then shareholders had contributed only £6,728, and about £13,000 had been contributed by private benefactions from members of the council, masters, parents of boys, and other friends of the college.

The college, since obtaining the charter, consists of original governors, being the former shareholders, and life-governors, who may become so on payment of £50. The governors in their yearly meeting elect the council, who are the governing body, and are each entitled to have one boy in the college on his nomination. The original governors have a right to nominate someone to replace them in lifetime, or to succeed them after death. The council have the power to nominate boys to the college subject to such annual charge as they think fit, and they, under this right, charge £5 per annum. The college is a public school, and open to all boys without

distinction of class; this is a slight change from the original constitution, which restricted the boys to sons of gentlemen. The religious teaching is in accordance with the Church of England, but no boy is compelled to attend services to which his parents conscientiously object.

The chapel, well suited to the boys when it was built, had long been unable to contain the increased numbers, more class-rooms were required, and the unfinished quadrangle spoke loudly as to what was required. A committee of citizens was formed, and they determined to commemorate the grant of the charter and to welcome, as belonging to the old city, its new educational foundation. They obtained contributions amounting to above £7,000 for additional school-buildings and additions to the chapel, and a new wing, comprising lecture-rooms and class-rooms, was erected, which nearly completes the north side of the quadrangle.

In the latter end of the year 1878 Dr. Percival, the head-master, was elect-

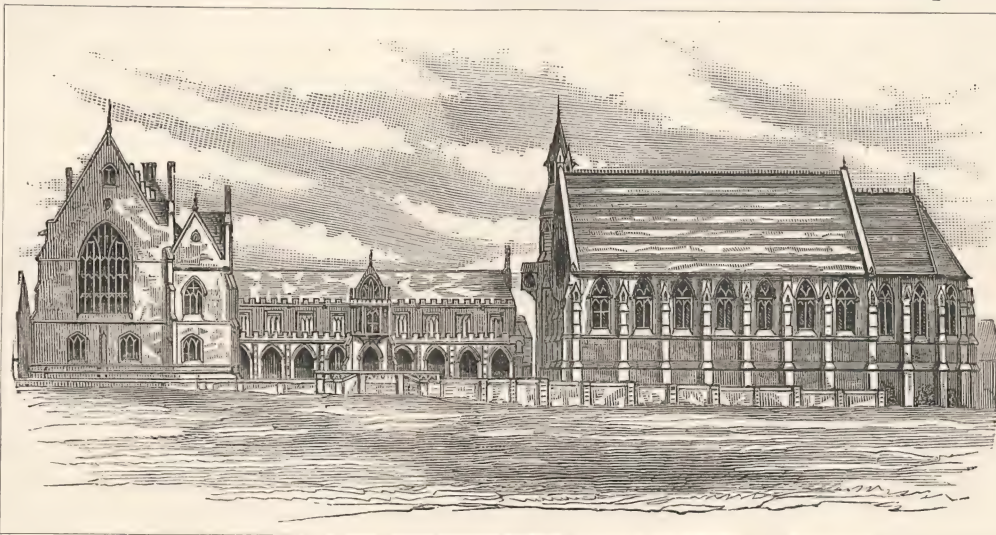
ed president of Trinity college, Oxford, and tendered his resignation to Clifton college. After seventeen years of most arduous and anxious labour he felt the need of comparative rest, which the distinguished post at Oxford afforded him, and on the 5th April he took leave of the school. The council appointed as his successor the Rev. James Maurice Wilson, late fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge, and (senior wrangler in the year 1860) for many years a master at Rugby.

In 1881 the new school-buildings were completed. This year was signalised by the foundation by Jewish donors of an annual scholarship, in recognition of the opening of a boarding-house for boys of Jewish faith. About £3,000 were collected by the head-master and other friends, which enabled the north aisle of the chapel to be very handsomely completed; it was opened for service in January, 1882.

It has been the policy of Clifton college to blend the

day scholars and boarders into one. Each form has its master, who is responsible for his boys from whence-soever they come. The games are all under regulation, and attendance at "call-over" for the sports is rigidly enforced; all boys have their place, and no idle loafing is permitted. The result is an earnestness and relish which is soon imparted to all new comers—a tone of manliness pervades the place. The seniors in the sixth form have clear and undisputed authority. The result being that the school has excelled in athletics. So far from this having been detrimental to study, it has been the singular fact that every captain of the cricket eleven who has gone to the university has taken a scholarship. The prowess of the boys in sport as well as in work is well recognised at the universities. In 1881, at Oxford, the president of the boat club, the captain of the eleven

and the captain of the Rugby football club were all Cliftonians. Nor have the fine arts been forgotten; from the first, drawing was made part of the regular work.



*Clifton College and Chapel.*

Music has been cultivated assiduously; the organist and choirmaster found means to drill and maintain an admirable choir and a band of instrumentalists, and the annual college concerts have been one of the days most looked forward to and thoroughly enjoyed.

It remains to add the list of the chief honours won by the school to this time:—120 open scholarships and exhibitions at Oxford and Cambridge, including 17 at Balliol; 59 admissions to Royal Military academy, Woolwich; 30 to Royal Indian college, Cooper's hill; 70 to Royal Military college, Sandhurst; 22 admissions to Indian civil service, one first on list; two Foreign office dragomanships; nearly all of which were won direct from the school, besides minor honours. The college now consists of 650 boys, its fullest complement, and applications are on the books to fill vacancies for two years in advance. Although without doubt one of the most important schools in England, its school build-

ings are yet incomplete; the north-west angle of the quadrangle still wants the tower destined to close the square.

COLSTON'S HOSPITAL (now COLSTON'S BOARDING SCHOOL) is referred to on pp. 127-8 of this volume. In 1858, owing to the improved value of the property and to its judicious management, the trustees considered that they were in a position to add twenty boys to the foundation. But the "Great house," in St. Augustine's place, not affording sufficient accommodation, and the surrounding buildings and factories precluding the possibility of its enlargement, it became a question whether the school should be removed. As, however, great difference of opinion prevailed upon the subject, as well in the city as among the trustees themselves, the matter was brought before the Master of the Rolls, who eventually approved of the proposal. The trustees thereupon purchased the former palace of the bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, together with fifty-seven acres of land, for £12,000; and a new wing having been added to the building, the school was formally removed in 1861 to its present locality at Stapleton, where, with its grounds and a bathing-place at the river, it occupies a space of about seven acres. The hospital is a boarding school; its object, not being merely elementary, is to supply a sound practical and liberal education in accordance with the principles of the Church of England. The management of the trust is still left in the hands of the Society of Merchant Venturers; but a new governing body is appointed for the schools, consisting of twenty-three members, viz.:—the bishop of the diocese and the rector of Stapleton, *ex-officio*; thirteen from the Society of Merchant Venturers; two appointed by the magistrates of Gloucestershire and Somerset; three by the school board for Bristol, and three co-optative. The school now comprises two elements: (1) *Foundationers*, of whom eighty are chosen from within the parliamentary borough of Bristol, and twenty from the counties of Gloucestershire, Somerset and Wilts. They must have attended an elementary school regularly for a year preceding their application. They are elected in order of merit, as tested by a competitive examination in the subjects of standard 4 (code 1875), for boys between ten and eleven years of age, and in those of standard 5 for boys between eleven and twelve years of age; they must also satisfy the examiner of their knowledge of the church catechism. Foundationers receive board and tuition gratuitously, and if necessary, an allowance towards clothing. (2) *Paying Scholars*. The number of these is limited only by the extent of accommodation; but if necessary, the governors are empowered to enlarge the building; they pass

an entrance examination, one standard lower for corresponding ages than that fixed for foundationers, and enjoy all advantages of the school upon payment of about £30 per annum. No boy can be admitted under ten or over twelve years of age; nor can any remain beyond the school term in which he attains the age of fifteen years. By direction of the scheme the governors "will apply a sum of not less than £100 per annum in maintaining exhibitions, to be competed for by boys who have attended the boarding school for not less than two years immediately preceding the award thereof, tenable at any grammar school, or other place of liberal or professional education, approved by the governors."

The hospital has for many years more than fulfilled the intentions of its founder, and during the last few years has considerably increased the extent and character of its work. The number of passes at the Cambridge and Oxford local examinations from 1858 to 1872 were fifty-six, fourteen of which were honours; in science and art, from 1874 to 1880, two hundred and nineteen have passed. Now that the stay of the boys in the school has been reduced from seven years to four years, and the present governors decline to pay the fees for the Cambridge and Oxford examinations, the boys are not sent up. The head master is the Rev. John Hancock, M.A., Trinity college, Dublin; there are six resident assistant-masters, including a French master, and one visiting-master for music and singing.

THE OLD CITY LIBRARY, founded in 1613, in New King street, has, under modern Acts of Parliament, been developed into a free public lending library, with news and reading rooms. It has at the present time branches at St. Philip's, King square, and Bedminster; these combined contain nearly 50,000 volumes. The visits of readers to these institutions average very nearly one million and a half per annum. The chief librarian is J. F. Nicholls, F.S.A.

THE ORPHAN HOUSES, ASHLEY DOWN.—In the Orphan houses, on Ashley down, Bristol possesses the most notable and magnificent charity in the world. The buildings, five in number, are similar in plan, solid, well-built, destitute of ornament, roomy, lofty, light, well-drained, and efficiently ventilated. They have accommodation for 2,050 children. The land and houses have cost £115,000. The annual expense of clothing and maintenance for each orphan is now £13 11s. 8d.; this includes every expense without exception. There is no capitation grant, grant-in-aid, or part payment. The sole conditions of admittance are that the child be a legitimate orphan, destitute and bereaved of both parents by death. Upwards of £900,000 have been received in the form of voluntary contributions for the institution and

its cognate agencies, since the work was begun, in 1836, by Mr. Müller. No personal application for aid has been made by any connected with the work; their trust is in God, and their only invested fund a living faith in Him who says, "Feed my lambs," who has His stewards in every land, and to whom belong the treasures of earth and sea. That faith has been at times severely tried; the inmates have risen in the morning, penniless, and without food for the day; but the little ones have never hungered; the Father of the fatherless has sent them "day by day their daily bread," and always in time.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S HOSPITAL (otherwise called the City School).—

John Carr, by his Will proved on the 10th April, 1586, devised his Lands at Congresbury, in Somersetshire, to Thomas Aishe and others in trust, to erect and found, in some convenient house, a Hospital for bringing up Poor Children and Orphans, being men-children born in Bristol, with Foundation, Ordinances, &c., similar to Christ's Hospital, in London.

An Act of Parliament of the 39th Elizabeth created the Mayor and Common Council a special Corporation as Governors of the Hospital, which was established, as recited in the Act, in the Mansion House or late Hospital, called Billesweeke or the Gaunts, granted to the Citizens by King Henry VIII. The original Hospital premises were subsequently, in 1769, exchanged for the Grammar School premises, and the Queen Elizabeth School was removed to the place at which the Grammar School stood, in Christmas Street, at the foot of St. Michael's Hill. This was effected under the authority of an Act of the 9th of George III.

The new site of the School was granted in 1717, by the Mayor, Burgesses, and Commonalty of Bristol, to the Governors of the Hospital, by an Indenture of the 20th of August in that year, which recites that a stately and magnificent House had been built thereon in 1706, with the materials of the Old Hospital, and with the charitable Gifts of several well-disposed persons of Bristol. The School has since, in 1847, by the authority of the Court of Chancery, been removed to a commanding site on the side of Brandon Hill nearest to Clifton, and a spacious School House and premises erected thereupon, occupying, altogether, about three acres of Land.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the estates originally devised to the charity, gifts of land and houses have been made by Edward Colston, James Gollop, Samuel Hartnell, Richard Hughes and Andrew Barker; and considerable acquisitions have been made by means of a legacy from Lady Mary Ramsey, and otherwise; as also by allotments made upon enclosure of common lands. The trustees are lords of the manor of Congresbury and Wick St. Lawrence, the advowson of the vicarage of which is also their property. They are also owners of land in Winterbourne, Siston, Henbury and Almondsbury, in the county of Gloucestershire, and of considerable house property in the city of Bristol. The net income is about £6,000, which, previous to the year 1875, was devoted, subject to certain small bequests, to the maintenance, clothing and education of two hundred boys from the city of Bristol and the

parish of Congresbury, and one boy from the parish of Netherbury, Dorset (the birthplace of Carr). In 1875 a new scheme, framed by the Endowed Schools commissioners, was established for the management of the hospital; under this the governors of the Grammar school are *ex-officio* the governors of Queen Elizabeth's hospital, and the net income of the charity is annually paid over by the municipal trustees to this body. At the same time the number of scholars on this foundation was reduced to one hundred and sixty, in order that hereafter, when the income will suffice, two day-schools may be opened in connection with the trust. Of this number sixty are poor orphans of Bristol or Congresbury, who enter between eight and ten years of age; and one hundred are boys from the Elementary schools of Bristol and Congresbury, who are eligible for admission between the ages of ten and twelve years; inclusive of one boy of either class (the former to be preferred), from the parish of Netherbury. When the day-schools are established, fifty boys will be drafted therefrom, and fifty only from the Elementary schools as above. The mode of admission is by competitive examination. The present head master is Mr. Robert Jackson, who is assisted by a draft of six resident masters. There is an exhibition fund of £200 per annum, to be appropriated in carrying boys of merit to some place of higher instruction.

The RED MAIDS' SCHOOL.—Alderman John Whitson (the leading incidents in whose career have been referred to in Vol. I., pp. 270–80–85) by feoffment of the 16th March, 1621, gave to trustees his manor of Burnet, in the county of Somerset, together with the advowson of the parish church thereof; the rectory of Chewton Keynsham, in the county of Somerset, together with lands and hereditaments in Dundry, Littleton and Chew Magna, in the said county, and the like in the counties of Hereford and Worcester; with several messuages and tenements in the city of Bristol, to the uses of his will as follow, viz.:—

The Red Maids' school was originally established, in accordance with the testamentary wishes of the founder, for the maintenance and education of forty poor women children, within a house or hospital in the city of Bristol; the said girls to be appareled in red cloth, and to be in charge of a "grave, painful and modest woman, of good life and conversation." The funds at their disposal enabled the trustees to increase the number of inmates of this institution, so that, previous to the coming into operation of the new scheme of 1875, referred to in the article on Queen Elizabeth's hospital, the number of girls so maintained and educated was one hundred and twenty, by a staff consisting of head, second, and three assistant mistresses. The school-house, which is a handsome and commodious building, is situate in Denmark street. A scheme of the same date as that referred to above, dealing with a portion of the funds of Pelouquin's charity, now inapplicable to their original purpose, enriched this charity to the

<sup>1</sup> Municipal Charities—Inspector's Report, 1.

extent of £5,000. The governing body is the same as that of Queen Elizabeth's hospital, with the addition of four women governors, who are appointed to office for a term of six years. The number of scholars has been reduced to eighty, of whom fifty are poor orphans of Bristol, who enter between the ages of eight and ten years; and thirty are girls from the Elementary schools within the parliamentary borough of Bristol, who are admitted between the ages of ten and twelve years. The mode of election is by competitive examination. The surplus income secured by the reduction in the number of boarders is to be applied, as soon as it will suffice, to the establishment of two day-schools for girls, when fifteen girls will be drafted thence into the boarding-school, and fifteen only from the Elementary schools. The education imparted to the girls embraces such subjects as French, drawing, class-singing and telegraphy. The net income paid over by the municipal trustees to the governing body amounts annually to about £3,000. The sum of £100 per annum is set apart for exhibitions, enabling scholars of merit, including intellectual proficiency, to pursue their studies in some place of higher instruction, general or technical.

The first BRISTOL SCHOOL BOARD was elected on January 27th, 1871. It was found, on taking an educational census, that there were then within the Bristol district (which does not include Bedminster) 7,712 children between the ages of three and five years, and 26,916 between the ages of five and thirteen years. There was accommodation for 19,729 of these in schools that were subject to inspection, and for 3,608 in private schools. The city was divided into four districts for the purposes of the Elementary Education Act; arrangements were made for the payment of fees for the children of parents who were unable to pay, and each district was placed under the charge of two officers; subsequently a superintendent officer was appointed, and the whole work was controlled by four standing committees of the board. The by-laws received the sanction of her majesty in council on November 3rd, 1871. Bristol differs from other large cities in having a larger proportion of well-to-do residents, and of families in which no children are found. There is school accommodation for 31,000 children; the number of children on the registers for 1881 was 29,596; the average attendance was 21,638. The percentage of attendance has gone up from 70·7 in 1873, to 73·1 in 1881. The school premises built by the board are at Ashton gate, Barton hill, Clifton, Mina road, St. Philip's, and Sussex street. The board rent school premises at the Blackfriars, River street, and Merchant street. These schools have accommodation for 4,782 scholars; the average attendance at them is 3,424; the cost per child averages £1 17s. 5½d.; the average of board schools in the kingdom is £2 2s. 9½d.; of voluntary schools, £1 14s. 9½d. Eleven officers are employed to look after the children, whose visits during 1881 amounted to 129,196; of these, 25,148 were on account of children found in the streets.

Penny banks, which were established in 1878 in board schools, had during the year 1880 deposits to the amount of £194 12s. 4d. Cookery classes are held at six of the schools. There are two industrial schools under the board; one in Southwell street, with an average of fifty-three inmates, the cost of which was £934 8s. 1d., towards which the treasury contributed £487 9s. 3d.; from 1875 to 1881, eighty-five girls were committed to this school by the Bristol magistrates. The other is the Day Industrial school, Silver street, the expenditure of which, including the cost of food, amounted to £608 4s. 9d.; towards this the Treasury contributed £120 1s. 10d.; the guardians of the poor, £56 0s. 1d. £28 0s. 10d. has been received for firewood; the balance has been borne by the rates. The number on the register is now ninety-two; eighty-four during the year were admitted on magistrates' orders, and sixty-four have left.

The staff consists of clerk to the board, assistant clerk, superintendent officer, eleven attendance officers, and one hundred and forty-five instructors and assistants. The rate averages threepence in the pound per annum. The present is the fourth board. The chairman, Mr. M. Whitwill, and the vice-chairman, the Rev. J. W. Caldicott, D.D., have served on all of the four boards.

In the BEDMINSTER SCHOOL BOARD there are two board schools—Knowle school and Bedminster down school. In the former there is at present accommodation for 600, in the latter for 190 children; in both schools the average attendance is equal to the accommodation. The rate averages about ninepence in the pound. The board consists of seven members.

The UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF BRISTOL originated, in the year 1876, in the desire of some of the friends of the Bristol Medical school to provide for the scientific and higher technical training of those above the ordinary school age in the West of England and South Wales, on the lines so successfully followed by the Owen's college, Manchester. On the condition that instruction in ancient and modern literature was included in the curriculum, Balliol and New colleges, Oxford, offered to co-operate in the scheme. Through the liberality of the worshipful the Clothworkers' Company of London, instruction in the technical science of woollen cloth manufacture is given in the West of England by the staff of the college. After being legally incorporated, the college was opened for its first session on October 10th, 1876, with courses of lectures given by resident professors and lecturers of distinction. At first these lectures were delivered in the temporary premises, in Park row, but a portion of the capital liberally subscribed by the citizens of Bristol and others interested

in the undertaking, was invested in a piece of land in Tyndall's park, immediately behind the Bristol Museum and Library, and the first block of what promises to be, when completed, a handsome building was erected. This block was first occupied in October, 1880, by the classes in literature, mathematics, classics, botany, geology, and French and German literature. Further subscriptions rendered it possible to add to this building a new wing (begun in March, 1882), which provides ample laboratory accommodation for the chemical, physical, and engineering departments; and it is intended to remove entirely from the temporary premises in October, 1882.

The college is managed by a council; one half, which consists of some of the most influential citizens of Bristol, nominated by the contributors, who form a board of governors; and the remaining half are nominated by representatives appointed by the vice-chancellors of the universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London, Balliol

and New colleges, the Bristol Medical school, and the Clothworkers' company.

The college has no endowment, but is sustained by the contributions of public-spirited citizens and others interested in the progress of education, and receives in addition, assistance from the Anchor Society. The Medical school is affiliated to the college, and instruction is given in all the branches which are recognised as necessary for a liberal education. Since its foundation, the attendance has averaged five hundred students per annum of both sexes. As this college is the first which has opened its doors to women, it is gratifying to see that full advantage has been taken of the facilities provided. Since University college was opened, similar colleges have been founded at Sheffield, Liverpool, Nottingham, Birmingham, and Dundee; and there can be no doubt that such institutions are destined to play a prominent part in the future history of education in this country.



*Mural Decorations of Ancient Dormitory in the Deanery.*



## CHAPTER XIX.

# MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT, EMINENT PERSONS, ETC.

1. *The Imperial and Municipal Government : Population, Boundaries, Expenditure, Corporation, Poor's Rates, etc. ; Mayor's Calendar, etc.* 2. *Corporation Plate, Regalia, Swords, Charters.* 3. *Town and City Seals. Dallaway's Theory refuted. Arms of the City. Ages of the Seals. Crest.* 4. *Prisons. Courts of Assize and Sessions ; Police. Post Office.* 5. *Ethnology of Bristol and District. Sanitation, Geology, Meteorology.* 6. *Eminent Persons.*



URING the ten years previous to 1873 the Imperial taxation of Bristol yielded an annual average of Customs' revenue received at Bristol of £1,064,808. The Inland revenue for ten years previous to and including 1875 yielded £498,146. We believe we are correct in stating that in 1881-2 the amount of the latter was largely increased. Bristol stands high with the seaport towns in the amount of Customs' revenue received, though these are largely affected by alteration of duties, that of the abolition on sugar alone in May, 1874, making a reduction of £300,000 per annum.

The municipal government is based upon many most ancient charters granted to the city, as has been narrated in these pages. The last was that granted by Anne, on the 24th July, 1710.

The mayor, recorder and aldermen were by this charter confirmed in their position as justices of the peace for the city and county of Bristol, and for the purpose of gaol delivery within the same, four times in every year.

The boundaries of the city within its ancient limits comprised 755 acres ; and the added districts, by the Municipal Act, 5th and 6th William IV., contained 4,124 acres, or a total of 4,879 acres. The population of the ancient city and of these districts for this century is as follows :—

	1801.	1811.	1821.	1831.	
Ancient city ...	40,814	46,592	52,889	59,074	
Added districts ...	20,339	24,891	32,219	45,334	
	<u>61,153</u>	<u>71,483</u>	<u>85,108</u>	<u>104,408</u>	
	1841.	1851.	1861.	1871.	1881.
Ancient city...	64,266	65,716	66,027	62,662	56,964
Added districts	60,880	71,612	88,066	119,890	149,539
	<u>125,146</u>	<u>137,328</u>	<u>154,093</u>	<u>182,552</u>	<u>206,503</u>

This does not include the population of the suburban districts. The three unions numbered, in 1881 :—

Bristol ... ..	57,499
Barton Regis ... ..	166,068
Bedminster ... ..	67,331
	290,898

The ratable value has greatly increased, as may be seen by the following :—

	1841.	1861.	1871.	1881.
Ratable value.				
Ancient city ...	£212,318	£237,168	£301,214	£344,481
Added districts	193,888	271,820	418,769	562,385
	£406,206	£508,988	£719,983	£906,866

In the fifth and sixth years of the reign of William IV. (1835), the Municipal Corporations' Reform Act was passed, which abolished the principal existing municipal corporations in England and Wales, except that of the city of London, and enacted that on the 1st of November in every year, those inhabitants whose names had been placed on a published list called the burgess roll,

should be entitled to elect from themselves, a certain number of persons to constitute a corporate body, to be called the town council, who were to continue in office for three years; one-third of the whole number to go out of office on the 1st of November in each year, but to be eligible for re-election. The town council, on the 9th of November in every year, were to elect one of their body to be mayor for the ensuing year; also, every third year, on the same day, to choose a certain number, being a third of the elected councillors, as aldermen; they were to continue in office six years, one-half being elected every three years; the aldermen might be selected from the councillors or from the burgesses; the vacancy created by an election of a councillor to be filled by the burgesses of the ward to which the councillor belonged; the united body constituted the town council for the city or borough. The council also to elect a gentleman to fill the office of high sheriff, who might be either a member of the council or a person outside that body, whose duties consisted in receiving the judges on circuit; he was also the returning officer for the city of members of Parliament, and executed, by his officers, certain writs and processes of law.

By this Act (5th and 6th William IV.), the city of Bristol was extended, to include within its boundaries the adjoining parish of Clifton, the out-parishes of St. James and St. Paul, and St. Philip and Jacob, with parts of the parishes of Bedminster and Westbury-on-Trym, by which the area included in the city was increased to 4,879 acres, with a circuit of about fifteen miles. It is now divided for municipal purposes into thirteen wards, three of them returning six members each to the council, and the remaining ten wards electing three members each, the town council being thus constituted of forty-eight members elected by the burgesses, with sixteen aldermen, chosen by the council, which make up the total number of sixty-four members.

The magistracy of the city is administered by about forty-seven acting justices of the peace, who are appointed by the Lord Chancellor from time to time, on the recommendation of persons locally connected; they are assisted in their duties by a chief clerk and two assistants. In the commission of assize for gaol delivery, the mayor is included in the commission for the city with the judges on circuit.

In the year 1806 (the 46th of George III.) an Act was passed conferring the power of constructing and maintaining the sewers, paving, cleansing and lighting the ancient city of Bristol, upon thirty-eight commissioners; ten burgesses being selected by each of the eighteen parishes and the ward of Castle Precincts, out of whom the justices elected two commissioners from each parish or ward. This body had power to make rates for the purposes of the Act, which were to be certified by the justices,—and being directed by precept to the incorporation of the poor, were collected by them with the poor rates, and the amount paid over to the commissioners. This was the authority that continued to act as a highway board for the ancient city of nineteen parishes until the adoption by the town council, in the year 1851, of the Health of Towns Act, which entirely superseded the Commissioners' powers; as it did also those of the highway boards of the parishes of Clifton, St. Philip and Jacob (out), and the parts of Bedminster and Westbury within the municipal area; also similar powers exercised by the commissioners for the district of St. James and St. Paul; and the council took on itself, under this Act, the management of all the streets and roads within the municipal area, with the exception of those which were then under the commissioners for turnpike roads, which have been since included.

By the town council adopting, in 1851, the Health of Towns Act, they became a board of health, or sanitary authority, and by that and subsequent statutes they had vested in them the powers relating to the construction, maintenance, lighting and cleansing

the streets, and the construction and maintenance of sewers; also the powers of a nuisance authority, for the prevention or abatement of nuisances within the city, to secure the proper supply of water, and generally as to all matters relating to the health of the inhabitants. They deputed the carrying out these powers to a committee of their body, subject to confirmation by the council.

The town council having also, in the year 1865, adopted the Local Government Act of 1858, a committee was appointed, called the Streets Improvement, to exercise the powers conferred by the several Acts of Parliament for the improvement of old, and the construction of new, streets and roads, all their proceedings being subject to the confirmation of the town council at their meetings; the powers to take property, otherwise than by agreement, being obtained by special Acts of Parliament.

The various other committees of the town council have their special duties assigned them. The principal are known as the Finance, the Watch, the By-Laws, the Free Library, the Baths and Washhouses, the Improvement, the Parliamentary Bills, the Visitors of the Lunatic Asylum, the Cattle Market, the Cattle Plague, and the Docks' Committees.

The ordinary expenses for sanitary purposes, as well as the sums required to repay by annual instalments the monies, with interest, borrowed by the authority for streets' improvements, and for the exercise of the various powers conferred by Acts of Parliament as a board of health, are defrayed by rates levied by the town council as a sanitary authority, twice in each year, which amounted in the year ending March, 1882, to about £118,790, in addition to other minor sources of revenue. The whole of the area of the city was also divided into six sewer districts, on each of which a separate annual rate was assessed, to pay off annually a twentieth or thirtieth part of the money borrowed for the construction of the main sewer of the district, with interest thereon. In five of these districts the principal money with interest has been discharged, and in the only remaining district the amount of the annual rate in August, 1881, was £3,143.

The income and expenditure of the town council itself is managed by the Finance committee. The income is principally from rents of city properties, tolls of markets, dues on shipping, fines in police courts, payments from Government towards police expenses, and interest on monies in consols, the deficiency being made up by a borough rate, which is apportioned and assessed by the council on the several districts, and is collected by the incorporation of the poor, and the overseers of the five parishes or districts of the enlarged city boundaries, and paid over by them to the city treasurer. The gross sum raised by borough rate varies considerably, being from £4,155 to £37,931 per annum: the average for the last thirty-three and a half years was £23,000.

While the city within its ancient limits was governed by its common council under its charters, and, as subsequently enlarged in 1835, by its responsible municipal council, there was another incorporated body, which acted under its powers for the care, maintenance, and employment of destitute persons within the ancient limits, or nineteen parishes.

The first legislative provisions for an assessment upon real property for the maintenance of the poor were made by the Act of the 14th of Elizabeth, cap. 5. By this Act, and the statute of the 43rd of that reign, the churchwardens and overseers of every parish were to raise by taxation of every inhabitant, either weekly or otherwise, sufficient for the relief and employment of the poor, and the placing out of apprentices.

In the year 1696 (the 7th and 8th of William III.) the nineteen parishes or places comprised in the limits of the city of Bristol were incorporated for the purposes of caring for the poor, and for assessing and levying rates to form a common fund for their relief and employment, and for the erection or purchase of a workhouse

or hospital out of the same, large enough for the poor who were to be employed therein, and for the accommodation of those who were unable to work. By this Act the whole of the existing city became as one parish for the purpose of the poor, and one law officer did the business where nineteen were formerly employed, and the saving in expense was considerable, besides the inconvenience occasioned the poor in being removed from one parish to another, on account of their various settlements. The churchwardens and overseers still continued to collect the rates when apportioned by the justices to each parish, and these sums were paid into a common fund which was under the control of the incorporation of the poor. In the year 1798 the building adjoining St. Peter's church, which had been used as a mint for coining for a short time, was purchased for a poorhouse by the incorporation for £800—part of the sum being given by some citizens; and subsequently an additional building was purchased.

The constitution of this corporation in 1696 was by the election of four ratepayers from each of the twelve aldermanic wards, and these forty-eight elected persons were called guardians of the poor, who were chosen for four years, half of their number to go out of office every second year. The mayor for the time being, and the twelve aldermen were also members of the court, together with any honorary guardians, who might be elected by the court from those who had given contributions of £100 or upwards to the poor fund. A subsequent Act (1714) increased the number by constituting the two churchwardens of each parish members of the court; but in 1718 this was repealed so far as related to junior churchwardens, and only the seniors were retained. Honorary guardianship was also discontinued in the beginning of the present century. The present constitution of the court consists of the mayor for the time being, twelve members of the town council elected annually, forty-eight elected guardians, the seventeen senior churchwardens, and the senior overseer of the Castle Precincts—the incorporation being thus composed of seventy-nine members, except when some of the members are chosen in more than one capacity, which is frequently done. This body is the board of guardians of the poor for the eighteen parishes, and by Vic. I., cap. 86, exercise the power of overseers within those limits, and levy and collect all the local rates of the district, except the board of health or sanitary rates. The rates are assessed half-yearly, and consist of the poor rate, the harbour rate, and the borough rate (if required), and once in each year the borough dock rate; and before the year 1851 the pitching, paving and lighting rate.

The amount of the rate levied for the poor by the church-

wardens in 1696 (the year before the Incorporation Act) was £2,154, and in the following year (1697) it was £2,316. It gradually increased, and in 1822 was about £25,000, and at the present time is about £33,500, in addition to the other rates collected and paid over to other authorities.

For the purposes of poor law management, the city of Bristol is under three distinct authorities—the incorporation of the poor for the ancient city, mentioned above; the Barton Regis union, for the parishes of Clifton, St. Philip and Jacob (out), the district of St. James and St. Paul, and the parish of Westbury; and the Bedminster union, for the parish of Bedminster. The total amount of the local rates for the five outlying parishes or parts of parishes within the municipal area for the year 1874, not including the sanitary and sewers' rates, was about £52,818, or an average of 2s. 4½d. in the pound upon the ratable value of £446,940; this ratable value in 1882 is £480,160.<sup>1</sup>



Induction of the Mayor. From Ricart's Calendar.

2. The most valuable records in the possession of the corporation are the Charters, of which there are many in a good state of preservation, the most interesting being that given by John, when Earl of Moreton (*circa* 1185), which is thought to be a unique specimen; another, which has an illuminated initial date 1347 (see Vol. I., pp. 172–5); that of 1373, which made Bristol a county (Vol. I., pp. 178–80), and those of Charles I. and Queen Anne. The *Mayor's Calendar* begun to be compiled by Robert Ricart, town clerk, in 1479; a thick, square folio of paper, 333 leaves, each quire enclosed in a parchment cover and so bound up, many of these parch-

ment leaves being used for illuminated drawings. The initial letters and principal words are for the most part rubricated. On folio 5 is a curious plan of Bristol; on folio 152 is a picture of the induction of the mayor. The outgoing mayor hands to him a Bible; the town clerk, below them, is reading to him the oath, the sheriff and the aldermen in scarlet standing near, the sword-bearer, with his cap of maintenance in hand, holding the great sword, and the chamberlain, with his mace, stand on the

<sup>1</sup> Alderman Naish in Bristol and its Environs (revised).

lower level with the town clerk. To the right are more aldermen in scarlet; the sergeants and town officers, in parti-coloured robes of murrey and dark blue rayed, with maces, stand on the left hand and on the near side of the table, on which is displayed a white bag of money, tied with red, an inkstand, penner, roll of parchment, and the leather case for the Bible; outside the bar are the commonalty, in whole coloured robes of green, blue, scarlet, murrey, &c. The perspective is singular, the distant figures of the mayors, sheriffs, &c., being the largest, whilst the others decrease in size as they near the spectator. The book is divided into six parts. Parts I. and II. are abridgments of English history; Part III., the first date in which is 1289-90, contains a list of the mayors from the first of Henry III., which is continued to the present time, the coat of arms of each being blazoned at the head of the entry; Part IV. contains rules for the guidance of the officers in their duties; Part V. is a transcript of sundry charters; Part VI. is a copy of some of the constitutions of London to serve as precedents, with notes, &c. There are also *The Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills*, which dates from 1382 to 1554; two register books of wills, 1594 to 1633, and 1633 to 1674; *The Great Red Book*, the contents being chiefly ordinances, &c., of the dates of the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV.; *The Little Red Book*, which is of still earlier date, 1344 to 1574 (see Vol. I., p. 171); *The Mayor's Audit Book*, 1532; *The Great White Book of Records*, 1496 to 1590; many minute books of the meetings of the corporation, admissions of freemen, expenditure, &c.

One of the earliest articles of silver plate presented to the city (if, indeed, it be not the very first) that is still preserved, is a rose water ewer and salver, silver gilt, weighing 7 lbs. 6 oz. 10 dwts. It was the gift of Robert Kitchen, alderman of the city, and, though bequeathed as early as 1573, it only came into the possession of the corporation in 1595, from the hands of Kitchen's executors. The ewer is urn-shaped and of graceful design, having a plain curved handle, which is surmounted by a demi-monster. Deeply engraved arabesques cover its surface; in front is a *repoussée* cherub head; sea monsters are on either side within oval medallions, separated by festoons of fruit. A boldly wrought Medusa head-mask supports the insertion of the handle, and within the lip is a projecting lion's head. The salver, which is ornamented in the same style as the ewer with engraved and *repoussée* work, contains on a raised medallion an escutcheon, with the arms of the donor and the inscription—

THE GIFT OF ROBERT KITCHEN  
LATE ALDERMAN OF THIS CITY.

The plate mark is that of 1595. There are also within the escutcheon the initials I. B. above a rose (for John Barker, Kitchen's old servant and executor). During the Bristol riots of 1831, this salver was stolen by one Ives, who cut it up with shears into 169 pieces. Some of these he offered for sale to Mr. Williams, goldsmith, telling him that it was a portion of some old family plate. That gentleman, suspecting his story, requested him to bring the remaining pieces the next day. Ives was then secured; the pieces, all but two tiny fragments, were recovered, and were by Mr. Williams ingeniously riveted to a silver plate, which now forms the back of the salver. Its beauty is unimpaired and its value enhanced by the process. The late Sir Robert Peel offered its weight in gold for it in vain. Ives was transported in 1832 for fourteen years, and on his return he had the consummate impudence to call at the Council-house, introduce himself, and ask for a sight of the salver. The height of the ewer is 12 in.; the diameter of the salver is 19½ in.

In 1590 Alderman Bird presented an elegant double gilt silver grace cup, weighing 30 oz.

In 1628 Captain Samuel Pitts, being on a voyage to Jamaica, in the ship *Kirtlington Galley*, was attacked by a Spanish rover of superior force. Pitts bravely defended himself, and after an arduous struggle beat off the enemy. For this gallant conduct, and for saving the ship with its valuable cargo, the Society of Merchant Venturers of Bristol gave to Captain Pitts a richly chased Monteith and collar of silver, with an appropriate inscription; its weight is 266 oz. 11 dwts. In 1821 this handsome ornament, being offered for sale at public auction by the descendants of the gallant Pitts, was purchased by the corporation for £148 16s.

In 1658 Mr. Recorder Dodridge made the city a present of a pair of massive silver gilt tankards, "richly decorated with *repoussée* and chased ornament in three bands, consisting of foliated arabesques, festoons of fruit and flowers, enclosing strapwork, cartouches, with which are sea monsters. The lids are similarly ornamented." The height of the tankards is 14¾ in.; the breadth in the base is 7½ in.; the weight 152 oz. 8 dwts. Each bears around its drum the following inscription:—"EX DONO JOHANNIS DODRIDGE, RECORDATORIS CIVITATIS BRISTOLL 1658." The shield of arms and crest of the worthy recorder are engraven on the front, being *argent*, two pales wavy *gules* between nine crosses crosslet *gules* three, three, and three; crest, a lion's head erased *gules*, murally gorged *or*. The plate mark is 1634.

In 1683 four silver badges and chains were purchased by the corporation to be worn by the city waits; these weigh 28 oz. 13 dwts.

In 1745 the water bailiff had an oar enriched with silver ornament bought for his badge of office; it is so loaded with metal that its weight cannot be correctly ascertained; probably the weight in silver is about 36 oz. At the same time a silver badge and chain were purchased for the deputy water bailiff.

The year 1709 was prolific in gifts. Mr. G. Smyther, an alderman of London, presented to the city a silver punch bowl, weighing 105 oz. 17 dwts. Mrs. Mary Boucher presented a silver tankard of the weight of 52 oz. 10 dwts. Mrs. Searchfield gave four handsome silver candlesticks, a snuffers and stand, of the weight of 100 oz. 10 dwts.; and Mrs. James gave a silver salver of 35 oz. 9 dwts.

In 1722 eight maces of silver were purchased by the corporation for the use of the officers in civic processions; these are in the usual 17th century style of art, and weigh 208 oz. Alderman Peloquin, of London, gave, in 1770, a silver candlestick with branches, that weighs 99 oz. 7 dwts.

The insignia of the City Exchange keeper and the city bellman are of wood, silver mounted, the weight of the metal being about 48 oz.; date 1715. There are also two silver trumpets of the same date, weighing 54 oz. 12 dwts. The following curious entry relating to these is found in the council book for 1715:—

Several gentlemen of this city in the time of our late danger having, by the consent of the Earle of Barkley, our lord lieventenant, formed themselves into two troops of horse, a thing both for the honour and security of the city; itt is ordered for their encouragement that two banners, *two trumpets*, and two standards, and two new coats for the two trumpeters belonging to the troops, be provided att the city charges, and that the said trumpeters be added to the city musick with salaries, all which is referred to the care and management of the mayor, the aldermen, and sherriivs.

Henry Walter, mayor. xi January 1715.

The gold chain of office worn by the mayor is elaborate in ornament and peculiarly handsome; it weighs 26 oz. 4 dwts., and was purchased by the corporation, in 1828, at a cost of £285.

The small mace borne by the city treasurer as the insignia of his office, is of the 17th century work, and is copper gilt; it is about 18 inches in length, finishing in an imperial crown of four arches, surmounted by an orb and cross pattée; the head has in four-shield raised the city purse and the city arms, both repeated; between these, four angels, with extended wings, bear up a collar and the crown.

The sacramental service in use at the Mayor's chapel is of modern date (1830); it consists of a paten, two chalices and two dishes of silver, weighing 129 oz. 1 dwt., and was the gift of Thomas Champion, mayor and alderman of the city.

In June, 1851, a magnificent silver dessert service was presented to Sir John Kerle Haberfield, knt., on the completion of the sixth year of his mayoralty. In 1871 his widow, Lady Haberfield, presented the service to the corporation. It consists of nine pieces—a centre ornament, with emblematic figures of Justice, Generosity and Commerce; two high fruit stands for corner dishes; two fruit baskets, with sportive boy figures; four corner dishes, with figures emblematic of the seasons. On the tripod are the civic arms, the arms of Sir John, and the following inscription:—

TO SIR JOHN KERLE HABERFIELD, KNT.  
SIX TIMES  
MAYOR OF BRISTOL.  
FROM HIS FELLOW CITIZENS.  
1851.

The total cost of this beautiful service was £580.

A silver salver, the gift of Mr. J. M. Kempster, for many years councillor for the ward of Clifton, completes the list of the plate.

By charter the mayor of Bristol is made the king's escheator; he has thus the dignity of an earl, and a sword of state is borne before him in his official capacity.

The cap of maintenance worn by the sword-bearer, together with the sword borne by him, are symbolic of ancient privileges. This official is the only man who is allowed to remain covered before royalty. [Maintenance, in law, is an officious assistance of a party (with money or otherwise) who is at law; a man may, however, maintain the suit of his near kinsman, servant, or poor neighbour, out of charity or compassion.] The cap and sword borne before the mayor symbolise inflexible justice, and the mayor's right and readiness to maintain the cause of the poor burgesses whenever necessary.

The swords are four in number, the oldest being one given to this city in 1506 by the then Lord Mayor of London; it was originally in a scabbard richly embroidered with pearls—these by the lapse of time have all disappeared, but the inscription engraven on the hilt yet remains:—

John Willis of London, grocer, Maior,  
To Bristol gave this sworde faire."

The next in date is the "Lent Sword," so named because borne before the judges when the assize falls in that sacred season. It is a two-edged blade; 3 ft. 3¼ in. in length, 2 in. in width, tapering to a point; it has a cross hilt engraven on each side with a honeysuckle, silver gilt; the handle is 9 in. long, ending in a large round pommel of 9 in. circumference, carrying the St. George's Cross, with a date, 1583 (1 Rich. III.), and the shield of arms of the same monarch. The letter M

within a T under a crown appears in a scroll of foliage, and around the pommel in Roman capitals is inscribed—

This sworde we did repaier  
Thomas Aldworth beinge Mayor.

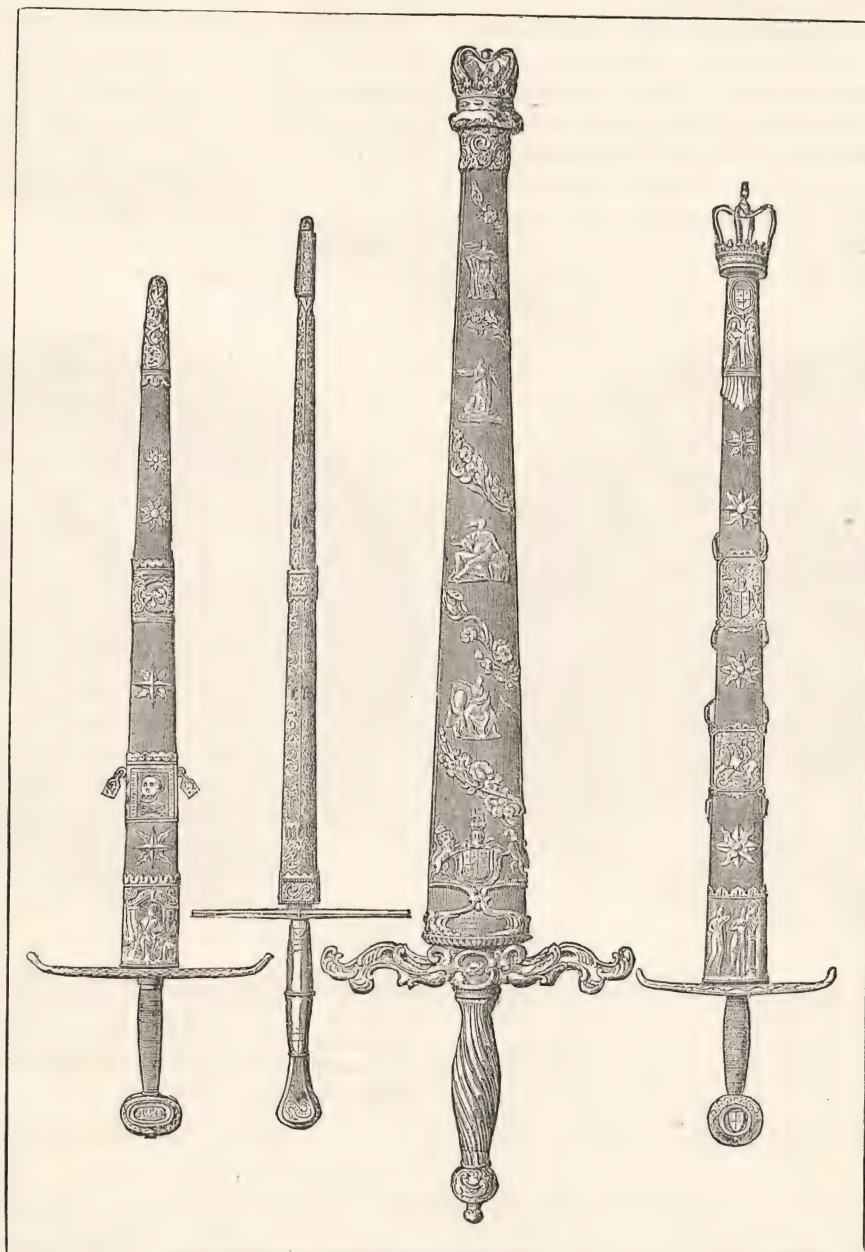
The scabbard of black velvet is richly bedight with symbols in silver gilt; stars preponderate, but on either side is a sun. The point itself ends in a crown of *fleur-de-lys* and crosses pattées, surmounted by depressed arches; over all, the orb and cross. Justice with sword and scales, Wisdom with a serpent, Temperance, Fortitude, the garter and motto with the arms of Richard III., the arms of the city of Bristol, St. George slaying the dragon, and an eagle on a tree stump, surrounded by rose bushes in bloom, are the principal mountings; which are linked together by the fetter-locks of the House of York. The four first verses of Romans xiii., "Let every soyl

be subiect to the higher power," etc., are inscribed on one of the sides, with date, "ANO 1594, ANO. EL. REG. 36. FRANCIS KNIGHT, MAIOR," all being in Roman caps.

The third sword is also straight and two-edged; the blade measures 3 ft. 2½ in.; the handle is gilt, 8½ in. in

length, and is covered with gilt wire; the cross hilt is of Gothic pattern and is 14 in. across; the oval pommel has in a sunken panel the arms of the city, and on the reverse are two shields bearing, one the cross of St. George, the other France and England quarterly. The

ornaments of the black velvet scabbard are of silver gilt, within Gothic scrolls and tracery. They consist of the figure of a king in his robes under an Italian canopy holding the sceptre and orb; the royal arms of France and England quarterly, the dexter supporter being a lion, the sinister a dragon; a large five-leaved rose seeded; the letter T in a Gothic scroll, and a death's head with crossbones, and the inscription from Heb. ix. 27, in Roman caps, "MEMENTO MORI STATUTUM EST OMNIBUS SEMEL MORI," and on the reverse, "JOHN KNIGHT, ESQ., MAIOR ANNO DOM.



The City Swords.

1670." There are also remains of the velvet bands, fetter-locks, and suns of the House of York plainly to be traced.

The last of these handsome swords is also the largest; the blade is 3 ft. 5 in. in length and 4 in. in width,

slightly tapering—it is of blued steel with gilt pattern; the hilt is 17 in. long; the handle, including the pommel, is 15 in. long, silver gilt, of Louis Quatorze style, elegant and massive in its scroll-work and its cabled spiral foldings, which merge into and form the pommel. The scabbard is of rich crimson velvet; it is edged with gimp lace, surmounted by an ermine cap, and over this an imperial crown. The silver gilt mountings are the royal arms as described on No. 3 sword; also those of George II., with the inscription in Roman caps, "ANNO REGNI GEORGII SECUNDI VICESIMO QUINTO, ANNOQUE SALUTIS 1752." It bears also the figures of Religion, Faith, Peace and Commerce. This sword was purchased by the corporation in 1753. The silver weighs 201 oz. 13 dwts.; its cost was £188 16s. 3d.

that he produces in support of this theory the result of the present inquiry entirely turns.

The device on this earliest seal is a castle with four towers, the two largest of unequal height having between them a great gate, the portals of which are closed. The loftiest tower is presumed by Mr. Dallaway to represent the keep of the castle. That on the other side of the gate is surmounted by the figure of a man blowing a trumpet, and may therefore fairly be designated the warder's tower. Mr. Dallaway observes that there is reason to believe that a representation of the castle of Bristol, as it existed at that period, was purposely intended, as in the case of the seal of the city of Norwich. Be this as it may, it is the design on the obverse that awakens our interest in this seal, as it is supposed by Mr. Dallaway to have reference to a remarkable incident connected with the city of Bristol, unmentioned by Mr. Barrett, but respecting which Mr. Dallaway has collected many passages from the chronicles of the 13th and 14th centuries. The subject of the design is as follows:—At the end or angle of a wall is a round-



The Common Seal of the City.



3. "The first mention," says Mr. Dallaway, "that I have seen of a common seal is in the charter of 47th Edward III., A.D. 1372, for the choice of a sheriff, *sub sigillo communi dicte Ville Bristol*;"<sup>1</sup> but he observes "that circumstance does not prove that the common seal was then first made, but rather that it had been extant previously."

The late J. R. Planché, Somerset Herald, in a most able paper published in the *British Archaeological Proceedings* for 1875, pp. 180–9, refutes Mr. Dallaway's and the generally received opinion as to the origin of this seal, as is shown in the following extract:—

No doubt but there were several seals extant previously, and it is with the origin of the earliest of all that the story I have alluded to is connected by Mr. Dallaway, and upon the evidence

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, XXI.

headed archway surmounted by a crenelated battlement, above which are seen the head and arm of a man who is apparently beckoning to the steersman of a single-masted vessel in full sail, either about to pass or making for the building. The circumscription in Lombardic characters reads:—

"Secreti clavis sum portus navita navis  
Portam custodit portum vigil indice prodit,"

which Mr. Dallaway interprets thus—"I am the key of the secret port, The pilot steers the helm of the ship. The warder points out the port with his forefinger;" and adds, "the arch and tower are intended to represent the secret port, by means of which vessels of considerable size were admitted into the walls of the castle, the river Avon being thus made to communicate with the ditch." Without stopping to question the accuracy of the translation of this monkish Latin, which Mr. Dallaway admits he made *sui periculo*, I at once endorse his opinion, that whatever circumstance suggested the design it has been the prototype of all the city seals, however varying in their details, and likewise of the city arms, but that it is "evidently historical" must not be so hastily

admitted. Nevertheless, the story told by Walsingham and others, and which Mr. Dallaway adduces in support of his theory, is extremely curious, and fully deserves investigation. It runs thus: A large ship, which by stress of weather had been driven about in the British channel, was discovered when becalmed (*ex paucis ventis*) hovering at the mouth of the Avon by some persons ("cives," not "navita"). Walsingham says "only four" in small boats. The ship excited the greatest interest from its size and furniture, and the certainty that some one of consequence was on board. The "cives" induced the passengers by promises of safety to enter the port of Bristol. Wykes says: "Puppim ipsam eam tota farcina capientes invitos perduxerunt intersecus" (into the creek and gate of the castle), that is, after they had perceived that they had fallen into the hands of the enemy and that all opposition would be useless. Speed, following Walsingham, only says they were surprised. The vessel proved to have on board Almeric de Montfort, with his sister Alianor, daughter of Simon, the great Earl of Leicester, whom he had brought over from France, with the intention of landing her on the Welsh coast, and giving her in marriage to Llewellyn, Prince of North Wales, who was then at war with King Edward I., A.D. 1275. The treachery or successful manoeuvre was the piloting this rich vessel, with the marriage portion of the bride and other valuables, into the secret port of the town, and then surrendering the prize into the hands of the king himself, who, it is inferred, was at that time in the castle. The lady, it is said, was treated courteously by the sovereign, but the men with the savage barbarity practised in those days. Wykes relates that the citizens gave "predam ipsam non ignobilem domino regi triumphali letitia," and Mr. Dallaway argues that it is borne out by these circumstances that the delineation of this achievement was represented on the common seal of the burgh and port, and an inscription added in monkish Leonine verse, obscure in itself, excepting that it be allowed to allude to this historical fact in particular, and was then first of all confirmed by authority.

Here, again, I must demur to the conclusion arrived at. Let us first hear Peter Langtoft's account of the incident; modernising the spelling it would read as follows:—

"The next year following Edward's coronation  
Llewellyn of Welshland into France sent  
De Montfort's daughter to wed. Her friends all consent.  
Almerick led her to the ship. Now on they went,  
Sailing and rowing to Wales to Llewellyn.  
A burgess of Bristol with a cargo of wine  
Overtook their ship, and asked why and whence they were.  
They said with King Philip to Wales they would fare.  
What did this burgess? Misled their wending.  
The maid and her property he brought to the king.  
The maiden Edward took, as he was most courteous,  
Into safe custody, and thanked the burgess.  
When Llewellyn heard the tidings, on war he did decide,  
For he was sorely vexed at the capture of his bride."

Mr. Dallaway contends that as Edward is expressly stated to have thanked the burgess for so acceptable a prize, it is most probable that he allowed a service performed by the men of Bristol to be commemorated in their great seal. These are the grounds on which Mr. Dallaway founds his theory, and we will now endeavour to ascertain how far they may be relied on.

Alianor de Montfort, daughter of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, was born in England, and educated in France; married Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, at Worcester, in October, 1278, and died the year following. The date would fairly enough accord with that given for the capture of the lady on her voyage to Wales, and there is sufficient evidence to be found in Rymer's *Fœdera* that Alianor de Montfort was in the power of the king, at Windsor castle, in January of the former year. The battle of Evesham, in which her father, Simon, and her brother, Henry de

Montfort, were slain, was fought in 1274. Almeric and the rest of the family escaped to France; and thus far, again, there is nothing to militate against the hypothesis of Mr. Dallaway. Here, however, we leave the region of fact and enter the clouds of conjecture. Mr. Dallaway produces no evidence that Edward I. was at Bristol in 1275, but only says it may be inferred he was. I shall show you that he was not.

Thanks to the labours of my lamented friend, the late Rev. Charles James Hartshorne, we are enabled to state positively that Edward I. never set foot in Bristol, after he came to the throne, until the 20th of September, 1276, when he remained here five days, and on the 27th was at Gloucester. His next visit did not occur till the 1st of December, 1284, when he appears to have passed one day in this city on his way to Caermarthen, returning hither on the 21st, and remaining till the 2nd of January, 1285, so that he seems to have kept Christmas here; we are consequently certain that at no time in 1275 could Alianor de Montfort have been delivered to him personally in the castle of Bristol. This fact, however, only affects the exact date recorded of the capture of the ship, which, it may be contended, might have occurred in September, 1276, during the five days he was here; but at that period Llewellyn was already carrying fire and sword into the marches, and consequently it could not have been the seizure of his bride that drove him into rebellion. The cause of the war was the repeated non-compliance of Llewellyn, on various insufficient and frivolous pretences, to attend and do homage to the King of England for his dominion in Wales, which neglect he followed up by open hostilities, ravaging the English marches, and burning and destroying all before him.

Having examined the historical facts which are presumed to have suggested the design of the seal, let us now turn our attention to the seal itself, which I have already described. I confess that I cannot discover the slightest reason for supposing the capture of Almeric de Montfort's vessel is in any way represented, or even indicated, in the composition, which I believe to be of an earlier date than the incident to which its origin is attributed by Mr. Dallaway. If I am justified in that opinion, of course there is an end to the argument; but as that point is still open to discussion, I will state my objections upon other grounds little less fatal, I think, to the theory he has propounded.

In the first place there is nothing singular in the design. A ship is making for a port, and the warder, from his tower, is signalling to the steersman, or, as Mr. Dallaway translates the inscription, "points out the port with his forefinger." What more appropriate design could have been suggested for the common seal of a city which as early as the reign of Henry II. was described by William of Malmesbury as "a wealthy city full of ships from Ireland and Norway and every part of Europe, which brought to her great commerce?"

The seals of Bedford, Launceston, Carlisle, Exeter, Dorchester, Barnstaple, Lancaster, Norwich, Newcastle, Cardigan, Caermarthen, Denbigh, Guildford, Pembroke, Warwick, Totnes, Bridport, Tewkesbury, Queenborough, Clitheroe, Bridgenorth, Stafford, Orford, Devizes, Malmesbury, Ludgershall, Pontefract, and several other towns in England and Wales, display castles, accompanied more or less by certain charges for difference. Any one who is familiar with the designs of our early or mediæval painters or illuminators must be struck by the absence in the example before us of the principal features and incidents of the story this seal is supposed to commemorate. Where is the lady? Where the ship of the Bristol merchant, or, according to one version, the boat with the four citizens of Bristol on board by whom the French vessel, with its fair and noble freight, was decoyed into the "secret port" of the castle? An artist of the 13th century would not have left the subject of his design for an instant in

doubt. Alianor de Montfort and her brother would have been seen on board the betrayed bark, and the artifice by which they were entrapped indicated more or less clearly, according to the fashion of the time. The circumscription in which Mr. Dallaway perceived a mysterious allusion to the event appears to me a plain and simple explanation of the subject represented—a warder is giving directions to the steersman of a vessel making for the port, which, if the ship was being brought in by Bristol citizens, or a Bristol merchant, would be unnecessary; the words, therefore, I take to be of general, and not special application.

The next seal in point of date is a smaller one, inscribed "Sigillum Maioritatis Ville Bristolie," and represents the same subject with a remarkable difference. Here we see a castle with a water-gate on one side of it, out of which a ship is issuing. Little more than her fore-castle is visible, but on it is planted a banner, of the oblong form, characteristic of the reign of Edward I., displaying the three lions passant guardant of England, and beneath it is the letter B.

Now, surely if there had been any intention to commemorate the capture of Alianor de Montfort by the device on the former seal, supposing it to be of that date, it must have been fresh in the recollection of the engraver of the latter, as well as of the civic authorities, and in any alteration care would have been taken to improve the design by identifying it more clearly with the event, instead of depriving it of any chance of recognition by making the vessel a king's ship, flying, what is in modern parlance called



Seal circa Edward I.

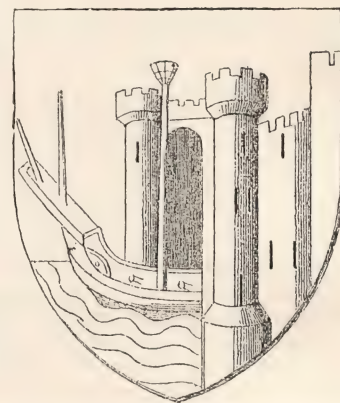


Seal circa Edward III.

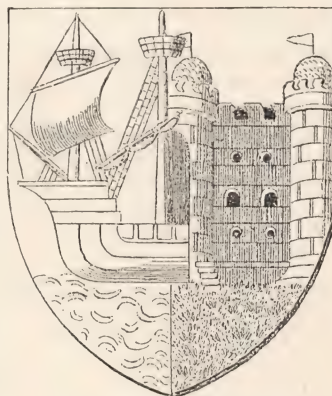
the royal standard, and leaving in lieu of entering the port of the castle. This seal is not noticed by Mr. Dallaway, but he describes another, engraved on the same plate, said to have been affixed to a deed, dated 1350, with the same circumscription and a similar design; but the architecture of the castle is of a later period, and there are two warders on the battlements blowing trumpets. Of the ship, the fore-castle only is visible. The banner planted on it is square, and charged with the arms of France (*semée* of *fleur-de-lys*) and England quarterly, as first borne by Edward III. A fourth, a drawing of which, made by Augustine Vincent, Rouge Croix Poursuivant, *temp.* Queen Elizabeth, is to be seen in his most interesting and valuable MS. in the library of the College of Arms, was appended to a deed of the 10th of Henry VIII., by Thomas Halleway, who was mayor of Bristol in 1434, and founded a chantry in the church of All Saints in this city in 1450. Here we have again a castle of similar character, a flag flying on the keep and two warders on separate towers blowing trumpets. The hull of a vessel of a different build, without masts or sails, little more than her head out of the water-gate, and displaying on it a banner of the royal arms, France and England, quarterly, the *fleur-de-lys* in the first quarter reduced to three, a change which took place in the reign of Henry V. This is the latest, I believe, of the seals of the mayoralty of Bristol, and as void as the others of any special feature which would connect it with the story of Alianor de Montfort.

Now let us turn to the arms of the city, which exhibit the

same subject with similar slight variations, and must, therefore, have been founded on the seals which undoubtedly claim priority of date. There are engravings of four; the most ancient from the form of the shield and the character of the architecture is, I should say, coeval with the third seal, time of Edward III. But who can state that the arms had been only granted at that date? They may have been in existence some time previously. The style of painting or sculpture of any particular example indicates merely the date of its execution, and arms might have been assigned to Bristol long before the original of this engraving was made. It represents only the water-gate of a castle, flanked by two round towers, out of which is seen issuing a vessel with a bowsprit and one tall mast, but no sail. There is a flagstaff on the fore-castle, but no flag. There is no warder on the wall, and the effect is altogether poor and inartistic, conveying indeed the notion of its being an unfinished production.



Arms of Bristol, 14th and 15th Centuries.



Arms of Bristol, 16th Century.

The next example displays a better style of architecture. The two towers have slated domes or cupolas, on each of which is a vane, and the ship fully rigged, with her foresail set, appears to be passing out of the water-gate, which, in lieu of being between the towers, is situated in the centre of the one on the right. The base of the shield is heraldically parted per pale, the dexter side representing water, and the sinister grass or marshy land.

The third example presents us with a similar castle, and the water-gate in the right hand tower as before; but the towers are each surmounted by an imperial crown of six arches, with either standards or vanes on them. The ship is still more elaborately drawn, and appears putting to sea with foresail and mainsail set; a small quartered flag is flying at each masthead. The base of the shield is not divided heraldically, but the dexter side beneath the ship is barry wavy, representing water, and the sinister a mass of rock projecting beyond the line which would have parted the base per pale, as in the former instance,



Arms of Bristol, 17th Century.

The fourth shield displays the arms of the city as at present borne, and said by Mr. Dallaway to have been granted by Sir Henry St. George, Garter, for confirmation of which he refers us to the visitation of the county of Gloucester taken by that officer's deputies in 1683, he being at that time not Garter, but Clarenceux, but no such arms appear in that visitation.

On a fly leaf at the beginning of Camden's visitation of the county, taken in 1623, is the drawing which has been copied by Dallaway in his MS. additions to Barrett's *History*, with the ungainly supporters and inexplicable crest, of which the original grant by Cooke, Clarenceux, in the reign of Elizabeth, is preserved amongst the muniments of the corporation.

In an alphabet of arms, compiled about the latter date, the arms of the city of Bristol are blazoned thus—"gules, a ship issuing out of ye port of a castle, joined to the sinister side of ye shield or, with ye castle argent, on a mount vert," but no mention of supporters or crests. In all modern paintings or engravings of the city arms the water-gate is omitted, and the ship is represented and blazoned as passing by the castle; while in the early seals and shields the ship is invariably represented issuing out of the port, and not being decoyed into it. I submit, therefore, that there are no grounds whatever for the conjecture of Mr. Dallaway, unsupported even by tradition, that either the seals of the corporation or the arms of the city of Bristol owe their design to the story of Alianor de Montfort's capture by stratagem on her voyage from France to the coast of Wales, whatever truth there may be in the story itself, the details of which are contradictory, and the date, as far as the presence of King Edward I. at Bristol in 1275, absolutely erroneous.

In the absence of documentary evidence, I can only suggest that the oldest seal, of which a representation is before us, dates from the grant of the charter of incorporation of Henry III., in which case there is an end at once to the conjecture of Mr. Dallaway. The style of the architecture, the form of the ship and the mode of steering it, all point to an earlier date than the accession of Edward I., during whose reign the small second seal was probably executed, and the original design improved by a better artist.

The third seal is undoubtedly of the time of Edward III., who confirmed and extended the charter of Henry III., removed the staple of wool to this city, and in 1373 erected it into a separate county, under the designation of the city and county of Bristol.

The fourth and latest of the ancient municipal seals may have been made in the reign of Henry V., as it was appended to a deed dated the 10th of Henry VI.; and the reduction of the *fleur-de-lys* in the quarter of France to the number of three forbids our assigning it to an earlier period than the time of his father, who made that alteration in the royal arms.

I cannot conclude this paper without expressing my regret that such a crest should have been assigned by any king of arms to such a grand old coat as that which has for six centuries distinguished the city of Bristol. The unicorns, but for their unpicturesque attitude, might be accepted, though not in the least applicable to the city; but the crest is designed in the very worst style of heraldic composition.<sup>1</sup>



Seal of City Edward I.

<sup>1</sup> Jour. of the Brit. Arch. Assocn., 181-9.

Another seal bears the full face and bust of a king crowned, crossed by a lion passant at the breast, and with a castellet on either side, and is known from the legend to have been first issued by Edward I. It is likewise in the Lombardic character: "s. EDW. REG. ANGL. AD. RECOGN. DEBITOR' AP'D. BRISTOLL." That the two castles are affixed, is an undoubted evidence that Edward I. is meant, because they appear so placed upon his great seal, with reference to his queen, Eleanor of Castile, as also upon several others.<sup>1</sup>

4. There are about thirty fountains in different parts of the city and on the Downs, notably one on Durdham down erected by the Bath and West of England Agricultural Society, near the site on which they held their exhibition in 1874.

The prisons are two in number, one of them—Lawford's gate—being a county prison; it is in Gloucester road. The Gaol, on the New Cut, built in 1820, cost £60,000. Accommodation for 200. It contains a chapel, built by the pri-



City Arms, 1683 to present time.

soners, value £3,500, and an organ, value £350, provided by the late governor, Capt. J. A. Gardner, who anticipated the Prisons' Act of 1865 by some thirty years, and had all the yards reconstructed. The old Bridewell, which dated from 1507, has been demolished, and the handsome warehouses of Messrs. H. H. and S. Budgett and Co., have been erected on its site.

The courts of Quarter Session and Assize are now held in the Guildhall, which has a double frontage, looking eastward into Broad street and westward into Small street. The mayor of Bristol, by charter, has a seat with the judges. The ancient "Pie Poudre," or "Dustyfoot" court, formerly held in the open air in Old Market street, has been lately amalgamated with the Tolzey court, which having also, under a recent Act, come under the Common Law Procedure Act, is now held quarterly under the Recorder; counsel only can plead. The court of Request, the court of Conscience and the court of Bankruptcy are all merged in the County court, which is also held in the Guildhall. The justices' court of Petty Session is held daily at the magistrates' court of Petty Session, Bridewell street.

The Central Police station adjoins the court, having also an entrance to the engine house, &c., in St. James' back. The force numbers 374 rank and file, and comprises one chief constable and four divisional superinten-

<sup>1</sup> Dallaway, 10.

dents, inspectors, sergeants, &c.; fifteen of the number are detailed for duty as river police. There is an efficient brass band, the instrumentalists being members of the force. The district stations are lettered A, B, C, D. Four horses and a prison van are kept. The prisoners are collected every morning in the van from the district stations and brought to the magistrates' Petty Sessions court. Those committed are sent in it to the Gaol. Two constables patrol the Downs on horseback every night. There is a fire engine, hose cart and fire escape at each district station. The Fire Brigade consists of one superintendent and twelve men, all under the chief constable; these are sworn constables, but they do not usually act in that capacity; a number of constables resident in each district are drilled in the fire brigade to assist in case of necessity. There is a steam power fire engine kept ready at the Central station in Bridewell street. A new castellated structure for Bedminster district station was opened July 24th, 1882.

In the Bristol Post office there are 191 clerks (of whom 26 are females), 152 letter carriers, and 73 telegraph messengers employed. The letters, in 1875, averaged 303,000 per week; in 1882, 387,791. There are two branch offices (Clifton and Temple gate), 26 receiving houses, and 75 pillar and wall boxes. The rural district has 77 sub-receiving houses, and 54 pillar and wall boxes. Clifton had in 1854 two clerks and five letter carriers, it now employs nine clerks and 32 carriers. The Clifton letters in 1854 were 21,400 per week; for the year ending March 31st, 1882, they amounted to 64,992. The registered letters at the Head office for one month in 1872 were 2,955, in 1882 they have reached to 67,040.

The Post office Saving Banks' transactions for 1881				
were ... ..	...	...	...	15,561
Money orders issued, numbered ... ..	...	31,851	}	147,285
"    paid    "    ... ..	...	115,434		
Postal orders sold    "    ... ..	...	11,579	}	39,334
"    paid    "    ... ..	...	27,755		

In both of these departments the excess of receipts over expenditure is something worthy of notice.

There has been a considerable increase in the receipt and despatch of telegrams during the past ten years, as will be seen from the following:—

	Year ending March 31st, 1872.	Year ending March 31st, 1882.
Forwarded from Bristol ... ..	85,386	158,437
Delivered in Bristol ... ..	214,426	363,404
	<u>299,812</u>	<u>521,841</u>

5. Considerable ethnological differences are observable within a radius of thirty miles round Bristol. The peasantry of north Wilts and of the Cotswold country, within the watershed of the Thames, display generally

Teutonic types more or less pure—smooth features and fair complexions. In the valley of the Avon, from Chippenham westwards, an increased proportion of Keltic or British blood exhibits itself in the greater tendency to dark hair. In the northern corner of Somerset, from Bristol to the Axe, the fair Frisian type crops up pretty frequently, but on the slopes of the Mendips, and in the hilly region of Selwood, the preponderance of the ancient blood is re-asserted by the darker colours, the more angular visages, and the square shoulders. In the hill country beyond the Usk the Silurian type is conspicuous—a frame short and robust, face broad, skin dark and ruddy, eyes dark and almond-shaped, brows arched, hair dark or brown. The same race, more or less crossed with English and Flemish blood, overspreads the low country of Glamorgan, with east Monmouthshire, and the Forest of Dean.

The dialect of Wessex, exemplified in the poems of the Rev. W. Barnes, and those of Mr. J. Edwards ("Agrikler," ~~is far~~ from being extinct in Somerset, and the Gloucestershire speech differs little from it except in intonation. The Anglicised Welshmen beyond the Severn have a dialect and accent of their own.

The population of Bristol has been fed chiefly from Somerset, Gloucestershire, and Wales; and from the evidence of surnames the proportion of persons of Welsh descent may be estimated at from one-eighth to one-tenth. This proportion is almost as large in the farmers of the neighbouring district, whether north or south of the Avon.

There is some reason for thinking that the skull-type prevalent in Bristol during the middle ages was shorter and rounder than that most common in the present day in the city and the surrounding districts.<sup>1</sup> Whether this brachycephalic mediæval type was due to the influx of French settlers after the Norman conquest, or to a possible (Belgic? or Ligurian?) settlement of much earlier date, is mere matter of speculation. Irishmen, and persons of Irish blood, are remarkably few, considering the proximity of their country. A certain amount of physical degeneration has taken place among the native Bristolians, as among the natives of other British cities—300 of them yielded an average stature and weight of 5 feet 5·8 inches and 132½ lbs., after deductions made for shoes and clothing. The average height of men in the surrounding counties may fairly be put at half an inch more.

Situated as Bristol is in North Latitude 51° 27' and West Longitude 2° 35', and on the west coast the climate is mild and the hygrometric state of the atmosphere is

<sup>1</sup> See paper on the St. Werburgh's skulls in the Brist. and Glouc. Arch. Trans. By Dr. Beddoe.

generally high, it is not subject in winter to extreme colds nor in summer to extreme heats. It differs materially in this respect from places situated on the east coast or on the great plateau of the midland counties; the air in the lower parts of the city may be considered soft and relaxing rather than bracing; however much this condition of the atmosphere may benefit some constitutions it has its inconveniences. A few days residence in the lower parts of the city has often been known to temporarily deteriorate the voice in public singers which is speedily restored to its normal quality by a day or two's residence on the upper levels; but the city lies on so many different soils and at so many different levels that no general description will apply to the whole of it; the lower parts are situated on alluvial overlying the new red sandstone, but the newer and more elevated parts are on the new red sandstone and millstone grit and other allied formations. The elevation above sea level varies considerably; the lower parts are but a few feet above high water level, whilst the upper parts of Clifton are 315 feet above. The air on the higher levels, such as Durdham down, is very pure and bracing, and readily shows the presence of ozone on the application of the proper test, thus Clifton is exceedingly well adapted by its situation for the reception of invalids who can here, within a limited area, choose the climate best suited for their constitutions. Those who require a soft, mild atmosphere, have for their selection the crescents and other buildings on the lower and sheltered slopes of the hill, and those who require highly ozonized and bracing air, fresh from the Atlantic and Bristol channel, can get all they desire on Clifton and Durdham downs.

The limits of this work precluding a full sanitary history of the city it is only possible to glance at a few of the more prominent points. In past times Bristol was not healthier than other cities. By an exhaustive Government inquiry, in 1850, it was found that the annual rate of mortality was 28·0 per 1,000. In 1851 the Public Health Act of that period was applied to the whole of the Parliamentary borough, including Clifton. Since then 150 miles of main sewers have been constructed at an aggregate cost of £161,000, so that Bristol is now one of the best sewered and drained cities in the country. The effect of this, with other sanitary measures, has been to lower the rate of mortality very considerably, possibly more than in any other large town in England. The rate for the whole of the borough during the last five years having averaged only 20·8 this may be considered as its normal annual rate at the present time. This rate for Clifton during the same period has averaged only 13·8.

Owing to the extensive sewerage carried on during

the last thirty years the level of the subsoil water has become very low, the most noticeable effect of this on the public health has been to reduce the mortality from phthisis to a very low point, the average annual rate of mortality from this disease during the last five years was only 1·8 per 1,000, although many invalids suffering from this complaint come to Clifton from other parts of the country and thus add to the number of deaths. By a judicious choice of locality invalids could probably find in Clifton all the advantages sought for by exile to foreign health resorts without any of the discomforts which invalids feel so acutely when resident among strangers.

The city is well supplied with hospitals for the treatment of ordinary diseases and also for the isolation and treatment of cases of infectious diseases. Strict and constant watch is kept over the progress of these complaints by the officers of the sanitary authority, and the best means known for their prevention are enforced when practicable. The result has thus far been very satisfactory, as the rate of mortality from this class of diseases has, during the last five years, averaged only 2·4 per 1,000 per annum.

Although Bristol has, during the last thirty years, expended vast sums of money in improving its sanitary condition with unexampled success, further outlay in this direction is looming in the future; at present all its sewers empty into the river Avon, on the south of the city. Owing to the rapid current of the river and the high tides no injury to health has been traced to this; but should the citizens decide on dockizing the river the whole of the sewerage must be taken out of it. Owing to the peculiar formation of the surrounding grounds this problem presents unusual difficulties and must entail a vast outlay of money; however, as Bristol has been so successful in its sanitary measures in the past, we have good reason to believe that it will be equally so in the future.

The following is a short description of Bristol:—

The city lies on low ground, in a somewhat triangular basin formed by the vallies of the rivers Avon and Frome; the latter, a small tributary from the north-east, which flows through the picturesque little valley of Glen Frome, and not to be confounded with the larger stream passing by the town of that name. Where the Avon debouches from the Conham gorge, it spreads into a broad valley which it has lined with alluvial deposits. On this low land much of the old city is situated, viz., the parts round Temple street, Marsh street, Queen's square and Canon's marsh, while High street and Redcliff hill stand on solid ground superior to the alluvial plain; part of the latter is so little above the level of high tide—though the city is seven miles by water from the mouth of the river—that at spring tide the waters have been found to overflow and fill the cellars of the houses which line the river in the Hotwells and Quays. The river Avon separates the city into two portions. The artificial bed or New Cut is excavated in

the new red sandstone, which is not left uncovered along the natural course of the river, *i.e.*, the existing Floating Harbour.

Its hills are more or less broad table-lands, and we may speak of them as the north-western, the eastern plateaus and southern ridge. The steep acclivities on the north, which we ascend in leaving Bristol, are seen to be the edge of a large plateau of Palæozoic rocks structurally, though these are sometimes masked by later rocks, such as Lias, lying upon them in discordant stratification; the inclines of Granby hill, Clifton hill (237 feet high), Brandon hill (259 feet high), are descents from this high ground towards the Hotwells. Again, the end of this upland plateau extends eastward from here by Park street, along Kingsdown parade (220 feet), from whose abrupt slopes the city, with its fine church towers, may be overlooked to great advantage. The whole of this ridge so far consists of the hard siliceous beds of the Millstone Grit—dipping at a high angle with the rest of the Palæozoic beds—and these same grits also face the edge of the plateau on the Leigh down side of the river. To this plateau belongs Durdham down (312 feet), which is intersected by the Avon gorge, and that in so picturesque a fashion that Clifton must always be famous for its river scenery. The high land on the Leigh side is to all intents and purposes one and the same table-land with Durdham down, for the Clifton gorge has little to do with the structure of the country, its formation is entirely subsequent to the upraising of the anticlinal arch of Old red and Carboniferous rocks, which either continuously or in a series of echelons runs through the district from Clevedon to Tortworth. The renowned Avon gorge is but a notch in the ridge, a mark indeed of the tooth of time, but a small matter compared to the lengthened processes by which the old Palæozoic rocks were raised in dome-shaped ridges, and were then cut down some 5,000 feet lower by the inexorable plane of denuding agents, till the shorn-off edges of the uplifted strata were left as the level table of Durdham down. The height of the Observatory hill, Clifton, is 315 feet, and that of Ashtump 270 feet.

To the south of the town are the swelling slopes of Knowle and Totterdown, which extend round Dundry hill in a belt of intermediate height, and which has for its *raison d'être* the existence of nearly horizontal beds of Lias limestones below, harder and more capable of resisting denuding forces than the clays which have been cut back at the intermediate base of Dundry hill. The summit of this hill is 769 feet above mean sea level; the solid Jurassic beds which crown the ridge are in the same way the cause of the existence of this high ground, which bounds the horizon for a considerable sweep on the south.

On the east of the city we have irregular high land, with an average height perhaps of 180 feet. It extends from the river Frome on the north-east to the cliffs which bound the river Avon by Conham and Brislington; it consists for the most part of coal measures, and contains the sites of numerous coalpits. It is the hard sandstones (Pennant) of the coal-period which are cut through by the Avon in the picturesque windings of the river by Conham.<sup>1</sup>

The mean annual results of meteorological observations at Clifton give the following average:—Mean barometric pressure at 228 feet above sea, 29.698 inches; mean temperature, 48.7 degrees; mean daily range of temperature, 13.6 degrees; probable highest temperature, 85.0 degrees; probable lowest temperature, 16.4 degrees; mean humidity (sat. = 100), 83.1; mean amount of cloud (scale 0-10), 5.9; mean daily ozone (scale 0-10), 4.6; mean rainfall, 32.194 inches.

<sup>1</sup> E. B. Tawney, F.G.S., in *Bristol and its Environs*, 319-22.

These observations are in latitude 51° 27' 47" N., longitude 2° 36' 30" W.

Ozone is most abundant in the month of June, least so in November, and the difference between the two months is very large. On the whole there is much more ozone in the summer than in the winter. Apart from seasonal influences, the proportion of ozone varies chiefly with the direction of the wind. When the wind, veering normally, reaches west-south-west, ozone becomes suddenly abundant. It continues abundant with the wind at west and north-west, is much more scanty when the wind has passed the north, and with winds between east and south is scarcely found at all. The geographical relation of Clifton to the Bristol Channel, is probably the chief cause of these differences; its relation to the adjoining city may be a minor cause.

As a rule, the neighbourhood of Bristol is less liable to deep snows than are the eastern, northern, or central districts of England, or even the more inland parts of Gloucestershire.

The large preponderance of westerly over easterly winds is very striking. North-east and south-west winds are pretty evenly balanced, and north-west winds occur with about the same degree of frequency. A south-east wind is less common, and north and south winds are both comparatively rare.

6. Bristol may justly claim to have been connected, either through birth or by residence, with a very large number of eminent men and women; and, in alphabetical order, a list of a few most entitled to notice is given:—

BAILY, E. H., R.A., the eminent sculptor, best known by his great work, "Eve at the Fountain," was born in Bristol, March 10th, 1788. He presented the frieze in *alto-relievo* (over the entrance of the Freemasons' hall) to the committee of the Philosophical Institution; it represents "the Arts, Science and Literature, being introduced by Apollo and Minerva to the city of Bristol, who, seated on the Avon, receives them into her maternal protection, and dispenses to them encouragement and rewards, while Plenty unveils herself to Peace, since under their happy influence those expansions of the human intellect flourish and improve." He died May 22nd, 1867.

"And should grim death that huntsman scare  
But start an Alderman or May'r,  
And hunt him as you'd hunt a hare,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Or in plain terms, should he decay,  
And look to death and quarter day,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
And by last will and testament  
Provide for his own monument;  
Baily's his man, in spite of death,  
To chisel in again his breath;  
Make blood reflow in marble vein,  
And set him on his legs again." <sup>1</sup>

BARRETT, WILLIAM, F.S.A., surgeon, author of *The History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol*, was a "native of Chippenham, in Wiltshire, or the adjoining village of Notton, where he was

<sup>1</sup> Rhymes, Latin and English, Rev. J. Eagles, 88.

born about the year 1735. His parents dying when he was very young, he was placed by his guardians at a school in the place of his nativity, from whence he was removed to Winchester, where he formed a lasting friendship with the son of Mr. Tandy, a sugar-baker, in Thomas street, whose daughter he subsequently married; he settled in Broad street, from whence he removed to a house which stood at the corner of Host street, nearly opposite Colston hall, the garden of which at that time extended down to the river. Here he remained until about 1784, when the loss of his wife many years before, and frequent attacks of gout, to which he was subject, induced him to resolve on retiring from business, and devote the rest of his days to study and to preparing his *History of Bristol* for the press. He accordingly purchased a house at Wraxall, Somersetshire, inhabited by the late Mr. Homer, where he occupied himself in close study, or attending the poor of the village, to whom he gave his gratuitous services, until his death, which occurred, rather unexpectedly, from a carbuncle on one of his eyebrows, which proved fatal in forty-eight hours."<sup>1</sup> He died at the residence of his son on September 15th, 1789.

BEDDOES, THOMAS, M.D. (often termed "Plutonian Beddoes"), physician and scientist, was born at Shiftnall on April 13th, 1760. He settled in Bristol, and in 1798 established a Pneumatic institution in Dowry square, Hotwells, towards which Mr. Lambton contributed £1,500, and Mr. Thomas Wedgwood £1,000. The chemical laboratory was placed under the care of Humphrey Davy, then only twenty years of age, who therein began his famous career of scientific and chemical discovery. Beddoes was a voluminous writer, and an ardent friend of liberty. He married, in 1794, Anna Edgeworth, a sister of the celebrated authoress. He died at his residence, Rodney place, on December 24th, 1808.

BEDDOES, THOMAS LOVELL, son of the preceding, was born at Clifton on 20th of July, 1803, and at his father's death, when he was six years of age, was left to the guardianship of Mr. Davies Giddy, better known as Sir Davies Gilbert, president of the Royal Society. He was educated at Bath, then at the Charter house, finishing at Oxford. A poet of no mean order, he began to write early; his first work was not, however, published until 1822, when he was nineteen years of age. From Oxford he went to the University of Göttingen to study medicine, and thence to Basle, where he died in 1849, seldom visiting England. He was possessed of great originality of thought; was manly, and uncompromising in opinion; had an utter disregard for money, and would not allow any friendly influence to aid his career. He was of very advanced opinions, and was passionately fond of discussion and argument, but was never known to give way to ill temper or anger when defeated. His medical treatises were excellent, but were all published on the continent. His poetical tastes inclined to the dramatic, and the specimens he has left are so admirable that we can only regret that one who was possessed of such high artistic ability did not publish more.

BIRD, EDWARD, R.A., historical painter, was born at Wolverhampton on the 12th April, 1774, "but was for many years a resident in Bristol, where he was well known as a highly gifted genius, and a generous, kind-hearted and philanthropic man. An hypochondriacal affection, of some years' standing, preyed upon his otherwise apparently strong and vigorous frame, and long before his death all that medical skill could do for him was confined to the alleviation of bodily suffering, without at all removing the cause of it, until, at last, he was deprived, by increasing debility and continuous pain, of the pleasure he had so long enjoyed in the occupation of his favourite art—that of an historical painter, in which he was very successful. In early life he is believed to have exercised his talent in a very inferior branch of art, which, however, taught him to execute, in after time, the mechanical part of his

compositions with accuracy and despatch; and to his own almost unaided genius he appears to have been indebted for his after proficiency in the art in which he obtained so much eminence. He was early patronised by Mr. West and the Marquis of Stafford; his pictures, too, were viewed by the public, at the annual exhibition, with marked partiality; and had his health continued good, it appears probable that he would have amassed a large fortune for the benefit of his bereaved family. For Lord Bridgewater he painted 'The Debarkation of the King of France,' and also the 'Embarkation,' for which he was liberally rewarded by that munificent patron of art. For the Prince Regent he painted 'The Psalm Singers in a Country Church,' and had a commission for a companion picture, which, however, he did not live to execute. His picture of 'Chevy Chase' procured him the appointment of historical painter to the Princess Charlotte; and at his death Prince Leopold presented his picture of the 'Surrender of Calais,' with a purse of one hundred guineas, to his family, for their benefit. The Freemasons of Bristol, the ceiling of whose hall he finely embellished with the results of his genius, performed a funeral dirge at his decease, and by them, as well as by numerous private citizens, his memory will be long held in respectful remembrance."<sup>1</sup> He died November 2nd, 1819, in his forty-fifth year. Like most of those who have been taught to any purpose, Bird was his own teacher. Free in the exercise of his thoughts, he was perfectly original. His works are his own both in conception and execution; he followed no model, he had no master, nature was his mistress. She appears to have done almost everything for him; study did but little, and yet his pictures never failed to please the eye of the connoisseur, and to stir the sympathies and affections of all who saw them. He was most successful, perhaps, in that style of art called 'low life;' but his pictures are entirely free from anything gross or offensive, whilst they are full of genuine humour, good sense, fine feeling, sentiment and moral tendency. Happy had it been for Bird and his family had he always continued to exercise his powers upon such subjects, but in the latter part of his life he was induced to leave them and to give himself up to some undertakings which produced only weariness, disappointment and disgust, and helped to shorten a life not less adorned by the social virtues than honoured and distinguished by the brightest talents.<sup>2</sup>

"And Bird, poor Bird, when will regret  
E'er cease, that such a star is set?"<sup>3</sup>

"BOWDICH, THOMAS EDWARD, the enterprising African traveller and author, was born in Bristol, in the month of June, 1793. He received the rudiments of his education at the Grammar school, from whence he was removed to a celebrated classical academy at Corsham, in Wiltshire, and ultimately to Oxford. . . Having a near relation in a high official post on the Gold Coast of Africa, he obtained permission to join him at that station. It was there that the germ of the spirit of enterprise within him took a deeper root, and an embassy being at this period in contemplation, to conciliate the King of Ashantee and to propitiate an extension of commerce, Mr. Bowdich solicited an appointment, and with some difficulty (owing to the circumstance of his being married) obtained it. Never was intrepidity more required, or nobly exhibited, than on the conducting of this mission; the whole proceedings have been detailed by Mr. Bowdich with talent and ability, only equalled by the well-directed zeal and the incomparable prudence which distinguished his services on this interesting occasion. His volume on the *Mission to Ashantee* will constitute an imperishable monument of intelligence, ardour and integrity. In proof of the absence of all selfishness in the composition of this gifted and faithful envoy, it deserves to be recorded

<sup>1</sup> Pryce, 139-40.

<sup>2</sup> Rhymes, Latin and English, Rev. J. Eagles, 157-8. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 88.

<sup>1</sup> Pryce, 362-3.

that, having once been detained as an hostage by those who were not over scrupulous in their means of acquiring an advantage, he requested those whose interests he represented not to permit the consideration of *his* safety or *his* life to interfere with the objects for which the negotiation was contending.

"His mission having succeeded, he returned to Europe, and here we must pause for a moment to lament that an unhappy difference with the African company seemed for an instant to throw a gloom over the prospects of this able traveller and to threaten the further discoveries of this undaunted spirit. In justice to his memory, it must be observed that his detection and exposure of the abuses of this association has since led to its dissolution." Declining an offer of the French Government, he made a second journey on his own responsibility, to explore parts of Africa untrodden by the feet of Europeans. "By unceasing exposure in making a survey of the river Gambia he contracted a fever, which was increased by his constant practice of taking nightly observations, and [in 1824] he perished a martyr to his love of science in the thirty-first year of his age. . . . He was a member of many learned societies at home and abroad. His published works are the *Mission to Ashantee*; *An Analysis of the Natural Classification of the Mammalia*; *An Introduction to the Ornithology of Cuvier*; *Elements of Conchology*; *A Mathematical Investigation with Formule for calculating Lunar Eclipses, &c., &c.*"<sup>1</sup>

BRANWHITE, NATHAN, artist, was born at Lavenham in 1775. He came to Bristol in 1819 to attend a Wesleyan conference, in order to paint the portraits of the ministers. He settled in the city, and died in his eighty-second year, on the 18th of March, 1857.

"Then you have Branwhite, who can paint  
You all from sinner up to saint.  
Go sit, he'll hit you to a hair . . .  
. . . 'tis Branwhite's brush  
Can make immortal smile and blush."<sup>2</sup>

BREILLAT, JOHN, gas engineer, was born in 1770. In 1811, when he was a dyer in Broadmead, he lit up his shop windows with gas made by himself upon the premises; he also gave lectures on the manufacture and properties of different gases, in which he asserted, amidst much ridicule, "that the time was not far distant when coal gas would be used generally for the purpose of illumination." Shortly afterwards he erected a few lamps in one of the streets of the city, which earned for him the nickname "Brilliant Breillat," and the taunt that "he brought his fire from h—l." In connection with other far-seeing individuals, he aided in the formation of the Bristol Coal Gas company, by means of which Bristol became the second city in the kingdom that was lit with gas. (The Act of Incorporation was not, however, obtained by the company until 1819.) Mr. Breillat became the engineer; he died at the Gas works in 1856, in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

BRODERIP, JOHN, F.R.S., scientist and author, was for some years the joint secretary with Sir Roderick Murchison of the Geological society, London; he was born in Prince street, Bristol, on the 21st November, 1789, and died February 27th, 1859.

BUTLER, JOSEPH H., Quaker, poet, was born in Bristol, 1805. He was a mechanic. Afflicted in health, he went to America, where he settled at Troy, New York. His fugitive poems in that country were collected and published under the title of *Wild Flowers of Poesy*, for which the bishop of Pennsylvania wrote the introduction. Returning to his native land in a disabled state, Sir John Kerle Haberfield (then mayor) and other friends enabled Butler, in 1849, to publish *Sketches by the Wayside*. He returned to Troy, where he died October 3rd, 1854.

CARPENTER, Rev. LANT, LL.D., preacher and theologian, was

<sup>1</sup> Pryce, 537-8.

<sup>2</sup> Rhymes, Latin and English, Rev. J. Eagles, 91.

born in Kidderminster in 1780. From 1817 to 1840 he was one of the ministers of Lewins' mead chapel; his theological writings are numerous. He died at sea in 1840.

CARPENTER, MARY, daughter of the preceding, was born at Exeter, April 3rd, 1807. Her pity for the destitute and forsaken led to the establishment of a ragged school in Bristol in 1846; and in 1853, in connection with Matthew Davenport Hill, recorder of Birmingham and commissioner of bankruptcy, Bristol, and other friends, a reformatory was planned at Kingswood for boys and girls, which was opened in 1854. Difficulties arose from its mixed character which induced Lady Noel Byron to purchase the Red Lodge, which she let at a low rental to Miss Carpenter. The girls were removed thither from Kingswood, and Miss Carpenter undertook the entire management. As the reformatories could only receive children who had been convicted of crime, and who had been sentenced, Miss Carpenter felt the desirability of some action which should prevent the street arab from falling into the criminal class. She and her friends devised, and were mainly instrumental in obtaining, the Industrial Schools' Act, under which, in 1857, a school for boys was established in Bristol; and in the autumn of that year, principally through her exertions, a girls' industrial



Mary Carpenter.

school was also established. Under Forster's Act all grants were withdrawn from ragged schools; Miss Carpenter therefore changed her ragged into a day (feeding) industrial school, on which footing it has continued since 1872 in successful operation. In 1864 she built a workman's hall in front of the ragged school premises; the same year she published *Our Convicts*, a work in two vols., and actively coalesced with the select band of prison reformers, visiting during the next few years the United States and Canada, in order to increase her knowledge on subjects connected with imprisonment.

Another chosen field of Mary Carpenter's activity was our Indian empire. In 1833 she became a hearty friend of Rajah Rammohun Roy, and from that date arose her interest in the condition of the native races. Desirous of personal investigation, she, in 1866, proceeded to India, and having been furnished with credentials from the home government, was received by the authorities in the three presidencies and by the native community with great respect and consideration. On her return she published *Six Months in India*. Three times since that date she re-visited India, striving to remove the opposition which was

manifested to the education of her sex, and was so far successful in her efforts as to lay the foundation of a system of female education that requires only time to make it a national blessing. She had also the high gratification of seeing a Bill carried for the establishment of reformatories and industrial schools throughout our Indian empire. She distinguished herself, moreover, in questions of social science, not so much by her advocacy of woman's rights, as by her practical demonstration of *woman's* capabilities. In October, 1872, she, on the invitation of the late Princess Alice, attended a congress held at Darmstadt on the subject of "Women's work." In the April preceding her decease she delivered a course of six lectures on India, at the Bristol Philosophical and Literary Institution. She died during the night of June 14th, 1877, and was buried in Arno's Vale cemetery on the 19th. A handsome monumental tablet has been erected to her memory in the north transept of the Cathedral.

CATCOTT, Rev. ALEXANDER C., author and geologist, born in Bristol, a good poet, profound linguist, well skilled in the Hebrew and the Scripture philosophy, and judicious schoolmaster. He was subsequently vicar of Temple, and author of an ingenious treatise on the Deluge. He left two cabinets containing fossils and minerals, with a few coins and books, to the City library.

CATCOTT, Rev. ALEXANDER STOPFORD, father of the preceding, was vicar of St. Stephen's and master of Bristol Grammar School.

CHATTERTON, THOMAS, is referred to in Vols. II., p. 211, and III., p. 202.

CHILD, WILLIAM, doctor of music, a native of Bristol, was educated in music under Elway Bevin, organist of the cathedral of that city. In the year 1631, being then of Christ church college, Oxford, he took his degree of bachelor in that university; and in 1636 was appointed one of the organists of the chapel of St. George, at Windsor, in the room of Dr. John Mundy, and soon after, one of the organists of the royal chapel at Whitehall. After the Restoration he was appointed to the office of chanter in the king's chapel, and director of the private music to Charles II. On the thirteenth day of July, 1663, he obtained his degree in St. Mary's church, Oxon. He died in the year 1696, having attained the age of ninety years.<sup>1</sup>

COLERIDGE, S. T., was born at Ottery St. Mary on October 21st, 1772. His erratic career in early life has been graphically told by Cottle and others, but inasmuch as he began his literary career in this city, we claim to place his name amongst our eminent men. In 1794 he came to Bristol to meet three friends with whom he had planned to emigrate to the banks of the Susquehanna, there to form a "Pantisocracy," or scheme of universal brotherhood. It was to consist of twelve families; the minimum sum required was £2,000, but each man's quota was not "to be settled with the littleness of arithmetical accuracy." Coleridge and two of his friends and partners in the scheme, Southey and Burnett, lodged together, "up one pair of stairs," at 48 College street, Bristol, and when their bill for eleven pounds was presented, they could only muster seven pounds between the three. Both he and Southey delivered a course of lectures during the summer—Coleridge on "Political, Moral and Theological Subjects," Southey on "History"; these were delivered at different rooms in the city—the "Plume of Feathers," Wine street, and the Assembly Coffee house, on the Quay, being amongst them. But such was Coleridge's absence of mind, or so little importance did he attach to his engagements, that he scrupled not, for a whim or through self-indulgence, to disappoint repeatedly his waiting audience by absenting himself on the appointed night. Another partner in the "Pantisocracy" was Robert Lovell, who had married a Miss Fricker, one of three sisters. Coleridge falling in love with Sarah Fricker, alas! for

<sup>1</sup> Epitomised from Pryce, 521.

their scheme of human perfectibility. Lovell objected to Coleridge as a brother-in-law whilst he remained penniless, upon which they quarrelled; nevertheless, Coleridge, on October 4th, 1795, married the lady, and settled for awhile in a cottage at Clevedon. They soon, however, returned to Bristol, and took up their residence in some pent-up rooms on Redcliff hill, where he wrote his first volume of poems, on February 22nd, 1796, for which Joseph Cottle gave him thirty guineas. Ever planning and ever procrastinating, the first of his many schemes that next came to the birth was a miscellany, called *The Watchman*, which was to be a review, newspaper and annual register, to be published every eighth day, each part to consist of thirty-two pages. Four hundred subscribers were obtained in Bristol, and Coleridge visited the great towns and the metropolis to increase their number. His eloquence electrified and won for him a large number of subscribers, but the publication was ineffably dull, and it died at its tenth number. A Socinian in his religious views, he next attempted the pulpit, and made his *début* at Bath. It was an utter failure; seventeen persons came to the second service, and before the sermon was half over, one after another, three of the principal members of the church left their seats and the building. During his midland journey, he had made the acquaintance of Charles Lloyd, son of a banker in Birmingham, who, fascinated by Coleridge's conversation, proposed to come to Bristol and to be domesticated with him. This occasioned a removal from Redcliff hill to a larger house on Kingsdown, where his son, Hartley, was born. But ere the year 1796 was ended, tempted by his friend Poole, of Nether Stowey, and by the offer of a house for seven pounds per annum, the two friends removed to that village. In 1798, when on a visit to Shrewsbury with a view of becoming minister of the Socinian church in that town, Coleridge made the acquaintance of Thomas and Josiah Wedgwood. Josiah gave him £100 not to enter the ministry, and as long as he held Unitarian opinions the brothers handsomely allowed him £150 per annum. In September, in company with Wordsworth, Coleridge visited Germany, and on his return, he, together with Joseph Cottle, joined Wordsworth on a visit to the Lake district. His health failing, he next went to Malta as secretary to the governor of the island, at a salary of £800 per annum; this he gave up within a year. On his return to England he started a periodical, *The Friend*, which had no better success than *The Watchman*. His friend De Quincey then gave him £500; and as a contributor to the *Morning Post and Courier* he struggled on until 1816, at which time he placed himself under the care of Mr. Gillman, a surgeon of Highgate, in order if possible to be cured of his propensity for opium, of which drug he took as much as two quarts per week in the shape of laudanum—indeed, on one occasion he took a quart within twenty-four hours. There he remained until his death, July 25th, 1834. In monologue, Coleridge has never been excelled; as a thinker he takes high rank; but his fame as a poet will outlive all other of his gifts.

COTTLE, AMOS, the elder brother of Joseph by four years, published, in 1797, a volume of Icelandic poetry, *The Edda of Saemund*. He was a graduate of Magdalene college, Cambridge. His brother, in the fourth edition of *The Malvern Hills*, republished several of the minor pieces of Amos. He died in the year 1800. To furbish up a rhyme, Canning, in the *Anti-Jacobin*, made (if he had seen the book) a wilful mistake when he wrote—

"And Cottle, not he that *Alfred* made famous,  
But Joseph, of Bristol, the brother of Amos."

Joseph Cottle's name as the author is on the title-page of *Alfred*.

COTTLE, JOSEPH, was born in Bristol in 1769. He carried on a bookselling business, first on Bristol bridge and afterwards at the corner of High and Corn streets; he retired in 1798. He was

the intimate friend of Southey, Coleridge and Wordsworth, and was, indeed, the medium of introducing them to the knowledge of the British public. To Southey he gave fifty guineas and fifty copies of the book for his *Joan of Arc*. His poetical works are *Alfred*, an heroic poem, *Fall of Cambria*, *The Messiah*, *The Malvern Hills*, *John the Baptist*, and *Sir Malcolm and Ella*, &c., &c. He resided at 1 Carlton place, Bedminster, until he built Firfield house, Knowle, where he died, June 7th, 1853, aged eighty-four. Lord Byron savagely attacks Cottle in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, but confounds him with his brother Amos.

DALLAWAY, Rev. JAMES, M.A. and F.R.S., antiquary and man of letters, was born in St. Philips', Bristol, in 1763. He died, in 1834, at Leatherhead, of which parish he was vicar.

DAVY, Sir HUMPHREY, bart., chemist, was a poor Cornish lad, who began his successful career in Bristol. He resided at 3 Rodney place with Dr. Beddoes. He died at Geneva, in 1829.

DRAPER, Sir WILLIAM, was a distinguished military man who met "Junius" with his own weapons, but with little success. He built Manilla hall, Clifton, which he named after the scene of his chief victory, and erected in front thereof an obelisk and a cenotaph in memory of his companions in arms. He died at Bath, in 1787.

EAGLES, Rev. JOHN, M.A., was born in Bristol in 1784; educated at the school of Rev. S. Seyer, in Bristol, until thirteen years of age, he then was placed at Winchester, after which he was entered at Wadham college, Oxford, where he took his degree and entered the church. For thirteen years he was curate of Halberton, for the last five of which he had for his rector the Rev. Sydney Smith. He then removed to the curacy of Winford, but, in 1841, he relinquished clerical duty for more congenial artistic and literary occupation. He continued to reside in his native city until his death. He was a man of high literary and artistic culture. His charming papers in *Blackwood*, entitled *The Sketcher*; and *Rhymes in Latin and English by the Man in the Moon*, originally published in *Felix Farley's Journal*, will be familiar to many Bristolians. As a painter he was thoroughly English in his style, and his landscapes charm by their vigour, truth and excellence. He died at 10 King's parade, November 9th, 1855. His father, Thomas Eagles, was, we believe, the author of *Llewellyn Penrose*, a charming romance in the style of *Robinson Crusoe*.

EATON, CHARLES, was the son of George Eaton, a wholesale ironmonger of Bristol. He was born in this city in 1792. With his brother George he succeeded his father in business, but, in 1835, the brothers retired from trade. Members of the Society of Friends, the Eatons were strenuous labourers in the causes of negro emancipation, peace, and temperance. In 1836 Charles became the editor of the *Bristol Temperance Herald*. He gave prizes of £100 each for the best essays on "Juvenile Depravity," and "The Physiological Effects of Alcoholic Liquors." These were awarded to the Rev. H. Worsley, M.A., and to Dr. W. B. Carpenter. Towards the Bristol General hospital, Charles contributed £6,500, and at his death he bequeathed to it a further sum of £3,500, making a total of £10,000. He died May 26th, 1858, at his house on Redcliff parade.

ELTON, Sir CHARLES ABRAHAM, bart., was born in Bristol, in 1778. He died at Bath, June 1st, 1853, aged seventy-five. The Eltons were a notable Whig family in Bristol during the 18th century. Abraham was mayor in 1710, and M.P. for the city. He was created a baronet on the 31st October, 1717, and at his death was succeeded by his eldest son, Abraham, who was member for Taunton, and afterwards for the city of Bristol, until his decease in 1742. He was succeeded by his eldest son, also Abraham, the third of the name, who dying unmarried, the title devolved upon his brother, Sir Abraham Isaac; he died in 1790,

and was succeeded by his eldest son, the Rev. Abraham Elton, who, dying in 1842, was succeeded by Sir Charles, the subject of this notice. Sir Charles was an elegant scholar. He published *A Translation of Hesiod, Specimens of the Classic Poets, from Homer to Tryphiodorus*, in English, 1825. Henry Hallam was his brother-in-law, and he enjoyed the friendship of Charles Lamb, Julius Hare, De Quincey and Barry Cornwall. He was a frequent contributor to the *London Magazine*. His touching poem, *The Brothers*, describes the fate of his two beloved sons, who were drowned whilst bathing at Birnbeck island, Weston-super-Mare, on the 20th September, 1829. He married Sarah, daughter of Joseph Smith, esq., of Bristol, by whom he had a numerous family. Whilst absent on the Continent, his friend, the Rev. John Eagles, thus refers to him in an amusing poem:—

"As Horace says, 'Around what thyme,'  
About what flowery bank of rhyme,  
A busy bee on busy wing  
Does Elton take his wandering?"

I love thee, Elton, and this pen—  
For thou to me art 'man of men'—  
Shall tell thy city half thy worth,  
And bid it glory in thy birth."<sup>1</sup>

Sir Arthur Hallam Elton succeeded him, being the seventh baronet.

ESTLIN, JOHN PRIOR, LL.D., a voluminous author, was for forty-six years one of the ministers of Lewin's mead chapel, and the proprietor of a celebrated classical school on St. Michael's hill; he died in 1817.

EVANS, Rev. JOHN, author, amongst other publications, continued in a second volume Corry's *History of Bristol*; he died in 1832.

EVANS, JOHN, printer, author of *A Chronological Outline of the History of Bristol*, was a native of Bristol and a musical amateur. Whilst entering the Brunswick Theatre, London, on business, on February 28th, 1828, the building fell and he perished in the ruins, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

FOSTER, Rev. JOHN, the essayist, was born in Yorkshire, in 1770. Educated at the Baptist academy, Bristol, he accepted the ministry of the Baptist chapel at Downend, and died at Stapleton, October 15th, 1843. He was buried in the Broadmead burying ground, Redecross street.

FOX, E. L., M.D., born at Falmouth, April 26th, 1761, was a physician of eminence, not only for his special skill in the treatment of mental disease, but also for the sterling uprightness and fearlessness of character which were evinced by him on several occasions. His father, who was a Quaker, lived at Falmouth; he had two partners in a shipping business, who insisted on taking out "letters of marque" for all their ships during the war which followed on the French Revolution. They were very successful, and amongst other prizes they captured a great quantity of old plate belonging to the French noblesse who were fleeing out of France. When Napoleon was at Elba and Louis XVIII. was restored, Mr. Fox desired to restore his share of the booty, which amounted to many thousands of pounds. He sent Dr. Edward Long Fox to Paris to seek out, if possible, the owners, failing which, to restore it to the French Government. The king received the young Quaker most cordially, though the courtiers jeered at his costume. Not being able to discover the owners of the property, Louis asked the young man what he was to do with it. "Sire, build with it an hospital for the relief of sufferers by the war." The property was at once made over for that purpose, but ere the hospital could be built, Napoleon escaped from Elba, and during the hundred days the money was absorbed and lost. The king conferred a strange gift on the Quaker, viz., the addition of a banner and

<sup>1</sup> Rhymes, Latin and English, Rev. J. Eagles, 77.

*fleur-de-lys* to his crest. Dr. Fox's conduct during the Bristol bridge riots, we have elsewhere alluded to; he died May 2nd, 1835, aged seventy-four.

"Death knocks at all our doors, they say,  
But not exactly the same way ;

\* \* \* \* \*  
And should friend Fox, a man of skill,  
Be called in, where death means to kill  
Some sinner with gout, stone, or phthisic,  
Ere this consummate man of physic  
(His chariot standing at the door)  
Can touch the step, death stalks before."<sup>1</sup>

GRINFIELD, THOMAS, of Clifton, a graduate of Trinity college, Cambridge, published, in 1815, a volume of epistles and miscellaneous poems. He died April 8th, 1870. He was a friend of Sir Walter Scott, Southey, Wilberforce and Barham.

HALL, REV. ROBERT, was born at Arnsby, Leicestershire, May 2nd, 1764. He was educated at the Baptist academy, which was at that time in North street, Bristol. When seventeen years of age he was sent to King's college, Aberdeen. In 1783 he became the assistant of Dr. Caleb Evans, both in the Baptist academy and in the church of Broadmead. During his residence his reason became impaired, and on his recovery he found that his venerable friend and colleague, Dr. Evans, was dead, and his place was occupied by Dr. Ryland. At this juncture Mr. Hall received, and accepted, an invitation to succeed the Rev. Robert Robinson as pastor of the Baptist church at Cambridge. Here he attained celebrity as a preacher, and the most distinguished men of the age were to be found whenever opportunity served amongst his hearers. In 1803 he had a return of his malady. From Cambridge he removed to Leicester, and from thence, in 1825, he returned to Bristol, as the successor of Dr. Ryland, at Broadmead. Mr. Hall was on principle a Nonconformist, and he resolutely declined an offered preferment in the Church of England. He died February 21st, 1831, aged sixty-seven, at his residence, Ashley place, after a life of great physical as well as occasional mental suffering. His remains were interred in the same vault as those of his venerable predecessor in the Baptist burying ground; but in December, 1853, they were removed to Arno's Vale cemetery, where a handsome tomb, with a medallion portrait in *alto-relievo*, was erected to his memory.

HABERFIELD, JOHN KERLE, solicitor, knighted in 1850. He was six times mayor of Bristol, and in 1837 refused to take the salary, £400; he died December 27th, 1857, aged seventy-two.

HALLAM, HENRY, the historian, was the son of Dr. Hallam, dean of Bristol. He was born in 1778, three years before his father's accession to the deanery. He was a pupil at the Bristol Grammar school, thence he went to Eton, and graduated at Christ church, Oxford. He married Julia, the daughter of the Rev. Abraham Elton, of Clevedon court, baronet. His historical and other works are of the highest character. He died January 22nd, 1859, and was buried at Old Clevedon church.

HARRIS, JOHN, D.D., author of *Mammon, The Great Commission*, &c., and principal of New college, London, was an apprentice to Mr. Cox, a tailor in Milk street. He was born March 8th, 1802, and died December 21st, 1856.

HEYWOOD, WILLIAM, D.D., "was a native of the city of Bristol, became successively scholar and fellow of St. John's college in Oxford; after that, chaplain to Archbishop Laud, as also to his majesty, and about the year 1636 D.D., and vicar of St. Giles' in the Fields, London. On the 28th of September, 1638, he had a prebend in the collegiate church of Westminster conferred on him."<sup>2</sup> Being sequestered by the Parliament, in

<sup>1</sup> Rhymes, Latin and English, Rev. J. Eagles, 98. <sup>2</sup> Pryce, 522.

January, 1643, he suffered imprisonment and was reduced to great want. At the Restoration he was repossessed of his preferments, and died in July, 1663.

HOLMES, GEORGE, was an artist, who devoted the greater portion of his life to the profession of a drawing master, in which he was assisted by his son. He published sketches of the southern counties of Ireland, taken in 1797.

KING, JOHN, an historical and portrait painter, for many years resident in this city, is best known by the altar-pieces of St. Thomas' church and the Mayor's chapel. He died at Dartmouth, July 12th, 1846.

"The Bristol school! How rose it there?  
Let Bird, Gold, Eden, King declare;  
Their modest worth is dumb—forbear."<sup>1</sup>

KINGTON, JOHN BARNETT, offers to young men a fine example of the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties of no ordinary character. A Bristol boy, born and reared in indigence and obscurity, and apprenticed to a tinman, his love of literature and passion for books led him to add to the little shop which he opened at 9 Bath street a second-hand book trade. Here he commenced to dabble with his pen. Two Bristol merchants (Mr. Harman Visger and Mr. Thomas Davis) noticed and helped him. He next found employment on the *Bristol Mercury*. Kind friends revised for him a volume of poetry. Then he became secretary to the Liberal Registration Association. He next started a newspaper—*The Bristol Advocate*. This, although it failed, brought him into notice, and won for him the valuable friendship of Thomas Babington Macaulay, to whom in after years he dedicated his volume of poems—*Nibley Green*. He was the author, also, of *Letters of a Burgess on the Trade of Bristol*. Through the kindly help of friends, he was finally appointed editor of the *Weekly Chronicle*, a London paper. He educated himself in the usual branches of a liberal profession, studied the law, became a member of the Inns of Court, and in due time was called to the bar. During this struggle Kington was a martyr to bronchitis; his respiration was painfully imperfect, and he suffered from disease of the heart. Added to this, he contracted an early marriage with a sickly woman, who, after bearing him six children, died of consumption, leaving all these little ones to his care. Nevertheless, through these drawbacks he fought his way from being a tinker's boy to the position of barrister-at-law. He died January 8th, 1848.

LAWRENCE, SIR THOMAS, president of the Royal academy, was born at 6 Redcross street, Bristol, on May 4th, 1769. His father for a while kept the "White Lion" inn, Broad street, but afterwards removed to the "Bear" inn, Devises. Thomas gave indications of his genius at a very early age, and by the time he reached twelve had become famous. In 1787 he established himself in London; in 1792 he became portrait painter to the king and to the Dilettante society. On the death of Benjamin West, Lawrence was selected to succeed him as president of the Royal academy. He died January 7th, 1830, and was buried in St. Paul's cathedral.

"Bristol has lent full many a name  
To fill th' 'obstreperous trump of fame,'  
Sir Thomas Lawrence, President  
Of the R.A.'s, pre-eminent;  
In genius vigorous, yet refin'd,  
Noble in art, yet more in mind."<sup>2</sup>

LONGMAN, THOMAS, the founder of the publishing house of Longmans and Co., was born in Bristol, in 1699. His great-grandfather, Thomas, was, in 1658, a soap-boiler, in which business he was succeeded by his son, Ezekiel. The father of the publisher is described in our annals as a gentleman.

<sup>1</sup> Rhymes, Latin and English, Rev. J. Eagles, 87. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 88.

LOVELL, ROBERT, the Quaker poet, was the son of a pin manufacturer who lived in Old Market street and afterwards in Castle green. He married Miss Fricker, and his friends, Southey and Coleridge, by marriage became his brothers-in-law. He was one of the promoters of the "Pantisocracy," and he it was who introduced the poets to Cottle the publisher. He died in 1796, having on a business journey been taken with fever at Salisbury; in his eagerness to reach his family he travelled when he ought to have lain by, reached his home and died. Under the *nom de plume* of Moschus, he, in conjunction with Southey, published a small 12mo. volume of poems. His sarcastic powers were considerable; his satire on Bristol shows how mistaken he was in himself as an ensample of human perfectibility. His wife survived him sixty-seven years, dying at the age of ninety-one at the residence of her niece, Kate Southey, the daughter of the poet. The following is an extract from *Bristol: A Satire*—1794:—

Low in a drear and gloomy vale immured,  
By mud cemented and by smoke obscured,  
A city stands, and Bristol is its name,  
By *trade* and *dulness* consecrate to fame,  
That o'er her sons in form of Plutus reigns,  
And binds their grovelling hearts in golden chains  
This to their brain a leaden mask imparts,  
And makes their *heads* as callous as their hearts.  
In mingled heaps here mud and misery lie,  
Here vice and folly rear their standard high;  
Here sweating dustman, sweating dustman meets,  
But all their efforts ne'er can cleanse their streets.

Trade, mighty trade, here holds resistless sway,  
And drives the nobler cares of *mind* away.

Discordant sounds compose the Babel hum;  
'Tis 'How goes sugar?' 'What's the price of rum?'  
'What ships arrived?' and 'How are stocks to-day?'  
'Who's dead?' 'Who's broken?' and 'Who's run away?'

One only care the citizens implore—  
Oh, "save their *pockets*," and they ask no more;  
Grant but this boon, they fear no other ill;  
Oppress them, starve them, murder, if you will,  
Still shall they kneel submissive, kiss the rod,  
And thank the hand that thus protects their god."

LUDLOW, Mr. Serjeant, commissioner of the court of Bankruptcy, and formerly town clerk of the city of Bristol until the passing of the Municipal Reform Bill, in 1835. The learned gentleman died March 18th, 1851.

MACAULAY, ZACHARY, born in 1768, married, in 1798, Selina Mills, one of two sisters of Mr. John Mills. These ladies took the school at 10 Park street, in 1793, of Hannah More, when she retired from scholastic duties. Thomas Babington Macaulay (Baron Macaulay) was the child of the above-named Selina. Zachary Macaulay had lived in the West Indies, and afterwards held a Government appointment at Sierra Leone; he had thus become conversant with the iniquitous slave trade, and was able to render efficient help to his warm friends, Clarkson and Wilberforce, in the emancipation of the negroes. He died in 1859.

MORE, HANNAH, was born at Stapleton, February, 1745. Her parents had been fellow-domestics at Stoke house, and on their marriage Jacob More was appointed master of Fishponds charity school, with a salary of £30 per annum. Here five daughters and a son were born. More subsequently removed to Stony hill, Bristol, where he opened a school, and his daughters also opened one for day scholars in Trinity street. Here Hannah began to write poetry, and by excellent natural abilities and a facile pen she soon won her way into the esteem of the higher class and the religious world. By aid of wealthy friends thus made, the sisters were enabled to open a boarding school at 10 Park street. In 1773, when eighteen years of age, she pub-

lished her pastoral drama, *The Search after Happiness*; *The Inflexible Captive*, *Percy*, *The Fatal Falsehood*, tragedies, and other poems followed. In 1780 her views changed, and she declined to write for the stage. All her subsequent works are of a moral or religious character, and by her writings she realised above £30,000. In 1793 she retired from the school at Park street to Barley wood, Wrington. In 1828 she returned to Clifton, and died there on September 7th, 1833, leaving bequests to charitable objects to the amount of £10,000. Mrs. More's style is stiff and unimaginative. She was, we think, overrated; at all events, in the present age she would not have reached the pre-eminence she obtained. The education of T. B. Macaulay, whose father was her intimate friend, had commenced under her care. Knowing her intimately, he was pressed to write her life, but declined. There was no community between her style of thought and that of the brilliant essayist.

PEARSALL, ROBERT LUCAS, musical genius, one of the earliest and most devoted members of the Bristol Madrigal society (established 1836), to which body he presented some of his finest madrigals. He died August 5th, 1856.

PORTER, ANNA MARIA, author of *The Hungarian Brothers*, born December, 1780, died at Montpelier, Bristol, June 21st, 1832.

PORTER, Dr. W. O., an eminent physician, died at his residence, 29 Portland square, Bristol, August 15th, 1850, aged



Stapleton Church.

seventy-six. He was the author of a work on typhus fever (1809), *Medical Science and Ethics* (1837), and of that charming book, *Sir Edward Seaward's Narrative*, which was published through the agency of his sister, Jane Porter. He thought the world would not deem a work of fiction to be suitable to his profession.

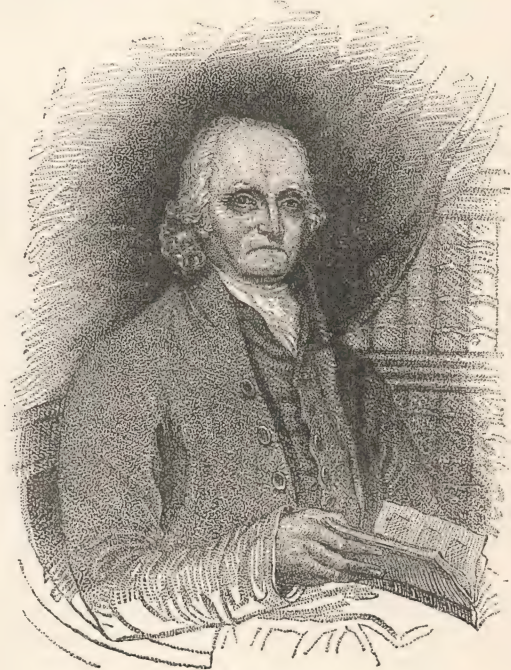
PORTER, JANE, author of *The Scottish Chiefs*, was born in Durham, in 1776. For many years she resided at 29 Portland square, Bristol, where she died May 24th, 1850, aged seventy-four.

POWELL, ANNE, a native of Bristol, in 1821 published by subscription a small volume of poems, entitled *Clifton, Caractacus, Boadicea*, and other pieces.

PRICHARD, JAMES COWLES, M.D., F.R.S., was born at Ross, in 1786. He was a member of the Society of Friends, and his education was altogether private. He had a great facility for acquiring languages, and he delighted, when visiting in Bristol, to talk to foreign sailors in their own tongue. Accosting a Greek sailor one day in Romaic, the man was so pleased that he caught the boy in his arms and kissed him heartily. Selecting medicine as his profession, Prichard was placed with Dr. Pole, of Bristol, whose anatomical preparations were held in great repute. From Bristol he went to Staines, in order to learn medical pharmacy under Dr. Pope and Mr. Tothill, and thence to St. Thomas' hospital, London, where he worked hard in the Anatomical school, after which he spent three years in hard study at Edinburgh, having for fellow-students Arnould, Estlin and Hancock, who continued through life his intimate friends. Graduating at Edinburgh, he then was entered at Trinity college, Cambridge, where he joined the Church of England; after which he entered at St. John's, Oxford, but finding the society uncongenial, he took his name off the books and became a gentleman commoner of Trinity. His stay here was short. In 1810 he returned to Bristol, beginning his career as physician to St. Peter's hospital in 1812. To this appointment the public owes his work on *Nervous Diseases*; also that on *Insanity*. In 1813 he published *Researches into the Physical History of Man*, 2 vols., 8vo. In 1816 he became physician to the Bristol infirmary. He took an active part in founding the Bristol Literary and Philosophical institution. In 1845, being appointed one of her majesty's commissioners in lunacy, he removed to London. He was elected a fellow of the Royal society, corresponding member of the Royal institute of France and of the French academy of medicine; he was an honorary member of most of the learned societies of the Continent and America. In 1835 the university of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of doctor of medicine by diploma, the highest honour the university can bestow. Devoted to his profession, he fell ill at Salisbury while at work, was removed to his house in Woburn place, London, where he died December 23rd, 1848. Ethnology, when Prichard entered upon its study, was an almost uncultivated field. Camper had, indeed, begun a classification of races according to the facial angle, and Blumenbach was founding the science, but this was unknown to Prichard. Whilst the *Researches* were undergoing their final development (five editions were published up to 1847), the doctor found time to produce a volume on the *Natural History of Man*. This great work alone would suffice to establish his fame as a thinker and writer. In 1819 he published his treatise on *Egyptian Mythology*. He was the author, also, of *The Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations*. In the *Cyclopædia of Practical Medicine* he contributed the articles on delirium, hypochondriasis, insanity, somnambulism, animal magnetism, soundness and unsoundness of mind and temperament. Dr. Prichard was in stature below the middle height and of slight make, head good, forehead broad and prominent, voice weak, but clear and distinct, manner retiring, thoughtful, simple and unaffected.

PURDY, VICTORY, the Kingswood collier, was born in Bristol in 1747. This singular name was given to him from the following

circumstance. His father, one of the earliest followers of John Wesley, was to preach at a village near Bristol; a mob collected, assailed him with missiles, and threatened to duck him in the horse-pond, but the good man persevered, and finally got them to listen to his sermon. When he got home he found a son was born to him. "Then," said he, "he shall be called 'Victory,' for this day the Lord hath given me the victory." From the age of five years Victory gave himself to God and His service. He preached his first sermon in 1771, and Mr. Wesley sent him on circuit as an itinerant preacher; but he soon returned, having determined to labour only as a volunteer. He worked at a colliery, hence his appellation; there he learned the trade of a cooper. He afterwards worked as day labourer in a stone-quarry, qualifying himself in over hours for a clerk's situation, which he obtained and filled for many years under the steward of the Duke of Beaufort, who would have made him overseer of his collieries, but Purdy would not work on the Sunday, even when needful. He lived on and laboured until June 28th, 1822, having preached 3,350 sermons, and walked 27,639 miles to deliver them, besides composing 1,853 hymns, which fill a good-sized 8vo. volume.



Richard Reynolds.

REYNOLDS, RICHARD, philanthropist, born at 17 Corn street, November, 1735, died at Cheltenham, September 10th, 1816, in his eighty-first year. He was the head of the Coalbrookdale iron works until he retired and settled in his native city. During his life he gave away not less than £200,000. In his latter years his donations averaged £10,000 per annum; to one institution he gave £20,000; he also bought two estates in Monmouthshire which he settled on trust for the benefit of certain charities in Bristol. He founded the Samaritan and other societies. The "Reynolds Commemoration Society" was, after his death, founded in his honour.

"Hence no vain pomp, his glory to prolong,  
No airy immortality of song,  
No sculptured imagery of bronze or stone,  
To make his lineaments for ever known,  
Reynolds requires; . . .  
. . . . born to stand  
A prince among the worthies of the land."—J. Montgomery.

ROBINSON, MARY, *née* Darby, was born November 27th, 1758, at the Minster house, College green, next to the old gateway. Her whole life is an unfortunate romance, and those who blame her failings would do well to consider the circumstances in which she was placed before they condemn her. The family was Irish, but the grandfather of Mr. Darby inheriting an estate in Ireland, took with it the above name instead of the ancestral one, McDermott. Miss Mary Darby was a pupil of Hannah More and her sisters; at six years of age she was a precocious and very beautiful child. When she was nine, her father embarked his whole fortune in a scheme for whale fishing, by Esquimaux, on the coast of Labrador, and he was absent some years on that inhospitable shore, where he lost all his fortune. Meanwhile he had placed his daughter at school, at Chelsea, with Meriball Lorrington, a masculine woman of great and varied attainments, but a confirmed drunkard; a ruinous school for a forward, precocious girl, who was actually sought in marriage by a captain of the British navy when only thirteen years of age; he said he would wait for her, but his ship foundered at sea and he perished. Darby was as proud as he was imprudent, and his wife and children were at this time in pecuniary distress. When Mary Darby was fifteen years and three months old, she was married to Mr. Robinson, a law student of Lincoln's Inn, a man without means or morals, who had succeeded in persuading her mother that he had a large estate and great expectations from a rich uncle. This was untrue; Robinson had no money; the rich uncle, whom they went to see in Wales when Mary's first child was a few days old, told her to "strap it to her back and beg for it, for Tom would die in gaol." In fact, on his journey back from this Welsh uncle, Robinson was arrested for debt and lay in gaol for fifteen months. Then the Duchess of Devonshire patronised Mrs. Robinson, and she, becoming the pupil of Garrick, made her *début* at Drury lane theatre as Juliet, and for three years took the leading parts in tragedy. She next became the unlawful love of the *roué* who has been styled the "First Gentleman in Europe." Soon discarded—one day told that he never could cease to love her, and the next, cut dead by him in the park—this young and beautiful woman of only twenty-three years of age, who for his sake had given up her profession, strove to maintain herself by her pen. From twelve years of age she had courted the muses, and now the periodical prints teemed with her productions. In 1784, travelling by night to serve General Tarleton, who lived with her as her husband, she caught a violent rheumatism, which reduced her to infantine helplessness for the rest of her life. She died December 26th, 1800, at Old Windsor.

RYLAND, Dr., born at Warwick in 1753, was pastor of the Broadmead Baptist church, and president of the Bristol Baptist college from 1793 until 1824, on the 30th day of December in which year he died. He read Hebrew at five years of age to James Hervey. He entered the ministry at Northampton in 1771. A voluminous writer, he was the author also of many beautiful hymns that are in use in all the churches.

SANDERS, THOMAS, founder of the Prudent Man's Friend society, in 1812, which afterwards became the Bristol Savings' bank. He died August 30th, 1854, aged eighty-six.

SEALEY, THOMAS HENRY, was born at Halstone, near Cheltenham, about 1811. Being in comfortable circumstances, he spent his early manhood in travelling on the Continent, chiefly in Italy, where his classic tastes revelled amid the scenes consecrated by Petrarch, Tasso and Dante. Returning to England, he settled down to literary pursuits in Bristol, and became, in 1842, editor of the *Western Archaeological Magazine*; after which he embarked his genius and fortune in a weekly newspaper, *The Great Western Advertiser*. After a hard struggle for existence, this failed, involving him in ruin, his losses by this speculation being not less

than £12,000. His misfortunes, preying upon a sensitive mind, threw him into a consumption and hurried him into a premature grave, just as his finer faculties were beginning to develop and his position in the world of letters to be acknowledged. All who knew him loved him. His genius was subtle, his irony delicate and pungent, and his style resembled that of Charles Lamb and Oliver Goldsmith. His first volume of poems, published under the title of *The Little Old Man of the Wood*, is a quaint, witty local brochure. Shortly before his failure Sealey conducted a periodical, *Sealey's Western Miscellany*, in which he published some charming tales; but he will be remembered best by a posthumous work entitled *Broad Grins from China*, a small 12mo. of 150 pages, in prose and rhyme, in the style of the *Inglisby Legends*, full of wit, humour and puns, and by the local legend of *St. Vincent and St. Goram*, which appeared in *Bentley's Miscellany*. He died July 16th, 1848.

SEYER, REV. SAMUEL, whose father was rector of St. Michael's and master of the Grammar school, entered as a scholar of Corpus Christi, Oxford, in 1774, procured B.A. in 1778, and took his degree as M.A. in 1781. For many years afterwards he conducted a school in the Royal fort, St. Michael's hill, and under his able but somewhat severe guidance the sons of the most respectable inhabitants of Bristol were instructed. He retired from this establishment in 1810. The only church preferment he enjoyed was the small living of Horfield, near Bristol, to which he was presented by Dr. Mansel, bishop of Bristol; holding also in the last few years of his life the adjoining rectory of Filton in *commendam*. In 1828 his health began to decline, and he resigned the former living, having during his occupancy, partly through Queen Anne's Bounty and partly at his own expense, built a comfortable parsonage-house for its future incumbent. He published in a 4to. volume, in 1812, *The Charters and Letters Patent Granted by the Kings and Queens of England to the Town and City of Bristol; Memoirs, Historical and Topographical, of Bristol and its Neighbourhood*, in two 4to. vols., 1821; and *A Popular Latin Grammar*, which has gone through several editions. He translated also into English verse the Latin poem of *Vida on Chess*; and, in 1808, he published *Latinum Redivivum*, a treatise on the modern use of the Latin language, and the prevalence of the French. He also published, by request of the mayor and corporation, an assize sermon preached before Recorder Gifford. His other productions are:—*Principles of Christianity, Clerical Non-Residence*, and a *Treatise on the Syntax of the Latin Verb*. He was one of the original members of the Bristol Library Society, and for thirty years was regularly and unanimously elected its vice-president. He died at his residence, in Berkeley square, August 25th, 1831, and was interred privately (by his own request), on Thursday, September 1st, at Shirehampton.

SMITH, WILLIAM, the originator of adult schools; it is claimed for him that he founded the Bristol Adult and the Wesleyan Sunday schools; also schools for the Irish poor and "Fragment," since called "Ragged," schools. He died October 17th, 1848, aged eighty years.

SOUTHEY, ROBERT, was born in Wine street (now No. 9) on August 12th, 1774. His father was a linen draper. At six years of age Robert was sent to the school of Mr. Foote, a Baptist minister, and afterwards to that of Mr. Flowers, at Corston, near Newton St. Loe. When fourteen years old he was placed by his maternal uncle, Mr. Hill, at Westminster. While there the French revolution broke out: Southey sympathised with the movement, and sent in a theme, in which Burke and the anti-revolutionists were severely handled. An admirer of Paine's *Rights of Man*, Southey also upheld the rights of boys, and attacked the system of horsing and flogging then practised in the school. Nor did he spare the head master in the *Flagellant*, which

was the name of a magazine written by the boys and published for the school. For this he was expelled, and was denied admittance at Christ church, Oxford, on the ground of his being a red-hot Republican. However, in 1792, his uncle, Mr. Hill, had influence enough to get him into Balliol college, on condition of his studying for the church; but his university career was brief, for a time he became a Socinian, and, in 1794, he left Oxford. Under the *nom de plume* of Bion he, in conjunction with his friend Lovell (Moschus), published a small volume of poems, and, as has been told, entered warmly into the emigration scheme. On November 14th, 1795, he married Miss Edith Fricker, leaving England for Portugal the same day, to join his uncle and learn his business. Joseph Cottle had given him for his *Joan of Arc* fifty guineas, and promised him fifty copies of the book. It was published during his absence. Returning to Bristol the following summer, he gave a course of historical lectures, which were well received. In 1797 a college friend, Mr. W. W. Wynn, made him an allowance of £160 per annum, and he entered and ate his terms as a barrister at Gray's inn. He visited the peninsula again in 1800, taking his wife with him on this occasion, and on his return for a brief while was private secretary to Mr. Corry, chancellor of the exchequer for Ireland. This he threw up because Corry wanted him to be tutor and bear-leader to his cub of a boy. Always busy, Coleridge says, "I never think of him without seeing him mending or using a pen." He began now to make way as a literary man, and sought to settle in Glamorganshire; but, finding his would-be landlord uncongenial and suspicious and unable to understand a poet, he finally removed to his delightful home at Greta hall, Keswick, above the lake Derwentwater, and under the shadow of Skiddaw. Here he devoted himself to literary pursuits with a zeal that is almost unparalleled: prose works and poetry teemed from his ever-seething brain with a rapidity and excellence that was astounding to ordinary mortals. In 1813 he was appointed laureate; he received his doctor's degree in 1821. In the interval between his publishing *Wat Tyler* and his apotheosis of George III. the poet had veered from liberty, fraternity and equality to the divine right of kings. Yet it is but right to add that Southey was in both extremes of opinion undoubtedly conscientious, and whilst in private life he was ever kind to an excess, approachable, tolerant and gentle, as a writer he was eager, unshrinking and uncompromising; few men have, indeed, been more beloved by a circle of intimate friends, fewer still have had so wide a range of literary work, and none have stood higher in moral worth than Doctor Robert Southey. He was at different times offered a baronetcy and a seat in Parliament, which he prudently declined. He married a second time, in 1839, Miss Caroline Bowles, and shortly afterwards the overtaxed brain gave way.

"Amid his own imperishable lays  
In silent blank fatuity he sits! . . .  
A human statue! His unconscious stare  
Knows not the once familiar spot,  
Knows not the partner of his lot,  
Who, as she guides him, sobs a broken-hearted prayer."

He died March 21st, 1843, leaving personal property to the amount of £12,000 for division between his four children. On the last visit of Southey to Bristol, he by appointment met a friend for the purpose of visiting Lock's mills, Bedminster, which he described as being in the time of his boyhood one of the most delightful retreats in the neighbourhood, and spoke of the windings of the beautiful Malago, of the rustic bridge, the ornamental pleasure grounds, and the beauty and abundance of the flowers, &c. On their way they diverged to North street, where Southey asked leave of the occupier of the house in which his aunt once lived, and which for a while had been his home, to enter and go over it. The sight of the familiar room into which

they were shown was too much for him; he burst into tears and rushed out of the house. When they reached Lock's mills he was horrified; the scenery and the purpose to which the premises had been turned (a glue manufactory), so different to the recollections of his boyhood, again overcame him, and he begged his friend to take him at once back to Firfield house, where he was the guest of Mr. Cottle.

"Sapphicum me nec tibi comparari  
Southe, nec vel te pudet æmulari,  
Sive mavis Laurifer, an vocari  
Bristolensis." <sup>1</sup>

SYMONDS, JOHN ADDINGTON, M.D., was born at Oxford, 10th April, 1807. He was educated at Magdalen college school; in 1825 he went to Edinburgh, where he graduated in 1828. He then returned to Oxford, and joined his father in practice until 1831, when he removed to Bristol. He was soon after elected physician to the General Hospital, and lecturer on forensic medicine at the Bristol Medical school; this latter post he, in 1836, exchanged for the lectureship on the practice of medicine, which he held until 1845. On resigning his place at the Hospital, in 1848, on account of his greatly increased private practice, he was elected its honorary and consulting physician. He married, in 1834, Harriet, daughter of James Sykes, Esq., whom, to his great sorrow, he lost, in 1844, after she had borne him five children. In 1851 he removed from Bristol to Clifton hill; in 1853 he became a member of the Royal College of Physicians, and a Fellow of the body in 1857. In 1858 he was called upon to deliver the Gulstonian Lectures in the college at Pall Mall. He read a paper on "Death by Chloroform" before the Harveian Society in 1856. The year 1863 found him in an appropriate position as president of the British Medical Association; his address on that occasion is considered a masterpiece; the *Lancet* termed it the most successful *Apologia pro vitâ suâ* ever published. In the midst of his professional studies and publications, Dr. Symonds continued to cultivate general literature, which he ensured time for by his habit of early rising. Symptoms of declining health manifested themselves in 1868, which induced him to visit Italy; but the climate of Rome being unfavourable, he removed to Naples, and thence to Florence and Venice, travelling slowly home by the Tyrol and Germany. Partially restored to health, his energetic spirit would not allow his frame the necessary repose, and he accepted the office of president of the Health Section at the autumnal congress of the Social Science Association at Clifton in 1869. From that period his life slowly consumed away, until on February 25th, 1871, at the age of sixty-three years, he fell asleep.

THISTLETHWAITE, JAMES, author of *The Consultation*, *Corruption*, *The Tories in the Dumps*; a schoolfellow and contemporary of Chatterton; a scurrilous satirist of the Churchill school, of very considerable talent and unbounded audacity; a powerful mill used for grinding chaff or worse. He was apprenticed to Mr. Grant, a bookseller in Corn street, corner of Stephen street. His writings were outrageously personal, and Thistlethwaite used, it is said, to perambulate Bristol with the butts of a brace of horse-pistols projecting from the ample pockets of his coat. In 1774 he published *The Consultation*, a bitter satire against the Tories; the dedication is to Henry Burgum, Esq., whom he styles lord of the manor of Glastonbury. For twenty-three pages he vilifies the pewterer with coarse invective and abuse. Names of well-known citizens, with simply the vowels left out, abound in the pages, which are covered with vile imputations or accusations. Thistlethwaite afterwards removed to London, where he died.

THORN, JOSEPH ROMAINE, was the last surviving clerk of Henry Cruger, M.P. He wrote *Clito and Delia*, *The Mad Gallop*

<sup>1</sup> Rhymes, Latin and English, Rev. J. Eagles, 3.

to *Devizes*, *Retirement*, *Bristol*, *Christmas*, *The Poor Boy*, and other poems. He died at his residence, St. Vincent's parade, August 18th, 1850, in his eighty-sixth year.

WASBROUGH, MATTHEW, a brassfounder of Bristol, was the real discoverer of the rotatory motion of the steam engine, an invention which converted a rectilinear into a continuous circular motion, making it a fit instrument to propel shipping. His patent is dated March 10th, 1779. Before his death he had applied the invention practically, both in Bristol (Messrs. Young and Co.'s flour mills, Lewin's mead) and in Birmingham. "My share (says Watts) in the application (of the crank movement) I remember perfectly to have been as follows:—One of Matthew Wasbrough's rotative engines was erected at Birmingham for a rolling mill, and was much talked of. This set me again to think upon the subject," &c. Again, "I at present recollect nothing of Fitzgerald's rotative machine, but think it was something of the *ratchet* kind; but Matthew had added a fly-wheel, which, as far as I know, was the first instance it had been applied for that purpose."<sup>1</sup> Wasbrough was the first to adopt Pickard's crank motion (patent 1780) to one of his engines in conjunction with the fly-wheel; hence the idea that he was the inventor of the crank. Watts was a personal friend of Wasbrough, and was practically acquainted with his works in Bristol; the date of Watts' patent is 1782. Wasbrough was born in Narrow Wine street in November, 1753, and died October 21st, 1781, aged twenty eight.

WESLEY, CHARLES, for many years organist to Kings George III. and IV., was born in this city, December 11th, 1757. He was the son of the Rev. Charles Wesley, and nephew to the Rev. John Wesley, the founder of the Methodists. Before he was three years of age he is said to have manifested a great love for music, and when but six years old he was placed under regular instruction, practising the works of Corelli, Scarlatti and Handel, with whose compositions he became so great a proficient that by the time he had reached his twelfth year it was believed that no person could excel him in the performance of them. Handel, however, was his favourite writer, whose music we are told he was continually humming on his death-bed, and working his fingers on the bedclothes as if still performing his masterly productions. For many years he was organist at Surrey chapel, London, where the Rev. Rowland Hill was the minister; but towards the close of his life his duties were transferred to the old church at Marylebone. His disposition is described as most amiable and his Christian character unexceptionable. He died May 23rd, 1834.<sup>2</sup>

WESLEY, SAMUEL, was born in Charles Street, Bristol, February 24th, 1766. He wrote an oratorio, "Ruth," when only eight years of age, which he presented to Dr. Boyce, who in acknowledging its reception, wrote: "Dr. Boyce presents his compliments and thanks to his very ingenious brother composer, Master S. Wesley, and is very much pleased and obliged by the possession of the oratorio Ruth, which he shall preserve with the utmost care as the most curious product of his musical library." Samuel Wesley died in London, October 11th, 1837.

WORGAN, JOHN DAWES, was born in Bristol on 8th November, 1791. His father was a watchmaker, belonging to the Moravian church. John was a precocious child; he was placed at the Fulneck school, near Leeds, where his success was extraordinary, but his health was too delicate, and he was then removed to the establishment of Mr. Pocock, of Bristol, a man of deserved and lasting fame as a schoolmaster. At twelve years of age he entered his father's business, but Mr. Worgan dying the lad returned to school, studying for the church. In his sixteenth year he went as tutor to the son of Richard Hart Davis, M.P. for Bristol, and from thence accepted an appointment as tutor in the family

<sup>1</sup> Muirhead's Life of Watts, 281.

<sup>2</sup> Pryce, 542.

of Dr. Jenner, of Berkeley, the discoverer of vaccination. Always delicate, slim and overgrown, Worgan's health became more and more precarious; a love affair, opposed by the young lady's friends, finally landed him in a consumption, and he died in his 18th year, on the 24th of July, 1809.



Ann Yearsley.

YEARSLEY, ANN, the well-known poetical milkwoman, was a native of this city. Born in 1757, she married early a common labourer; seven children followed, and indigence became their lot. The Earl of Bristol, casually hearing of her genius, came to her relief; and Hannah More, at whose house Ann Yearsley used daily to deliver milk, then in the zenith of her fame, published by subscription a volume of her poems, with a dedication to the earl and a prefatory letter to the Hon. Mrs. Montague. The book was a decided success; £350 was funded, the debts of the poverty-stricken poetess were cleared off, but differences arose between her and her patroness. The blunt, honest milkwoman could not bear that Miss More should have the whole control of the money. She asked that she might have the interest, at least, with which to bring up her family, and that at her death it should be equally divided amongst her surviving children. This Miss More refused; she insisted that she and Mrs. Montague should lay out the money, principal and interest, as they thought fit from time to time, and in such way and manner as they should think most for the benefit and advantage of her and her children. Mrs. Yearsley succeeded in her desires, but made a foe of her former friend. After retiring from her milk-walk, she kept a circulating library at the Colonnade, Hotwells, and died at Melksham in 1806. She was unread in all the great poets except Young's *Night Thought*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and one or two of Shakespeare's plays. Her poems abound in imagery, metaphor and personification, and her life was a dignified struggle with honest poverty.

A few items on the local press will not be without interest. On January 26th, 1790, Messrs. Bulgin and Rosser, printers, 3 Wine street (removed from Broad street, adjoining Christ church), advertised their intention to issue a new and impartial weekly paper, to be entitled the *Bristol Mercury and Universal Intelligencer*.

In a note Mr. Rosser is said to have served a regular apprenticeship to Mr. Bonner, printer, Castle green. In 1818, on August 13th, it was purchased of William Pine by Messrs. Browne and Manchee for a joint stock company, copyright £600, material to be taken at a valuation. The number then printed was 300 weekly. It passed into the hands of Mr. W. H. Somerton in 1859, and in January, 1860, the present proprietors started in conjunction with it the *Bristol Daily Post*, published on the remaining five days of the week, and in January, 1878, the two papers were incorporated in a regular daily paper under the title of the *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*. This is issued at one penny daily throughout the week, on Saturday a supplement of eight pages is published, containing all the news of the week, which can be had for an additional penny. *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* was started in 1714; in 1853 it was incorporated with the *Bristol Times*, which was founded in 1839, and in 1865 it was further amalgamated with

the *Bristol Mirror*, which was first published in 1773. For a period of 168 years unswerving Conservative principles have been consistently advocated by the three papers, of which the *Daily Bristol Times and Mirror*, published five days a week at one penny, and on the sixth day, as the *Saturday Bristol Times and Mirror*, at twopence, is the legitimate offspring. The *Clifton Chronicle*, published on Wednesdays, was established 1850. In 1858 the *Western Daily Press*, the first daily newspaper in the West of England, and in 1859 the *Bristol Observer*, a Saturday penny paper, with original tales, and in 1877 the *Bristol Evening News*, were founded by Mr. Peter Stewart MacIver. The *Bristol Oracle* started in 1742; it lived but a few years. The *Bristol Gazette*, founded in 1767 on the old Whig lines, lasted until within the present decade. Within the last twenty years there have been a number of attempts to found other newspapers, all of which collapsed after a struggle more or less brief.



Mural Decorations of Ancient Dormitory in the Deanery.



## CHAPTER XX.

# VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY AND ADVENTURE, MARITIME HISTORY OF THE PORT OF BRISTOL, ETC.

1. *Mythical terrors of the Ocean. Bristol trade with the Levant and Iceland.* 2. *Columbus visits Iceland, and probably Bristol. List of Bristol Ships.* 3. *The first definite attempt to find the unknown land originated in Bristol. John Cabot in Bristol in 1491. Sebastian Cabot's birthplace discussed.* 4. *Discovery of the Continent of America by Cabot. Sebastian's Map of 1544. The King, in 1495, grants a Charter to five Ships of Bristol for the purposes of Colonisation. Reasons why the expedition was delayed until 1497.* 5. *The voyages of 1494 and 1497 discussed.* 6. *A second patent obtained in 1498 for Colonisation. Spanish corroborative testimony. Columbus first sights the Continent of America in 1498.* 7. *Subsequent career of Sebastian Cabot.* 8. *Patents to Bristol men in 1501-2. Trade opened with the West Indies and Newfoundland. Subsequent voyages of the 16th Century.* 9. *Voyages of Gosnold and Martin Pring; the latter takes precedence of the Pilgrim fathers at Plymouth.* 10. *Aldworth and Elbridge's patent for Colonisation. Guy's Charter for planting Newfoundland.* 11. *Captain James' expedition in search of the North-West passage.* 12. *The Buccaneers; War with Spain. Men-of-war built in Bristol. Rogers' voyage; he picks up Alexander Selkirk.* 13. *Avery and Teach turn Pirates.* 14. *Bristol Privateers of the 18th Century.* 15. *The inception of Ocean Steam Navigation at Bristol by the building of the "Great Western" Steamship.* 16. *The "Great Britain" built in Bristol.* 17. *A mistaken policy drives trade away from Bristol. The Free Port Association formed. The Docks transferred to the City, 1848.* 18. *Various plans suggested for Docks or Dockising the River.* 19. *History of the Suspension Bridge.*



WHILST her insular position has made Great Britain a nation of seamen, proud of her "heritage the sea," Bristol was the first of her ports that launched out into

"Old Ocean's grey and melancholy waste,"  
where

"The desert circle spreads,  
Of the round waters, girdled by the sky,"

in search of "that unknown and silent shore" of whose mysterious existence the western winds and the Gulf stream gave frequent proof by the waifs which they brought and cast upon the shores of our Channel. From the days of Aristotle, B.C. 384, to those of Procopius, A.D. 560, Latin writers had contended for the existence of an occidental land. In after years doctors of the Church termed it a "terrestrial Paradise," "the Fortunate Isles," "the isle of the Seven Sleepers," "the

isle of St. Brendan," &c., but all agreed that the sea which lay between it and Europe was a terrible thing to attempt to cross. It was the *mare mortuum* (sea of the dead), enormous serpents lashed its waters into foam, ravenous fish and fearful kraken followed the doomed ship and with sucker arms that would reach to the loftiest mast engulfed their paralysed prey; devils, ghosts and hobgoblins filled the thick broody darkness with shrieks and wailings; a grisly bony hand was protruded from its fathomless depths which irresistibly dragged any rash adventurer down; above all, there was no coming back, for how could a ship that sailed down hill on the other side of a round globe ever sail up the hill again? These were but a few of the terrors that for ages deterred men from an attempt to explore the unknown sea:—

"No ships went o'er the waters wide,  
No boat with oar or sail,  
But the wastes of the seas were tenanted  
By the dragon and the whale."

By the time of the Crusades men had felt their way along the coasts of Europe and Africa even to the Holy Land, returning with rich cargoes of spices and sanctified pilgrims. By the middle of the 14th century the merchant mariners of Bristol were driving a lucrative trade with the Levant and Turkey. Canynges in the middle of the 15th century had a patent giving him the exclusive right to trade for fish with Iceland; he exported cloth and other manufactures, wheat and bread stuffs. Superstitious terror died away before experience, our hardy Bristol mariners had looked behind the mask and had found that the dangers of the North Atlantic were actually less than those of a lee shore in

the Channel. The coast of Labrador is within 100 miles of Iceland, and it is incredible to suppose that the islanders who fished on the banks knew nothing of the western shore, and that, knowing of its existence, the fact would not soon become equally well known to Canynges' seamen. Besides, the Northmen had centuries before crossed over from Iceland and had skirted the American coast far enough south to gather grapes. Canynges, although the most famous, was not the first or the only mariner of Bristol who traded to Iceland. "In 1436 Henry VI. granted a license to John, the Bishop of Holem, who was then in London from Iceland, in which he authorised him to engage John May, with his ship the *Katherine*, for a voyage to Iceland. May was to act as the bishop's attorney and to transact his business, as the bishop did not wish to leave England."<sup>1</sup> The Mays were good navigators of Bristol, and the *Katherine* belonged to the port. Henry May, in 1498, carried in the *Mary of Bristowe* 120 pilgrims to the shrine of St. James, Compostella.

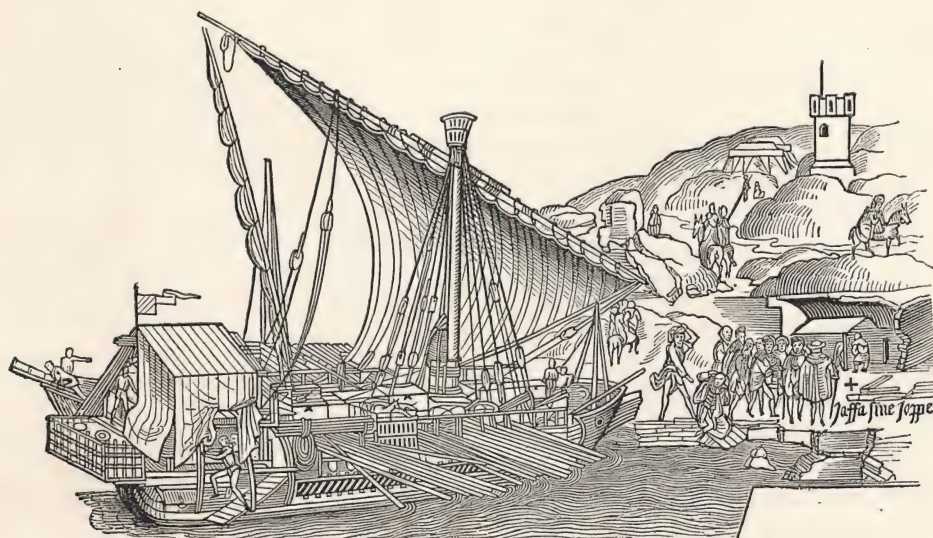
2. There is no absolute proof, but there is very great probability that Columbus himself sailed from Bristol to Iceland in one of Canynges' ships.

In the month of February, 1477, I sailed a hundred leagues beyond the island of Thyle, the southern part of which is distant from the equinoxial 73 degrees, and not 63, as some wish it to be; nor does it lie upon the line where Ptolemy's west begins, but much more toward the west. And to this island, which is as large as England, the English come for traffic, and especially those of Bristol. And at the time I was there the sea was not frozen, but in some places the tide rose 26 fathoms [feet], and fell the same.<sup>2</sup>

It is known that previous to 1477 Columbus several times visited England in search of employment, and it

<sup>1</sup> Abstracted from Rymer's *Fœdera*, X., 645, 649.

<sup>2</sup> The Italian runs as follows: "Io navigai l'anno 1477, nel mese di Febraio oltra Tile isola cento leghe, la piu parte Australe è lontana dall' Equinoziale settantatre gradi, et non sessantatre, come alcuni vogliono; ne giace dentro della linea, che include l'Occidente di Tolomeo, ma è molto piu Occidentale. Et a quest' isola, che è tanto grande come l'Inghilterra, vanno gl'Inglesi con le loro mercatantie, specialmente quelli di Bristol. Et al tempo, che io vi andai, non era congelate il mare che in alcuni luoghi ascendena ventesi braccia, et discendena altro tanti in altessa." (*Historia del S. D. Fernando Colombo*, 1571, c. iv.) "Braccia" is evidently a clerical error.—DE LA COSTA.



Galley of the Crusaders.

is only reasonable to suppose that failing to find any in London he came as far as Bristol, the second city in the kingdom, but most probably the first maritime port in the world at that period.

It is more than doubtful if London could produce at that date such a fleet as the following:—

<i>Mary Canynges</i> ...	400 tons	<i>The Margyt de Tynly</i>	200 tons
<i>Mary Radclyf</i> . .	500 "	<i>The Lytyle Nicholas</i> ...	140 "
<i>Mary and John</i> ...	900 "	<i>The Kateryn de Boston</i>	220 "
<i>The Galyot</i> ...	50 "	<i>The ship in Iselond</i>	160 " 1
<i>The Kateryn</i> ...	140 "		
<i>The Marybat</i> ...	220 "		2,930 tons

These 2,930 tons of shipping belonged to William Canynges.

<i>The Mary Grace</i> ...	300 tons	<i>The Kateryn</i> ...	180 tons
<i>The Le</i> — ...	360 "	<i>The Christofer</i> ...	90 "
<i>The Mary Bryd</i> ...	100 "	<i>The Leonard</i> ...	50 "
<i>The Mary Shernman</i>	54 "		
<i>The George</i> ...	200 "		1,334 tons

*Mary of Bristowe* . . . *lex.*

*Le George qui quer* . . . Johannes 511 tonne.

. . . *navis, qui dispositus est ad mare.*

Johannes Godeman habet navium . . .

Thomas Straunge circiter XII.<sup>2</sup>

From Rymer's *Fœdera* and other sources we gather the names of other Bristol ships, which carried from 80 to 200 pilgrims, such as the *St. Anne*, of Bristowe, *St. John*, of Bristowe, *The Trinity*, of Bristowe, the *Catherine Sturmy*, of Bristow, the *Cogg Anne*, &c. These, together with those of which the burden is enumerated above, will give a fleet of about fifty ships with an aggregate of between 7,000 and 8,000 tons, but it is a legitimate inference that there must have been many besides these of which no mention has been discovered.

In this year [1458], after some auctors, a merchant of Bristowe, named Sturmye, which with his ship had travailed in divers parts of the Levant and other parts of the Est, for so much as the fame ranne upon him, that he had gotten some green pepper and other spyces to have sette and sown in Englande as the fame went, therefore the Janawayes (Genoese) wayted him upon the sea and spoiled his ship and another. But this is full like to be untrue that the Januwayes should spoil him for any such cause; for there is no nacion in Europe that dealeth so little in spyces. But were it for this cause or other, the trouthe is, that by that nacion an offence was done for the which all the merchants Janawayes in London were arrested and sent to the Flete till they had found sufficient security to answer the premises. And finally for the harmys that theyr nacion had done to this Sturmye vi M. markes was sette to their payne to paye, but how it was paid, no mention I finde.<sup>3</sup>

3. It is clear, however, that if the shores of Labrador were spoken of in the hearing of Canynges' seamen or of Columbus, they were not supposed to be those of the far-famed occidental land. These and the route westward to Cathay, or the Indies, were yet to be sought for. The following notice of the first definite attempt

from Britain to solve the problem that is known was written by a (then) living witness, the uncle of the owner of the ship and a townsman of the adventurers:—

1480 die 15 julii, navis . . . et . . . Jay junioris ponderis 80 doliorum inceperunt viagium apud portum Bristollie de Kyngrode usque ad insulam de Brasylle in occidentali parte Hibernie, fulcando maria per . . . et Thlyde est magister navis scientificus marinarius tocius Anglie; et novæ venerunt Bristollie die lunæ 18 die septembris, quod dictæ naves velaverunt maria per circa 9 menses, nec invenerunt insulam, sed per tempestates maris reversi sunt usque portum . . . in Hibernia pro reposicione navis et marinariorum.<sup>1</sup>

This valuable but from its brevity and omissions most tantalising notice, informs us that in 1480, on July 15th, the ship of John Jay, the younger, of 80 tons, and another, began a voyage from Kingroad in search of the island of Brasylle, to the west of Ireland, ploughing their way through the sea, that Thomas Lyde, the most scientific mariner in all England, was the pilot, that news came to Bristol, on September 18th, that the ships sailed about the sea during nine months [this is evidently a mistake for weeks] and did not find the island, but driven by tempests they returned to a port on the coast of Ireland for the repose of themselves and the mariners. John Jay, sen., died during the year of the search; he was buried in Redcliff church (see Vol. II., p. 208).

The want of success did not deter other merchants of Bristol from prosecuting a further search. Don Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish Envoy to England, writing to his sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, on July 25th, 1498, says, "The men of Bristol sent out every year two, or three, or four light caravelas in search of the island of Brasylle and the seven cities, according to the fancy of that Italian Cabot, and this they have done for the last seven years." This specific mention of Cabot throws a strong light upon the position and standing which he must have, therefore, held amongst the merchants of England as early as 1491. John Cabot is said by Stow to have been by birth a Genoese. By virtue of a residence in Venice of fifteen years he, on the 28th of March, 1476, was naturalised as a citizen of that Republic. He had previously married a Venetian lady, by whom he had at least three sons, Lewis, Sebastian and Sanctus. In his career as a merchant he had traded to London, and when he finally left Venice he settled there for a time, afterwards removing to Bristol which he appears to have made his home. Whether his more celebrated son, Sebastian, was born in Bristol or in Venice is a debatable question. Richard Eden, who knew Sebastian intimately, wrote thus:—"Sebastian Cabot told me that he was borne in Brystowe, and that

<sup>1</sup> Will. Wyrces., 114-15.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 107-8, circa 1480-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 112-3.

<sup>1</sup> Will. Wyrces., 152-3.

at iiij yeare ould he was carried with his father to Venice, and so returned agayne into England with his father after certayne years, whereby he was thought to have been born in Venice."<sup>1</sup> Eden, however, has been accused by Desimoni of reversing the names, and it is averred that the child was brought at four years old from Venice to Bristol. An anonymous narrator of conversations with Cabot, writing to Ramusio, says, "He spake further to this effect, 'When my father departed from Venice many yeeres since to dwell in England to follow the trade of merchandises he took me with him to the citie of London while I was very yong, yet having neverthesse some knowledge of letters of humanitie and of the sphere.'" If this is to be taken literally Sebastian must have been ten or twelve years of age when he left Venice; one cannot conceive a child four years old possessed of such knowledge. This favours Eden's view. On the other hand Peter Martyr asserts that Sebastian told him, as he most certainly did tell Contarini, the Venetian Ambassador in 1522, "I was born in Venice, but bred up in England." It has been asserted on the best

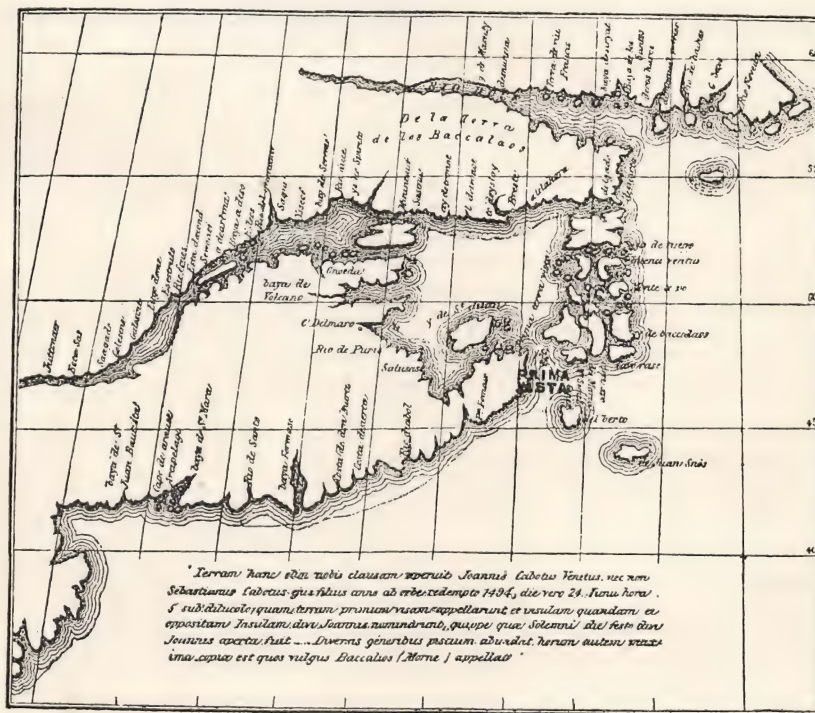
authority that some years since in the muniment chest of the church of St. Thomas, in Bristol, there were several deeds attested by members of the Cabot family, which were of the date of Henry VII.'s reign, and tradition avers that Cathay, at that time a part of the suburbs, was their abode, foreigners not being allowed to live within the walls of the city, and that it was so named because of their employment. These records cannot, however, be found.

4. But if it be open to doubt whether Bristol gave birth to the noble seaman it is indubitable that he was,

<sup>1</sup> Eden, 255.

to use his own language, bred here, and that Bristol energy and Bristol capital assisted in fitting out the expedition which discovered the mainland of America. Robert Thorne, in his letter to Henry VII., expressly states that his "father and another merchant of Bristowe, Hugh Elliott, were the discoverers of the Newfoundland." The name of the elder Thorne is not in the patents of 1501 or 1502. Hugh Elliott's is in that of 1502, which was a voyage for colonisation; it is reasonable enough, therefore, to suppose that both of the above merchants were sharers in the earlier attempts at discovery, which followed on Jay's unsuccessful voyage of 1480, but their names are obscured

by those of the navigators they employed. Be that as it may, John Cabot started an expedition, perhaps sailed in it with his son Sebastian, who was then about twenty-four or twenty-five years of age, in search of "the land of Cathay, not thinking to find any other land, and from thence to turn toward India." Sebastian's map informs us that this was in 1494, and that the first discovery of land was made by him on the 24th



Sebastian Cabot's Map, 1544.

of June in that year; the Prima Vista seen by the adventurers was Cape North, on Cape Breton island. This map is in the *Bibliothèque Impériale*, Paris; it was published during Sebastian Cabot's lifetime, and is endorsed, "Sebastian Cabot, captain and pilot, major of his sacred imperial majesty, the Emperor Don Carlos, the fifth of this name, and King our Lord, made this figure extended on plane in the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 1544." There are two inscriptions on it, one in Spanish, the other, which is appended, in Latin:—

Terram hanc olim nobis clausam aperuit Johannes Cabotus Venetus, nec non Sebastianus Cabotus ejus filius anno ab orbe

redempto, 1494, die vero 24 Junii hora 5, sub diluculo quam terram primum visam appellârunt et insulam quandam ei oppositam Insulam divi Joannis nominârunt quippe quæ solemnî die festo divi Joannis aperte fuit.

This inscription cannot be a mistake in the date, for it is alike, in Arabic numerals, in both the Spanish and the Latin inscriptions, and it is abundantly evident that the publisher of the map considered and believed it to be perfectly true that Cabot did make this voyage in 1494. Kochhaf also notes this date in his book as having been seen by him on a map of Cabot's at Oxford.

On the return of the ship a charter was obtained from Henry VII., which runs as follows:—

Henry, by the grace of God, &c. &c.

Be it known to all, that we have given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant, to our well-beloved John Cabot, citizen of Venice, to Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctus, sons of the said John, and to their heirs and deputies, full and free authority, leave and power, to sail to all parts, countries and seas of the *East*, of the *West*, and of the *North*, under our banners and ensigns, with five ships, of what burthen or quality soever they be, and as many mariners and men as they will take with them in the said ships, *upon their own proper cost and charges*, to seek out, discover and find, whatsoever isles, countries, regions or provinces of the Heathen and Infidels, whatsoever they be, and in whatsoever part of the world which before this time have been unknown to all Christians. We have granted to them and every of them and their deputies, and have given them our license, to set up our banners and ensigns in every village, town, castle, isle or mainland, of them newly found; and that the said John and his sons and their heirs may subdue, occupy and possess all such towns, cities, &c. by them found, which they can subdue, occupy and possess as our vassals and lieutenants, getting to us the rule, title and jurisdiction of the said villages, towns, &c.

Yet so that the said John and his sons and their heirs, of all the fruits, profits and commodities growing from such navigation, shall be held and bound to pay to us, in wares or money, the *fifth part of the capital gain* so gotten for every their voyage, as often as they shall arrive at our port of Bristol (at which port they shall be obliged only to arrive), deducting all manner of necessary costs and charges by them made: we giving and granting unto them and their heirs and deputies that they shall be free from all payments of customs on all such merchandise they shall bring with them from the places so newly found.

And moreover we have given and granted to them and their heirs and deputies that all the firm land, islands, villages, towns, &c. they shall chance to find, may not, without license of the said John Cabot and his sons, be so frequented and visited, under pain of losing their ships and all the goods of them who shall presume to sail to the places so found.

Willing, and commanding strictly all and singular our subjects, as well on land as on sea, to give good assistance to the said John and his sons and deputies, and that as well in arming and furnishing their ships and vessels as in provision of food and buying victuals for their money, and all other things by them to be provided necessary for the said navigation, they do give them all their favours and assistance.

Witness myself at Westminster, 5th March, in the eleventh year of our reign, or 1495 A.D.

It can scarcely be conceived that any sane merchants

would, upon their own costs and charges, send out an expensive expedition of five ships in search of a land entirely unknown; moreover, the terms used imply that the object of this charter was to enable them to complete the discovery of the "isle or mainland by them newly found," and to occupy and bring it under the jurisdiction of the King of England. It may be asked, "Why, if Cabot made this discovery in 1494, did he not make public his success?" To which it may be answered, "He did to the king, and in 1495 obtained the above charter." None but a sovereign could confer a beneficial domain upon the discoverer. Henry was desirous of emulating the achievements of Spain, but as on June 7th, 1494, the treaty of Tordesillas had been signed, he had to hold his hand. By this treaty the line of demarcation was drawn between Spain and Portugal, dividing between them the newly-found lands, whilst the discoveries of Columbus, both actual and prospective, had been sealed to Spain by a bull from the Pope. On March 28th, 1495-6, Ferdinand and Isabella, in answer to letters from Doctor Puebla, their agent in England, wrote:—

You write that a person like Columbus has come to England for the purpose of persuading the king to enter into an undertaking similar to that of the Indies, without prejudice to Spain or Portugal. These are very uncertain enterprises, and the King of England must not go into them at present, because he cannot do so without injury to us.<sup>1</sup>

Henry VII. had at this time planned a confederacy with Spain, Flanders and Italy to check the designs of France beyond the Alps, whilst on the other hand Perkin Warbeck, a claimant to the English throne, backed by the Duchess of Burgundy and James IV. of Scotland, was in the latter kingdom planning an invasion of England. These circumstances are sufficient to account for the fact that the expedition granted by the charter of March 5th, 1495, did not sail until the summer of 1497. With regard to this voyage, the following quotations are of great interest. Under date August 24th, 1497:—

Also some months ago his majesty Henry VII. sent out a Venetian, who is a very good mariner, and has good skill in discovering new islands, and he has returned safe, and has found two very large and fertile new islands, having likewise discovered the seven cities, 400 leagues from England, on the western passage. The next spring his majesty means to send him with fifteen or twenty ships.

Here John Cabot, the head of the firm, is referred to in terms that imply previous discoveries. Again, Lorenzo Pasqualigo, in a letter to his brother, says:—

The Venetian, our countryman, who went with a ship from Bristol in quest of new islands, is returned, and says that 700 leagues hence he discovered land, the territory of the Grand Cham.

<sup>1</sup> Spanish State Papers, 88.

He coasted for 300 leagues, and landed; saw no human beings, but he has brought hither to the king certain snares which had been set to catch game and a needle for making nets; he also found some felled trees, wherefore he supposed there were inhabitants, and returned to his ship in alarm.

He was three months on the voyage, and on his return he saw two islands to starboard, but would not land, time being precious, as he was short of provisions.

He says that the tides are slack, and do not flow as they do here. The King of England is much pleased with this intelligence.

The king has promised that in the spring our countryman shall have ten ships, armed to his order, and at his request has conceded him all the prisoners, except such as are confined for high treason, to man his fleet.

The king has also given him money wherewith to amuse himself till then, and he is now at Bristol with his wife, who is also a Venetian, and with his sons.

His name is Zuan Cabot, and he is styled the Great Admiral; vast honour is paid him; he dresses in silk, and these English run after him like mad people, so that he can enlist as many of them as he pleases, and a number of our own.

The discoverer of these places planted on his new-found lands a large cross, with one flag of England and another of St. Mark, by reason of his being a Venetian, so that our banner has floated very far afield. 23rd August, 1497.

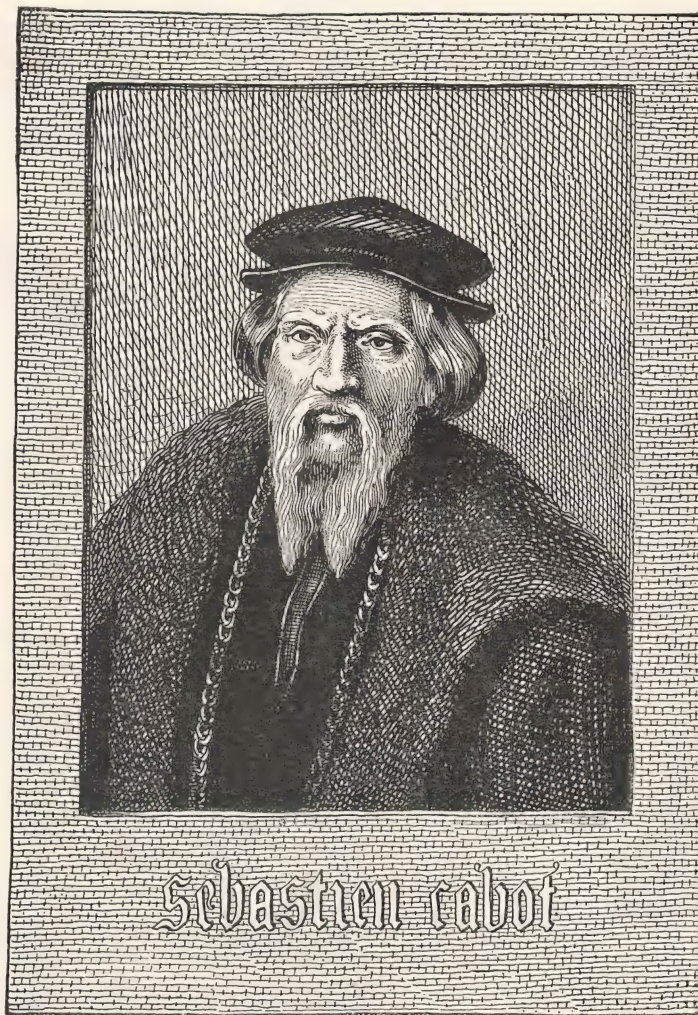
5. From the privy purse expenses under date August 10th, 1497, the following item is taken:—

To him who found the new isle ... .. £10

That John Cabot sailed on this voyage with his son is very likely, but inasmuch as Columbus on his first voyage was sixty-nine days on the outward passage, and fifty-eight days on the return, and on his voyage in 1493 was thirty-nine days on the outward passage and ninety-four on the return, whilst in 1498 he was actually sixty-three days sailing west only, this voyage of 1497 could scarcely have been the voyage of *The Mathew*, which is said to have sailed on May 10th, for we learn that John Cabot was in London on August 10th, which

would give forty-five days for the voyage out, and forty-seven days from the discovery of Prima Vista to coast and sound his way for 300 leagues along an unknown shore, make his voyage home, take a journey to London and obtain an interview with the king, a feat that could with difficulty be performed even in these days by the aid of steam. From the above reasons it seems far more probable that the discovery of the continent of America was made on June 24th, 1494, in a ship belonging to

John Cabot, by himself or his son, Sebastian, (a Bristol-bred, if not a Bristol-born man,) or by both of them; that the ship's name was *The Mathew*, which sailed from Bristol on the 10th of May, having a crew (D'Avezac says) of eighteen men, the greater part from Bristol, but one Genoese and one Burgundian. It may be safely affirmed that John Cabot was the speculative promoter of this voyage. He and his sons sought to profit thereafter under the charter obtained in March, 1495, but their expedition was delayed in sailing until 1497. Corroborative evidence is borne by the portrait of Sebastian, as here given, which was ascribed erroneously to the pencil of Holbein, and which bore this inscription:—"*Effigies Seb Caboti, Angli filii Johan Caboti, Veneti*



*militis aurati, primi inventoris terræ novæ sub Henrici VII. Anglia Rege.*" This picture was sold by Mr. Charles Henry Harford to Mr. Richard Biddle, of America, for £500: it was destroyed in the great fire at Pittsburgh, but a fine copy is preserved in the gallery of the Massachusetts Historical society. The date for this first voyage is further corroborated by Chrytæus, Oxford, 1556, and by Hakluyt in 1589, from a map by Clement Adams. M. D'Avezac also says:—"I assume it to be a fact here-

after incontestad that the first discovery of Cabot was made on the 24th of June, 1494."<sup>1</sup>

6. Whether the above argument for the voyage of 1494 be accepted or not, one fact is quite clear, viz., that on the 3rd of February, 1498, John Cabot secured a second patent for colonising that portion of the continent which had been discovered, and this was nearly four months before Columbus left Spain on the voyage in which, for the first time, he sighted the mainland of America, so that, without detracting from the deserved renown of Columbus, we proudly claim for Bristol the honour of the actual discovery of the continent of America—a well merited reward for many years of costly research and enterprise by her mariners.

The second charter runs thus:—

Memorandum quod tertio die Februarii Anno Regni Regis Henrici Septimi XIII ista Bella delibata fuit Domino Cancellario Angliae apud Westmonasterium exequenda.

To the Kinge.

Please it your Highnesse, of your most noble and haboundant grace, to graunte to John Kabotto, Venecian, your gracious Lettres patents, in due forme, to be made, accordyng to the tenor hereafter ensuyng, and he shall continually pray to God for the preservation of your most Noble and Roiall astate, long to endure.

HR Rex

To all men to whom theis Presenteis shall come send Greeting; knowe ye that We of our Grace especiall and for dyvers causes us mooving. We have given and graunten and by theis Presentis geve and graunte to our wellbeloved John Kabotto Venecian sufficiente Auctorite and power that he by him his Deputie or Deputies sufficient may take at his pleasure VI Englishe shippes in any Porte or Portes or other place within this our realme of England or obeisance so that and if the said shippes be of the burden of CC tonnes or under with their apparail requisite and necessarie for the safe conduct of the said shippes and them convey and lede to the *Londe and isles of late found by the said John* in our name and by oure commaundment, paying for theym and every of theym as and if we should in or for our owen cause pay and none otherwise.

And that the said John by hym his Deputie or Deputies sufficiente maye take and receyve into the said shippes and every of them all such masters maryners pages and other subjects as of their owen freewille woll goo and passe with him, in the same shippes to the said *Londe or Isles* without anye impedymente lett or perturbatione of anye of our officers or ministres or subjects whatsoever they be by theym to the seyd John his Deputie or Deputies and all other our said subjects or anye of theym passage with the seyd John in the seyd shippes to the seyd *Londe or Isles* to be doon or suffer to be doon or attempted.

Geveng in commandment to all and every our officers ministres and subjects, seying or herying theis our Lettres Patents, withoute anye furthe commandment by us to theyme to be geven, to perfourme and socour the saide John his Deputie and all our seyd subjects so passynge with him according to the tenor of theis our Lettres Patentis.

Any statute acte or ordenance to the contrarye made or to be made in anywise notwithstandinge.

Feby. 3 1498.

<sup>1</sup> Maine Hist. Soc., 507.

Here, then, we have a scheme for colonisation and trade, as well as for discovery. All subjects who would go of their own free will were welcome. Bounties were given to others. In the privy purse expenses is a record:

Ap 1 1498. A reward of £2 to Jas. Carter for going to the new Isle, also to Tho<sup>s</sup> Bradley, and Launcelot Thirkill, going to the New Isle, £30. March 22<sup>nd</sup>. Lancelot has received £20 as a prest for his shippe, going to New Ilande.

The chronicler here calls it an island, but the king, who had seen the charts, and heard the tale of the discovery, and of the mighty rivers rushing into the sea, in his charter calls it the "*Londe and Isles*."

Perkin Warbeck's insurrection had filled the gaols, and the king did not know what to do with the prisoners; the Venetian *Calendar* tells us, that "the king gave Cabot the sweeping of the prisons, all but those guilty of high treason;" these men could not have been intended as mariners, but were doubtless to be settlers to colonise the land. Gomara, who corroborates this, says:—

Sebastian Cabot went also to know what manner of lands these Indies were to inhabit.

He had with him 300 men, and directed his course by the track of Iceland, upon the Cape of Labrador, at fifty eight degrees; although he (Cabot) says much further, affirming that in the month of July there was such cold and heaps of ice that he durst pass no further; also that the days were very long, and in a manner without night, and the nights very clear.

Certain it is, that at the sixty degrees the longest day is of eighteen hours.

But considering the cold and the strangeness of the unknown land, he turned his course from thence to the west, calling at the Baccalaos for refreshment, following the coast to the thirty-eighth degree, from whence he returned to England.

On the 25th of July, 1498, the Prothonotary Don Pedro de Ayala, writing to Ferdinand and Isabella, says:—

I think your majesties have already heard that the king of England has equipped a fleet in order to discover certain islands and continents which he was informed some people from Bristol, who manned a few ships for that purpose last year (1497), had found. I have seen the map which the discoverer has made, who is another Genoese, like Columbus, and who has been in Seville and in Lisbon, asking assistance for his discoveries. The king [Henry VII.] determined to send out ships, because the year before the fleet consisted of five vessels which carried provisions for one year; it is said that one of them, in which one Friar Buil went, has returned to Ireland in great distress, his ship being much damaged. The Genoese has continued his voyage. I have seen on a chart the direction which they took and the distance they sailed, and I think what they have found, or what they are in search of, is what your highnesses already possess. It is expected they will be back in September. I write this because the king of England has often spoken to me on this subject, and he thinks that your highnesses will take great interest in it. I think it is not further than 400 leagues. I told him that in my opinion the land was already in the possession of your majesties, but though I gave him my reasons, he did not like them. I believe your highnesses are already informed of this matter, and *I do not now send the chart, or "mappa mundi," which that man has made, and which, according to my opinion, is false, since it makes it*

appear as if the land in question was not the said island (viz., that discovered by Columbus).<sup>1</sup>

Men from Bristol planted the first flag upon the continent of America. Juan de la Cosa, in his map of 1500, displays five English flags upon the coast with inscriptions and names of English places, such as Sea discovered by the English; Cape England (Cape Race); Cape Lizard; Cape St. John; St. George's Cape, &c. Cosa was Columbus' friend, companion and pilot in his voyage of 1498, which gave him the first sight of the continent of South America, four years and two months after, as we think, Sebastian Cabot had discovered North America, three years and two months after the patent was sealed to John Cabot and his sons, and six months after the second patent had been granted to John Cabot. It was not until August 14th, 1502, that Columbus saw the mainland of North America, which he skirted from the Isthmus of Panama to Cape Gracias-a-Dios, in Honduras, 15° N., which appears to have been the highest point on the continent reached by him. It is a legitimate inference that both Cosa and Columbus had Sebastian's chart, and very likely had secured some of the mariners who had made the voyage of 1497.

7. Whilst Sebastian Cabot was absent in command of the expedition of 1498 his father, John Cabot, died.

Beating northward in search of a western passage to the Indies, Sebastian says:—

The soil is absolutely sterile and yieldeth no fruit. Also of the inhabitants, that they wear beasts' skins and the intestines of animals for clothing, esteeming them as highly as we do our precious garments; that their weapons are the bow and arrow, spears, darts, slings, and wooden clubs. That the country is crowded with stags of unusual height and size; also with very large bears, which throw themselves into the midst of the shoals of fish, and seizing their prey drag them to land and devour them. On this account they meddle little with men.

He further says they found soles of an ell long, and such abundance of a large fish called *baccalaos* (cod-fish) that in some of the bays they actually impeded the sailing of his ships; also seals and salmon in great abundance and of vast size. Hawks, eagles, and other birds of plumage, akin to the colour of the raven, were found in great quantities.

On his way he landed a party of colonists, many of whom died during his absence; on his return from the north, finding the survivors disheartened, he re-embarked them, sailed as far south as Florida, when the men mutinied, provisions ran short, and Cabot, baffled, returned to Bristol some time subsequent to October, 1498. Cabot's after career must be told in few words. Unable to obtain further employment under Henry VII. he went, in 1512, to Spain, but returning in 1517, Eden says:—

Henry VIII., in the eighth year of his reign, fitted out, furnished and set forth certain ships, under the government of Sebastian Cabot, yet living (1553), and one Sir Thomas Pert,

<sup>1</sup> Spanish Calendars, 177.

whose faint heart was the cause that voyage took none effect. If (he continues), I say, such manly courage had not been wanting it might happily have come to pass that that rich treasury, called *Perularia*, which is now in Spain, in the city of Seville, and so named (for that in it is kept the infinite riches brought thither from the new found land of Peru), might long since have been in the Tower of London, to the king's great honour and the wealth of his realm.

On his return Cabot left for Spain, where he attained to a high official position. On March 4th, 1525, he sailed in command of a Spanish expedition, hoping to reach the Indies through the Straits of Magellan. Jealousy and disaffection prevented his success, but he entered the Rio de la Plata and explored and colonised its fertile shores for Spain. After many years' service in Spain, feeling slighted, he in 1548 returned to Bristol, and was the first to introduce into this country the practice of sheathing the bottoms of ships, which he did with lead. He had hardly settled down when an urgent demand was made by the Spanish ambassador that

Sebastian Cabote, grand pilot to the emperor's Indies, then in England, might be sent over to Spain, as a very necessary man for the emperor, whose servant he was, and who had given him a pension.

The answer to this application is still preserved amongst the Harleian MSS., and it goes very far to prove that there had been no quarrel between the emperor and Cabot. The English council, in its own anxiety to retain Cabot in this country, does scant justice to his dignified and fitting reply when pointedly and rudely interrogated as to what he would do at the command of the council or of his sovereign. This is the narrative of the occurrence:—

And as for Sebastian Cabot, word was first made that he was not detain'd here by us, but that he of himself refused to go either into Spain or to the emperor in Flanders; and that he being of that mind, and the King Edward's subject (Bristol born), no reason or equity would that he should be forced or compelled to go against his will.

Upon the which answer the ambassador demanded that Cabot should *vivâ voce*, in the presence of some one whom the council should appoint, declare this to be his mind and answer.

Whereunto we condescended, and at the last sent the said Cabot with Richard Shelley to the ambassador, who, as the said Shelley hath made report to us, affirmed to the said ambassador that he was not minded to go, neither into Spain nor to the emperor.

Nevertheless, having knowledge of certain things very necessary for the emperor's knowledge, he was well contented, for the good-will he bore the emperor, to write his mind unto him or to declare the same here to any such as should be appointed to hear him.

Whereunto the said ambassador asked the said Cabot, "In case the king's majesty, or we the council, should command him to go, whether then he would not do it."

Whereunto the said Cabot made answer: "If the king's

highness, or we, should so command he knew well enough what he had to do." But it seemeth that the ambassador took this answer of Cabot to mean that on being so commanded by the king or by us he would be content to go.

Wherein we reckon the said ambassador to be deceived, for Cabot had divers times before declared unto us that he was fully determined not to go hence at all.

Spain, of course, struck off his pension, and Edward immediately gave him one of 250 marks (£166 13s. 4d.), a very handsome sum for the period. Appointed by Edward VI. to an office which gave him the general supervision of the maritime affairs of the kingdom, he explained to the king the variation of the needle, of which Gianeti says "He was the first discoverer of this hid secret of nature." He fixed the magnetic pole on the meridian 110 miles west of Flores. On the 14th December, 1551, the Merchant Adventurers company to Russia was incorporated, of which he was made "the first governor without removal" (the Bristol company was incorporated under a separate charter on December 23rd, 1552, of which also he was made governor). By this far seeing step Cabot broke up the monopoly held by the German or Steelyard merchants, became virtually the father of free trade, made England the manufactory of the world and her ships the carriers of its produce, and for his exertions the king gave him £200 as a reward. He lived to a great age, and was deprived of his pension in 1557 by Queen Mary through the influence of her husband, Philip of Spain, but when he died or where he was buried is not recorded.

8. Failure had not disheartened the Bristol merchants, they applied for and on the 19th March, 1501, obtained from Henry VII. a new commission for the discovery of unknown lands. It was in favour of Richard Warde, Thomas Ashehurst and John Thomas, merchants of the "towne of Brystowe," and John Fernandus, Francis Fernandus and John Gunsolus, three Portuguese. This patent was for ten years; they were to explore at their own expense in unknown seas, in which they were to exercise the office of king's admiral, to have the privilege of importing for four years in one ship of any burthen all articles duty free, they might charter as many ships as they pleased, take whomsoever they chose, and govern in the king's name all lands by them discovered. The Portuguese, being aliens, were, however, to be charged extra duties on all articles exported or imported. On the 9th December, 1502, another patent was granted to Thomas Ashehurst, John Gunsolus, Francis Fernandus and Hugh Elliott (sheriff in 1500-1) in which the term was extended to forty years, the exemption from duty in the one ship to fifteen years, and an additional ship of 120 tons burthen was also to be free of duty for five years, whilst the ungracious alien clause was omitted.

The voyage of 1501 had produced but small results, and three of the original patentees having withdrawn, it was specially provided that discoveries under this new patent should not be of any benefit to them. In the Privy purse expenses is the only record we have found of these voyages: "January 7th, 1502. To men of Bristol that found th' isle, £5." "September 30th, 1502. To the merchants of Bristol that have been in the Newe founde launde, £20." "November 17th, 1503. To one that brought hawkes from the New-founded island, £1." "April 8th, 1504. To a priest that goeth to the new island, £2." "August 25th, 1505. To Clays going to Richmount with wylde catts, and popingays of the Newfound island, for his costes, 13s. 4d. To Portugales that brought popingaies and catts of the mountaigne, with other stuff, to the king's grace, £5." Also in 1502, "three salvages, who were clothed in beast skins and who did eat raw flesh," were exhibited at Westminster before the king. Robert Thorne, as has been shown in Vol. I., 232, stimulated Henry VIII. to make another attempt at solving the north-west passage. "I reason that as some sicknesses are hereditarious and come from the father to the sonne, so this inclination or desire of this discovery I inherited from my father." What other share beyond the suggestion of the voyage Bristol had in it is not known, but in Nicholas (Robert's brother) Thorne's day book under date 1526, was an entry of armour and merchandise sent to one T. Tison, in the West Indies, which shows that Bristol was trading at that time with the west. In 1574 her merchants so highly appreciated the value of the Newfoundland fishery that they found one fourth of the capital required (£4,000) towards the formation of a company for the colonisation of the northern districts of America. Three years after this date Captain Martin Frobisher arrived in Kingroad with a shipload of what he supposed to be gold ore, but which proved to be utterly valueless. In 1578 Anthony Parkhurst, of Bristol, who had been four years in Newfoundland, in a letter to Hakluyt, describes the number of vessels resorting to the fishery and gives a natural history of the island. In 1582 Robert Aldworth and other merchants of this city subscribed 1,000 marks towards a fleet fitting out for western discovery, and furnished two vessels, one of sixty the other of forty tons.

In 1594 *The Grace*, of Bristol, sailed on the 4th of April from Kingroad into the great river of St. Lawrence, for the fins of whales and train oil, as far up as the island of Nantiscot, and returned to Hungroad the 24th of September the same year.

9. The next voyage to the American continent of which there is any record in connection with Bristol was that made by Bartholomew Gosnold, who has been gener-

ally, but mistakenly, supposed to have been an agent of Sir Walter Raleigh. Gosnold was associated in this adventure with Captain Gilbert and Robert Salterne, who was either a son or a nephew of William Salterne, M.P. for Bristol in 1589, and who had been sheriff of the city in 1574-5. This expedition if not promoted by was at least partly at the risk of Lord Cobham, who was largely interested in American colonisation schemes. Other merchants in the West of England and in Bristol were venturers. It was a trading adventure, in a single ship, the *Concord of Dartmouth*, which sailed from Falmouth in 1602.

For the following letter and other particulars of this and one subsequent voyage of Captain Martin Pring we are indebted to the Rev. B. F. de Costa, of New York:—

Sir,—Wheras as I wrote unto you in my last that I was gon to Weymouth, to speake with a pinnes of myne arived from Virginia, I found this bearer, Captayne Gilbert ther also, who went on the same voyage. But myne fell 40 leaugs to the west of Virginia and this bearer as much to the east; so that neather of them spake with the peopell. But I do send both the barks away agayne, having saved the charge in sassephrased woode; butt this bearer bringing some 2,200 waight to Hampton, his adventurers have taken away their parts, and brought it to London.

I do therefore humbly pray you to deale with my Lord Admirall for a letter to make seasure of all that which is come to London, ether by his Lordship's actoretye or by the Judge; because I have a patent that all shippes and goods are confiscate that shall trade ther, without my leve. And wheras sassephrased was worth 10s., 12s. and 20s. a pound before Gilbert returned, his cloying of the market will overthrow all myne, and his owne also. He is contented to have all stayde; not only for this present butt, being to go agayne, others will also go and destroy the trade, which otherwise would yield 8 or 10 for on, in certenty, and a returne in xx weekes.

I desire butt right herin; and my Lord Admirall, I hope, will not be a hinderance to a matter of trade graunted by the Great Seale of Englande; his Lordship havinge also freedome and an interest in the Countrey. A man of my Lord's, of Hampton arested part of Gilbert's, for the I hope my Lord will not take it; belonging not unto hym; having also hymesealf poure to trade ther by his interest. And it were pittie to overthrow the enterprise; for I shall yet live to see it an English nation.

Ther was also brought 26 sedar trees by Gilbert, which one Staplyne of Dartmouth hath; If my Lord will vouchsaf to write to C. Harris to seaze them, we will part them in three parts, to seele cabineats, and make bords and many other delicate things. I beseech you vouchsaf to speake to my Lord. I know his Lordship will do me right herein. I, for hast, have not written. For, if a stay be not made, it will be spent, and sold into many hands, this bearer, Captayne Gilbert—who is my Lord Cobhame's man—will find out wher it is. He came to mee with your post letter. It is he—by a good token—that he had the great diamonde.

I beseech you, favor our right; and you shall see what a pretty, honorabell and sauf trade wee will make.

Yours, ever to serve you,

W. RALEGH.

I hope you will excuse my cumbersome letters and suit. It is your destiny to be troubled with your frinds, and so must all men be. But what you think unfitt to be dun for me shall never be a quarrell, ether internall or externall. I thank you ever more

for the good, and what cannot be effected farewell! If we cannot have what we would, methinks it is a greate bonde to finde a frinde that will strayne hym sealf in his frinds cause in whatsoever,—as this world fareth.

Wemouth this 21 of August.

Gilbert went without my leve, and therefore *all* is confiscate; and he shall have his part agayne.

It is very doubtful whether colonisation was intended; if so, we judge that it failed through mistrust of Gilbert, "my Lord Cobham's man," who appears to have been a double dealer. Gosnold named Cape Cod, and spent three weeks in Cuttyhunk harbour.

In 1603 Captain Martin Pring and Edmund Jones sailed with two ships from Bristol, the *Speedwell* and the *Discoverer*. This voyage was undertaken at the instance of Hakluyt, a prebendary of Bristol, who incited "sundry of the chiefest merchants of Bristol," and who for them obtained leave to "entermeddle and deale in that action," and Pring says he held the permission "under his (Raleigh's) hand and seale." The Salterne family were interested also in this adventure and prudently avoided the imputation of being interlopers.

Pring reached the coast April 10th, 1603, near Fox island, at the Penobscot, and then entered various rivers between that point and Savage rock, Cape Neddick. After leaving Savage rock "he bore into that great gulf which Captain Gosnold overshot the yeere before." This gulf was Massachusetts bay, where, not finding any inhabitants on the north side, he sailed across it and came to anchor on the south side. His statements show conclusively that he visited the harbours of Plymouth and Duxbury. The soundings apply to no other place than Plymouth. He says he entered a bay having at the mouth twenty fathoms of water, and a pleasant hill adjoining, which he seems to have named Mount Aldworth (after Robert Aldworth); he also named a bay after the mayor of Bristol (Whitson), "these being the chief furtherers of the voyage as well with purse as with travel (labour)." From the bay there was a river, up which they passed in boats; he was land-locked in seven fathoms, and describes the harbour as winding in compass like a snail (Mourt says, "in fashion like a sickle or fishhook"). He was there between six and seven weeks, and his people made excursions into the country, one of them going six miles into the interior, and bringing home from thence a cargo of sassafras; Robert Salterne also brought home a fruit tree carefully wrapped in earth, which bore a fruit like a peateplum. When Pring was about to leave, the Indians became hostile and set the woods on fire. He had erected a "barricado," and had sown wheat, barley, oats, peas, and sundry sorts of garden seeds, which for the time of his abode, being about seven weeks,

although they were late sown, came up very well. It would seem from the foregoing abstract that our Bristol mariner was the first European who cultivated, and for a while resided on and hallowed the spot, which the English pilgrims from Leyden, seventeen years afterwards, under Robinson, landed upon and made classic ground. They reported "a large burnt space," the scar of which is seen to this day in the naked plain about two miles out of Plymouth town, and they also mention "an abundance of sassafras."

Robert Salterne, who was with both Gosnold and Pring (as Purchas testifies), took orders in the English church. It has therefore been supposed that, as a layman even, he must have conducted Episcopal services in Cuttyhunk in 1602. If this is conceded, we may with equal reason conclude that he did the same with Pring in 1603, at Plymouth, and that the Pilgrims were anticipated by the Church of England on their own ground; yet there is no notice of any of the religious services probably performed by this embryo clergyman, and it is therefore to be hoped that the plant with its fruit, like a "peate-plum," which he carried to Old England from Plymouth, proved more prosperous than any of the great truths that he may have taught under the shadow of Mount Aldworth while employing the venerable forms of the mother church. Pring visited the coast again in 1606, making a minute survey of all the ports, and the following year the Popham colony was commenced in Maine. Pring was therefore intimately associated with the movements in Maine in 1607-8. The letter which Verrazano, who had previously explored the coast, had published was also used by Captain Pring; and an account of the voyage was also written by Salterne, *a fact that never seems to have been noticed*. The latter narrative was once in the possession of Captain John Smith, and the fragment preserved is simply of interest as showing that Pring did not go so far south as Gosnold and Gilbert.

Salterne's account concluded with the following lines, which indicate his preaching tendency:—

"Lay hands unto this worke with all thy wit,  
But pray that God would Speed and perfit it."<sup>1</sup>

Pring visited and explored Sagadahoc in 1606, and he took back to his native land Nahanada, a Sagamore, who had been captured and brought to England by Captain Waymouth in 1605. He says this man, Nahanada, was made a Sagamore, or chief, and rendered

<sup>1</sup> B. F. de Costa, New York.

great service to Popham and Gilbert's expedition in 1607, which sailed from Plymouth. One of the chief promoters of this voyage was Sir John Popham, the lord chief justice, who had been recorder of Bristol; he died that same year. Sir F. Gorges, who wrote a "brief narration" of this voyage, lived at the Great house, St. Augustine's back.

We carried with us from Bristol two excellent mastives, of whom the Indians were more afraid than of twenty of our men. One of these mastives would carry a half-pike in his mouth. And one Master Thomas Bridges, a gentleman of our company, accompanied only with one of these dogs, and passed six miles along the country, having lost his fellows, and returned safely. And when we would be rid of the savages' company, we would let loose the mastiffs, and suddenly, without cries, they would flee away.<sup>1</sup>

In Vanderita's translation of Pring's narrative, there

is a copper-plate engraving of a fight with the Indians, and a Bristol mastiff charging with a half-pike in his mouth. Rev. B. F. De Costa, who has given much time to the investigation of the subject, arrives at the conclusion that these ancient worthies deserve to rank among the founders of New England, which, he thinks, owes its origin, not to religious persecution, so much as to the



Bristol Mastiff charging the Indians.

irrepressible enterprise of the men of Bristol and the West of England.

With regard to the above voyages, Seyer says:—

When the discovery of so many countries and seas hitherto unknown had given a considerable impulse to maritime adventure, the merchants of Bristol were not behind the rest of their countrymen in seeking celebrity and profit by the same means. Mr. John Whitson and Mr. Robert Aldworth, and others, set forth a ship for the discovery of the north-west passage, under the command of Martin Prinne, being then but twenty-three years of age, who after proved a very good seaman in the East India voyages.<sup>2</sup>

Pring was buried in St. Stephen's church. Against the north wall of the chancel, surmounted with the arms of the Merchant Venturers, and with numerous allegorical figures in allusion to his profession around and beneath it, is the following inscription:—

<sup>1</sup> Purchas, XII., 1655.

<sup>2</sup> Seyer, II., 259.

To the pious  
Memorie of Martin Pringe,  
Merchant, sometye Generall to the  
East Indies, and one of y<sup>e</sup>  
Fraternitie of the  
Trinitie House.

The liuing worth of this dead man was such  
That this fay'r Touch can giue you but A touch  
Of his admired guifts ; theise quarter'd Arts,  
Enrich'd his knowledge and y<sup>e</sup> spheare imparts  
His hearts true Embleme where pure thoughts did moue,  
By A most sacred Influence from aboue.  
Prudence and fortitude ore topp this toombe,  
Which in braue PRINGE tooke vpp y<sup>e</sup> cheifest roome ;  
Hope—Time supporters shoue that hee did clyme,  
The highest pitch of hope, though not of Tyme.  
His painefull, skillfull trauayles reach't as farre,  
As from the Artick to th' Antartick starre ;  
Hee made himselfe A shipp. Religion  
His onely compass, and the truth alone  
His guiding Cynosure, faith was his sailes,  
His anchour hope, A hope that never fayles ;  
His freight was charitie ; and his returne  
A fruitfull practise. In this fatall vrne  
His shippis fayr Bulck is lodg'd but y<sup>e</sup> ritch ladinge  
Is hous'd in heauen, A hanen neuer fadinge.

*Hic terris multum iactatus et vndis.*

Obit Anno { *Salutis* } 1626  
                  { *Ætatis* } 46.

10. On February 29th, 1632, a patent was granted to Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge, merchants, of 12,000 acres of land in New England, and an additional 100 acres for every person transported by them to New England within seven years, provided they (*i.e.*, the emigrants) abode there three years; the 12,000 acres were to be laid out near the river Primaquid, and were allotted in consideration of their having undertaken to build a town there, and settle inhabitants for the good of that country.<sup>1</sup>

Newfoundland was colonised by Bristol men, and many of the citizens subscribed liberally towards its support during the early years of the settlement. In the year 1608, John Guy, with John Rowberrow and others, formed a committee to take into consideration a letter which had been received by the mayor of Bristol from the lord chief justice (Popham), touching the projected plantation in Newfoundland; they were directed to express the determination of the Society of Merchants and the corporation not to have anything to do with the scheme unless it should please the king's majesty to undertake the same and to join in the charge. This was agreed to on the king's part, for in the records of the ensuing month there is a list of the contributions of the corporation and of the members of the Society of Merchant Venturers. Guy, with many others, agreeing to subscribe twenty marks a year for five years,

<sup>1</sup> Sainsbury Col. Papers, I., 141.

James I. granted a charter<sup>1</sup> making them a body corporate, and Guy sailed with a number of colonists in the early part of 1609, taking with him a large stock of poultry, rabbits, goats, cattle, &c. He stayed with the infant settlement two years, and after his return to England was made mayor (1618). During his year of office he received orders from the lords of the council to raise in Bristol, from the merchants and ship owners of the port, the sum of £2,500 towards defraying the expenses of an expedition for the suppression of the Turkish pirates, who at that time infested the seas. Guy demurred, but offered £1,000, which was, he said, a fair proportion compared with the sums paid by London and the ports in the west.

11. In 1630–1 John Tomlinson, then mayor, Humphrey Hook, John Baker, Richard Tonge, John Taylor, Giles Elbridge, and other merchants of Bristol, fitted out a ship to explore the north-west passage, and gave the command to Captain Thomas James, a barrister, who was also a persevering and intrepid seaman, who sailed from Bristol in a small vessel of seventy tons, with a crew of twenty-two all told, in search of the delusive north-west passage, on the 2nd of May, 1631. Captain James had taken part in Sir Thomas Button's Arctic voyage in 1611, and in after life did good service against the Turkish pirates and the Spaniards. They reached the coast of Greenland on the 4th of June, and then for six months began a desperate battle with the forces of nature in that part of the Arctic sea. Turning into an open bay trending south-west, which had hitherto been unexplored, but which now deservedly bears the name of James' bay, James toiled on hoping to get into some large river, or at least to winter upon the mainland.

"They were the first that ever burst  
Into that silent sea."

After unheard of perils they at last reached the southern end of the bay. Physical geography has revealed to us the fact that there is yearly an inset of broken ice brought by the downward current from the pole into this bay; between this broken churning pack and the shore the little *Henrietta Maria* was caught, and, in October, they had to sink their ship to prevent her being smashed; they built a hut of trees on shore, covered it with sails and snow, and there spent a miserable winter; their food was salt junk, salt fish and biscuit, their drink melted snow. So terrible was the cold that a wounded man in a close-boarded cabin, with a fire in it, a pan of hot coals in his bed and all the clothes he could bear, had the plaister frozen on his wound and the wine under his pillow. Scurvy

<sup>1</sup> This charter comprehended the southern and eastern parts of the new found land between 46 and 52 degrees N.L.

attacked them all; three died, and the others were saved by the discovery of some green vetches in June. Amidst all their privations they behaved most nobly. With the snow up to their middle they cut down trees, made of them framing and planks, and nearly finished a pinnace to bring them home, their only tools being two broken axes tied in a cleft stick, two whole ones, and three cooper's adzes, the carpenter being so ill that it took two men to hold him up as he walked to his work. By God's good providence they, in the spring, cut their way down through the ice to their ship, finally floated her, had a terrific struggle along shore in the wash of the loose hummocks between the floes and the land, got even as far north as Fox's channel, when on August 24th coming to thick solid ice they were compelled to put the ship about and to sail for home, which they reached on October 22nd, 1632. On the ship being docked it was found that the cutwater and stern, with fourteen feet of her keel, and much of her sheathing were torn away, many of her inner timbers cracked, and a sharp rock had cut in one place through her planking and inner skin, above which it projected an inch and a half, so that "it was truly miraculous how she brought us safely home." Thus ended a voyage which for perils, constancy and resolution is scarcely to be paralleled. A spirit of fervent piety pervades the narrative of this eventful voyage. The expedition at its starting was commended to God by a service on board in Kingroad, and the first thing the mariners did upon their return was to go to Redcliff church and return thanks to God for their preservation. Captain James was a careful navigator, kept a good log, made tables of the altitudes and azimuths, carefully noted down the variation and declination of the needle, and Boyle, in his treatise on heat and cold, acknowledges the great assistance he had received from Captain James' journal.

12. From the year 1625 until 1630 a naval war was carried on between England and Spain. The Spaniards, supported by a bull from the Pope, claimed the rich coasts of Mexico and South America as national property, forbade all trade between these coasts and the nations of Europe, and arbitrarily seized on all ships that approached within five leagues of the shore. They endeavoured to drive out the English, French and Dutch from the infant settlements which they had planted on the small scattered islands, and exercised great cruelty upon the men who had landed in desolate parts in order to hunt, kill and cure the flesh of the wild cattle and swine with which the coasts were overrun. These men, from their occupation, were termed buccaneers (*boucan*, dried flesh). Embittered by their losses, and stimulated

by a desire to revenge their comrades, these buccaneers, the offscouring of many lands, but desperately reckless and brave, seized on small boats, or made themselves rafts, with which they attacked and carried many Spanish craft; finally, as they increased in strength, they captured the richly laden galleons of Spain, stormed castles, sacked towns, and laid whole provinces under tribute. Many private ships were fitted for war and sent out from Bristol between the above dates; the broadsheets and songs of the day show that they were tolerably successful, and privateering became, for at least a century, a speculation in which the Bristol merchants adventured largely.

The New World was wide, but its title was disputed; the ocean was vast, but it concerned nations unborn that its empire should pass from Catholic Spain to the free realm of Protestant Britain; and the men who wrought the change, from the rough-dried flesh-curer to the gentlemen adventurer, were, for the better part of a century, a sort of crusaders of the sea, eminently practical, but loose in the view they took of their opportunities and duties. They captured galleons, stole negroes, or sold their prisoners without remorse; they prayed as they filibustered, planned wisely, from patriotism or cupidity, enterprises which they executed with heroic audacious bravery; by turns soldiers or merchants, spoilers or colonists, good sailors but better pirates, euphuists but statesmen, they played well their part in the great drama that has given Britain the ascendancy on the seas, and men of the Anglo-Saxon race the dominion over the better half of the New World.

A ballad, of which we give three stanzas, was without doubt exaggerated to suit the vulgar taste, but it is a curious record of one of the many conflicts of that date:—

#### THE HONOUR OF BRISTOL.

Attend you and give ear awhile,  
And you shall understand,  
Of a battle fought upon the seas  
By a ship of brave command:  
The fight it was so famous  
That all men's hearts did fill,  
And make them cry "to sea  
With the Angel Gabriel."

\* \* \* \* \*  
Seven hours this fight continued,  
And many brave men lay dead,  
With purple gore and Spanish blood  
The sea was coloured red.  
Five hundred of their men  
We there outright did kill,  
And many more were maim'd  
By the Angel Gabriel.

\* \* \* \* \*

We had within our English ship  
 But only three men slain  
 And five men hurt, the which I hope  
 Will soon be well again :  
 At Bristol we were landed,  
 And let us praise God still,  
 That thus hath blest our men  
 And our Angel Gabriel.<sup>1</sup>

In 1627, the *Charles* man-of-war, 300 tons and 30 guns; in 1665, the *Islip* frigate, 30 guns; in 1666, the *Nantwich*, 44 guns, and the *St. Patrick*, 52 guns; in 1668, the *Edgar*, 72 guns, 1,046 tons; in 1679, the *Northumberland*, 70 guns and 1,096 tons; in 1680, the *Oxford*, 54 guns, were built and launched in Bristol. Privateers and foreign ships of war in abundance followed, after which contributions to the royal navy ceased until 1778, when the *Gloucester*, 60-gun ship, and the *Medea*, 32-gun frigate, were built, soon after which the celebrated *Arethusa* ("the saucy *Arethusa*") was also launched and fitted out in Bristol.

One of the most famous of the privateering captains of Bristol was Captain Woodes Rogers, who on August 1st, 1708, began that most famous voyage round the world in the *Duke*, 30 guns, having for a consort the *Duchess*, 26 guns, commanded by Captain Courtney. The force consisted of 333 men all told. Thomas Dover, the inventor of "Dover's powders," a physician, was second captain, president of the council, and a shareholder, and the celebrated Dampier was pilot of the expedition. They rounded Cape Horn in December, 1708, and on 31st January, 1709, ran for the island of Juan Fernandez to water. There they found Alexander Selkirk, who had been on the island four years and four months. This man, known to the whole world as the immortal Robinson Crusoe, had been sailing master of

<sup>1</sup> Seyer, II., 287-8.

the *Cinque Ports*, one of Dampier's fleet. He now joined Rogers, and was appointed to one of the first prizes taken as her sailing master. By sacking coast towns and plundering expeditions into the interior, and the capture of the *Acapulco* treasure ship, Rogers acquired and brought home for his owners £170,000. On his return he lived at 19 Queen square, and Selkirk, it is said, frequented the "Cock and Bottle" tavern, Castle green, where Defoe used to meet him and gather materials for his inimitable romance. Rogers was made governor of the isle of Providence, one of the Bahama

islands, in 1716. It was a great rendezvous for pirates, and the governor had two men-of-war to attend him and a fleet of twelve others at his control, in order to put down these sea robbers. He issued a proclamation offering pardon to all who submitted by September 6th, 1718, and a large reward for each pirate taken after that date. The vast majority submitted, Rogers hanged a few of the recalcitrants, whilst others sailed away to the Indian ocean to be out of his reach. In 1724 he, in command of the *Delicia*, a 40-gun ship, went to Madagascar for a cargo of slaves, there he fell in with a lot of the pirates who had fled from him at Providence, living as petty kings; they first tried to take his ship by surprise, but failing they

sold him a large number of slaves, whom he carried to the Dutch colony of Batavia. He is said to have had the command of a squadron which was sent to extirpate these villains from Madagascar, but there is no certain record of that fact. He died in Queen square in 1732.

13. The Spaniards by the beginning of the 18th century were so thoroughly beaten and humbled owing to their losses that when the French persisted in smuggling goods into Chili and Peru they had neither ships nor men sufficient to prevent them. Turning for help to



"Cat and Wheel" Tavern, Castle Green.

the men who had brought them into this condition, the Spaniards hired, amongst other ships, the *Duke* and the *Duchess*, on their return from their successful cruise. These, well fitted and provisioned, sailed for the Bay of Corunna, where they awaited orders from the Spanish government. Avery, the chief officer of the *Duke*, conceiving the idea that he might as well fight for his own profit as for the Spaniards, with the aid of sixteen men from the *Duchess*, carried off the *Duke* from under the guns of the *Duchess* and a Dutch hired frigate of 40 guns, set the captain and six men on shore, and turned pirate. He sailed for Madagascar, which he made his rendezvous, there he was joined by two other ships, and they lay in wait for and captured the ship of the Great Mogul, full of pilgrims, amongst whom was the Mogul's daughter, bound for Mecca. Plundering the vessel of an untold amount of wealth, silks, jewels, gold and silver, they liberated her. The other ships being small, Avery persuaded them for safety to transfer their share to the *Duke* for future division, as she was a fast ship and well manned and armed; no sooner was this done than he treacherously left them and sailed for the West Indies. There he sold the *Duke*, bought a small sloop, dropped the men in dribbles at different places with such portions as he chose and, sailing for Ireland with a chosen few, there sold the sloop. Having secured the diamonds and jewels for his own share, he crossed the channel and settled at Bideford. He then sent for some Bristol men, in whom he thought he could confide, and delivered to them the jewels, vessels of gold, &c., for sale on commission. Finding that they did not remit the cash he came stealthily to Bristol, only to find that there were pirates on the land as well as on the sea; the men disowned the reception of the goods and threatened him with the gallows; he escaped penniless to Ireland, thence worked his passage to Plymouth, whence he walked to Bideford, and soon after died without leaving money enough to buy a coffin.

Another notorious privateersman was Edward Teach, of Bristol, a fellow of great courage and resource, but ignorant and brutal, so that he never obtained advancement. In 1716 he turned pirate, and was from his hirsute appearance thenceforth known as "Blackbeard." Starting with a small sloop he soon captured a Spanish slave ship, which he mounted with 40 guns. His boldness was unprecedented, he fought a British man-of-war, the *Scarborough*, 30 guns, and made her sheer off; he blockaded the harbour of Charlestown, held the ships therein to ransom, landed and walked the streets with his men, and retired with £1,500 and a chest worth £400 more. He then reduced the number of his men by marooning seventeen of them on a desert island

without food or water. His captures were numerous, his atrocities fearful, and these were equalled by his profanity. On one occasion he had the hatches battened down on himself and his men and brimstone burned in their midst to see which could stand hellfire the longest. He was finally most bravely killed and his sloop captured by Lieutenant Maynard, of the ship *Pearl*, in one of the intricate creeks full of shoals in North Carolina. Of Maynard's men twenty-nine were killed or wounded in the attack, the pirates had nine killed besides Teach, who had twenty-five wounds, several of which would have been fatal, ere he was cut down by the lieutenant's own hand. Property to the value of £2,500 was recovered and the victors returned with Teach's head swinging from the bowsprit. "His beard was very black, thick and long, it came up to his eyes and down to his waist: he used to twist it with ribbons in small tails and turn them like snakes over his ears. In action he carried three brace of pistols, and stuck lighted matches under his hat, so that he looked frightful, like a fury from hell."

14. The Bristol newspapers of the middle of the 18th century contain but little other local intelligence than may be gathered from the advertisements of the different privateers, with an occasional account of their successes or misfortunes. The advertisements are of this character:

Gentlemen sailors, cadets, midshipmen, &c., &c., willing to enter on board the *Trial*, may apply to —, Nag's Head, Canons' marsh, or on board that celebrated ship, now lying in Teast's dock. Drummers, trumpets, and other fitting musick will have great encouragement.

The merchants had large shares in these private ships of war, and tradesmen clubbed together their smaller means to share in the adventure, so that by 1757–8 in men and metal they approached nearly to the royal navy.

During the war with Spain in 1740–1 Bristol merchants were very active in fitting out privateers. Wood, in his history of the laying the foundation-stone of the Exchange, states that the procession came out upon the Quay "where the *Princess Amelia*, a letter of marque ship, lay repairing from the damages she had received in the last of four victorious battles with the Spanish privateers in the present war, one of which privateers her captain blew up in the King's channel, and was particularly rewarded by the Admiralty for his gallantry, good conduct and courage in that brave action. From this glorious object the procession was continued up to the Key," &c.

In 1740 the *Vernon*, privateer, was also very successful, capturing several prizes off the Canaries, valued at from £18,000 to £20,000, with some Spaniards of note



The "Elephant" Tavern and Site of the "Queen Bess" Tavern,  
Nicholas Street.

on board one of the ships (which was Dutch); these gentlemen were imprisoned at Captain Saunders', in Guinea street. It was a portion of the crew of this ship that assisted Captain Goodere, of the *Ruby*, in 1741, in carrying off his brother, Sir John Dinely Goodere, whom he murdered (see ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, 240).

A fast schooner, carrying fourteen guns, besides swivels, with a large number of men, was fitted out and manned in Bristol to cruise against the Spaniards. Her commander was a Frenchman. Also the *Foxhunter*, a Bristol-built ship, of 300 tons, Captain James Dodd Bonnell, with twenty carriage and eighteen swivel guns, took out a letter of marque.

In 1741 Captain Colt, of the snow *Boyd*, of Bristol, with sixty hands, started from St. Christopher's on a cruise against the Spaniards. They took two prizes, and were convoying them to Jamaica when a Spanish man-of-war gave chase. Colt, by consent, put all his men but twelve into the prizes and bade them escape, whilst he stopped and fought the man-of-war. There was a heavy sea running, a long engagement ensued, but the snow was not hit once; on the wind falling she

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was taken, and the hardy tars were carried prisoners to Carthagenæ. They broke prison the same night, seized a yawl in the harbour and put to sea; next day, being without provisions or water, they landed and supplied themselves by plundering the houses on the coast. They arrived safely at Jamaica, where they found their prizes and shipmates. Captain Colt soon fitted up another vessel, in which, cruising on the Spanish main, it was his good fortune to capture a Caraccas ship, a rich prize, laden with cocoa.

In 1744 the *Lyon*, privateer, of Bristol, captured, on the 31st October, a large French ship, with 500 hogsheads of sugar and a great quantity of indigo, which ship arrived in Bristol on November 4th; and on the same day the *Prime Minister*, a London privateer, which had been taken by five French men-of-war, arrived in Hungroad, she having been re-captured by a Bristol privateer. The French prisoners taken during the war were confined in the Redcliff caverns, through some of which the Harbour railway is now tunnelled. On Sunday night, January 22nd, 1745, a number of them attempted to escape by scaling a wall into Guinea street; one of them being shot dead by the sentinel, the others retreated to their prison in the rock. In February of the same year four Bristol merchants purchased H.M.S.



"Prince of Wales" Tavern, Redcliff Street.

*Hastings*, 40 guns, and fitted her out as a privateer, and on the 8th of April 273 French prisoners in Bristol were exchanged by cartel for the like number of Englishmen. On July 9th, 1744, the *Somerset*, a snow, which had been built in Bristol, sailed on her first voyage with a letter of marque, she was 120 tons burthen, carried 12 six-pounders and 96 hands; her captain's name was Northover. At seven in the evening she, being about two leagues east of the Holms, capsized when tacking, and all but ten men and the pilot were drowned, these were saved by clinging to the buoy and to her topmasts.

In 1745 the *Tryal*, privateer, of Bristol, Captain Connor, captured off the Groyne a Spanish ship of 12 guns and 60 men, on board of which they found 2,500 muskets and bayonets, above 100 barrels of gunpowder, five tons of shot, and seven chests of silver, designed for the rebels in Scotland. Two Irishmen were on board, one of whom had a colonel's commission of horse, the other was a pilot. These men were sent to London and examined before the Duke of Newcastle, the first was committed to Newgate, the other to the custody of a messenger.

On March 15th, 1745-6, "the Royal Family," privateers, sailed from Bristol, where they had been fitted out. These ships, the *King George*, of 30 guns, Commodore Walker commander; the *Prince Frederick*, 28 guns, 240 men, Captain James Talbot; the *Duke*, 20 guns, 150 men, Captain Morrock, and the *Princess Amelia* (no particulars) were chiefly owned by London merchants, they were to act in concert against the French and Spaniards. On May 30th they took the *Postillion de Nante*, value £1,743 15s. 3d., which was fitted up as a tender and re-named the *Prince George*; October 28th they captured the *Port Galley*; December 16th the *Nostra Signora Ruen Carrega*, a Spanish ship, which they sold in Lisbon for £13,816; on the 10th February they took the *Nostra Remodisali La Nympha*, which they insured in Lisbon for £155,800, she was sent to England, and was lost near Brighton. This was their first cruise. The *Prince Frederick* and the *Duke* had returned to Bristol, the *King George* and *Princess Amelia* did not return until May. In connection with this first voyage the following items are of interest:—

On Saturday, January 25th, 1746, a man named John Barry, who kept the "Harp and Star" tavern, was arrested in company with one Peter Haynes, a law attorney, whom he kept in the house for the purpose of forging seamen's wills, and a servant boy who was used for attesting the said wills. Barry had invited a namesake, James Barry, a petty officer of the *Duke*, privateer, who was entitled to £2,000 prize money, to his house, and was suspected of poisoning him as well as of forging a will in favour of himself. Barry was found by the sheriffs secreted under a bed.

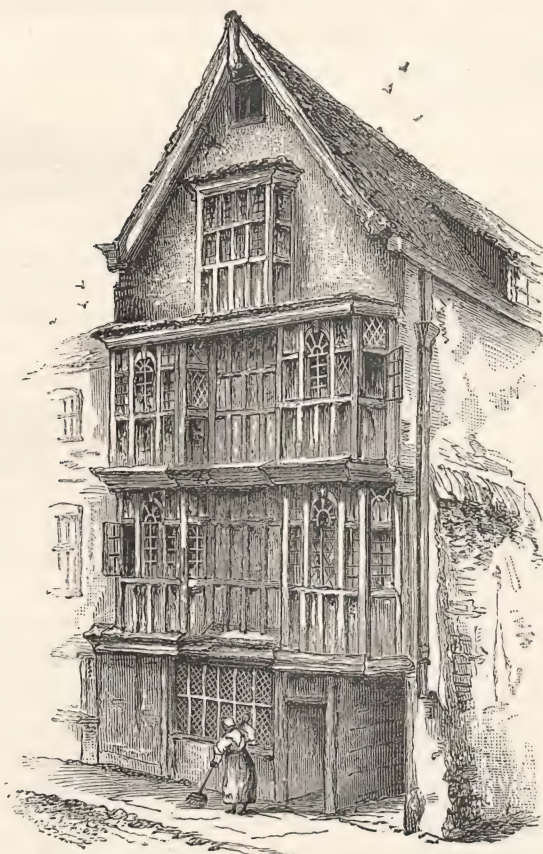
On the third Wednesday in March, 1746, the sailors of the privateers, *Princess Amelia*, *King George*, *Prince Frederick* and

the *Duke*, struck on account of wages, the ships being bound on an eight months' cruise to the South seas. The men said that their agreement was for fifteen guineas per man, but the merchants had reduced the advance money to five guineas. To the number of 2,000 they met on Brandon hill, passed a resolution that whoever took less than the fifteen guineas should be hanged upon a gallows; they then patrolled the city, but beyond breaking a few windows did no more mischief, and at night retired to their quarters. Meanwhile four hundred seamen, liberated on cartel, arrived from France; these shipped immediately, and the privateers fell down to Kingroad on April 5th, to the chagrin of the combination.

The *King George* and *Princess Amelia* followed their comrades from Kingroad on their second cruise on the 11th July, 1747; on the 20th August they captured a Spanish ship, the cargo of which they sold for £6,022 0s. 8d. They cut out two Spanish vessels from Lagos bay, and the *King George*, in concert with two of His Majesty's ships, the *Russell* and the *Dartmouth*, captured the *Gloriosa*, a Spanish man-of-war, for which they obtained one-third of £12,050. The privateers next captured the *St. Agatha*, value £16,226 1s. 9d. On the 7th of June, 1748, their tender, the *Prince George*, capsized in the Bay of Biscay, when only 20 men out of 134 were saved. The *Prince Frederick* and the *Duke* on the 20th met and engaged three French registered ships from Callao, two of which after a stubborn resistance they captured, the third escaped. The prizes were so battered that the victors had to throw overboard the guns and anchors of one of them to keep her afloat, and all their masts being shot away they had to tow them until their arrival at Kinsale on July 31st. Three men-of-war were ordered by the admiralty to Kinsale to convoy these rich prizes to Bristol, where they arrived safely on September 8th. Their merchandise of cocoa, cochineal, &c., was transhipped at Kinsale, the bullion and plate only being brought to Bristol. On Thursday, September 26th, forty-five wagons loaded with the treasure started from Old Market street for London, guarded by the sailors in laced hats, most of them on horseback, and a detachment of soldiers, the wagons all dressed out with flags. The value of this capture exceeded one million sterling. On October 17th the proprietors of the ships waited on the king and offered him their share of the prize money, £700,000, for his majesty's service, "the money to be re-paid in such manner as shall be adjudged most proper by Parliament." The bullion was sent to the mint to be coined. Many of the sailors were kidnapped, or seized by press gangs, their share of the prize money was thrown into chancery, with a result that may readily be surmised.

In 1745 the *Queen of Hungary*, privateer, of Bristol, Captain Ingledue, whilst towing a prize, was captured by four French men-of-war within six hours' sail of

Plymouth; and on the 10th of July, Captain Bromedge, in the *Tuscany*, distinguished himself by the manner in which he handled his ship and fought her for three hours against the *Bellona*, 36 guns, the *Mars*, 32 guns (nine, six and four-pounders, besides 24 swivels), and a third French ship not named. Night separated the combatants after a discharge of 180 guns and 2,400 small arms on the part of the enemy, and 120 guns and 800 small arms on the side of the British. The rigging of the *Tuscany* was so cut to pieces that Bromedge was compelled to surrender at day-dawn,



The "Greyhound" Tavern, Lewin's Mead.

when the enemy were preparing to board. The Frenchman returned Bromedge his sword and commission in honour of his bravery. The *Boscawen*, another privateer, fought eight ships, containing 280 men and 80 guns; she captured five, sank one of 14 guns, and two escaped; the action lasted two hours.

In August, 1756, Captain Davids, in the *Britannia*, brought into Bristol a French ship of 500 tons, mounting 16 guns, with a crew of 40 sailors and 160 soldiers. The Frenchmen lost their captain, fifteen killed and twenty-six wounded. The *Britannia* was much the smaller ship of the two, and her shattered condition as

she towed her bulky prize up the Avon excited the greatest enthusiasm. The Bristol merchants provided lodgings and surgeons for the wounded on both sides. This year the *Fame*, of Bristol, Captain Patrick, was very successful.

In *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* of 16th July, 1757, is the following list of privateers belonging to Bristol in 1757, manned by about 7,500 adventurers, and carrying between 1,200 and 1,400 guns. Seyer says the hope of capturing stores sent by the French to their North American colonies was illusory, and many of the adventurers became great losers.

Ships' Names.	Captains.	Tons.	Men.	Guns.	Swivels.	Remarks.
*Tyger ... ..	Neilson ... ..	570	280	36	...	S T
Britannia ... ..	Fowler ... ..	500	300	36	...	S
Duke of Cornwall... ..	Jenkins ... ..	400	220	30	12	S
Ancient Briton ... ..	Murray ... ..	400	250	30	...	...
Eagle frigate... ..	Knill ... ..	400	200	30	...	S
Revenge ... ..	Heighington†	350	180	26	...	M
Lyon ... ..	Howe ... ..	300	200	26	...	S
Cæsar ... ..	Ezekiel Nash	300	200	26	...	S
St. Andrew ... ..	Olive ... ..	300	180	30	...	S
Eagle galley ... ..	Dibdin ... ..	300	200	36	...	S
Defiance ... ..	John Clarke ...	250	170	20	20	S
*Hawke ... ..	James Conner	250	160	20	20	T
Tartar ... ..	Shaw ... ..	250	130	22	...	S
Anson ... ..	R. Wapshutt	180	150	20	...	S
*Constantine ... ..	Gwynne ... ..	220	130	18	...	T
Phoenix ... ..	Read ... ..	200	120	20	...	S
Hercules... ..	Wm. Bishop ...	180	140	20	...	...
Halifax ... ..	Haloran ... ..	150	100	20	...	...
Marlborough ... ..	Richardson ...	150	120	18	...	...
*Enterprise ... ..	Lewis ... ..	150	140	24	...	M T
*Tryall ... ..	Burford ... ..	150	120	26	6	S T
Cromwell ... ..	Paul Flynn ... ..	...	120	16	...	...
Hibernia... ..	Smith ... ..	130	130	16	16	...
Dreadnought ... ..	J. Leisman ... ..	120	110	16	...	S
Vulture ... ..	McNamara ... ..	120	...	16	...	...
*Lyne ... ..	... ..	120	100	16	...	...
Fox ... ..	Twine ... ..	120	110	...	...	...
Prussian Hero ... ..	... ..	120	100	...	...	...
*Hawke (2nd of name)	... ..	100	...	...	...	...
*Mercury... ..	Feathers ... ..	...	90	14	10	...
Lottery ... ..	Liddall ... ..	100	100	16	10	...
Tartar's Prize ... ..	Watkins ... ..	100	80	12	12	...
Fortune ... ..	J. Emerson ... ..	100	100	14	...	...
St. George ... ..	T. Griffiths ... ..	...	80	14	...	Sunk
*Crab ... ..	... ..	...	...	12	...	...
*Ketch Ranger ... ..	Timberman ... ..	80	60	10	20	T
Ferret ... ..	... ..	70	...	10	...	...
Scorpion... ..	White § ... ..	60	80	8	12	...
Starling ... ..	Wallace ... ..	50	50	8	...	S
Leopard ... ..	J. Patrick ... ..	260	...	24	...	S
Bristol ... ..	J. Fectus ... ..	500	...	28	...	...

Those marked with \* are not in the second list. † Made Lieutenant R.N., died at his house on Stony hill, October 21st, 1796. § Captain White was killed. S Successful. M Moderately successful. T Taken.

The above list was enlarged in 1758 by the following ships, making a fleet of privateers which was said to number 51 ships (48 only are given), and carrying in that year 1,004 guns. It is from a complete list of

privateers belonging to Bristol in the year 1758, printed by John Crabham, Narrow Wine street, in 1760.

Ships' Names.	Captains.	Guns.	Remarks.
Recovery ... ..	Hutchinson ... ..	16	S
Invincible ... ..	Nash ... ..	36	
Severn ... ..	Lynch ... ..	18	
Bellona ... ..	Richards ... ..	16	
Johnson ... ..	Packer ... ..	10	
Wiltshire ... ..	Smith ... ..	22	S
Constantine ... ..	Forsyth ... ..	20	
Bristol ... ..	Dibdin ... ..	36	
Dragon ... ..	Liddle ... ..	16	
Drake ... ..	Richardson ... ..	12	
Spitfire ... ..	Brown ... ..	10	
Lockhart ... ..	Vey ... ..	6	
Penelope ... ..	Graham ... ..	20	
Hornet ... ..	Godby ... ..	6	
Salisbury ... ..	Pocock ... ..	16	
Bellona ... ..	Read ... ..	12	
Mars ... ..	Oliver ... ..	20	

S Successful.

In addition to the foregoing, the following names of letters of marque belonging to Bristol are to be met with in the same series of newspapers, published in the course of that year:—

Ships' Names.	Captains.	Tons.	Guns.
Duke of Cumberland	Philip Ball ... ..	250	14
Tartar (a snow) ...	Stephen Webbe ... ..	...	14
Patriot ... ..	Thomas Dixon ... ..	...	20
Charles ... ..	Terence Magrath ... ..	300	22
True Patriot ... ..	William Randolph ... ..	360	22

The *Bristol Chronicle*, 1760, mentions the arrival of the *Fame* at Rhodes with two prizes, which were ransomed for 2,500 dollars.

Subjoined are a few items of later date, narrating the feats of sundry privateers during the war with France. These notices, like the preceding ones, have been culled chiefly from the Bristol newspapers, notably *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*.

The *Tyger*, privateer, John Shaw, jun., commander, 22 guns, six and nine-pounders, 100 men, took the *Maria* on her first cruise; on her second she fell in with a squadron of French men-of-war, and was taken, December, 1779.

The *Bear*, privateer, Joseph Robins, commander, 34 guns, 180 men, sailed on a cruise, August, 1780, unsuccessful; second cruise, commanded by John Shaw, sen., unsuccessful; third cruise, she took the *Amazon*, French transport, 20 guns, for America, and the *Endracht*, a large Dutch ship, from Caraccas to Amsterdam.

The *Lively* (from Virginia to France, prize to the *Jupiter*, John Marshall, commander, afterwards called the *Lively*) 16 guns, 90 men, John Marshall, commander, sailed on a cruise.

*L. M. Virginian*, Aselby, 20 guns, 100 men, took the *Petite Magdalen*, brig, from Bordeaux, for Port-au-Prince; was afterwards taken by a French ship-of-war.

The *Lion*, privateer ship-of-war, John Shaw, sen., commander, in company with the *Vigilant*, fell in with two French line-of-battle ships, one of which, 74 guns, he engaged for two hours, and obliged to sheer off with great loss and damage; the *Lion* had eight men killed and twenty wounded. The *Vigilant*, having silenced the ship she engaged, lay to till daylight, when her adversary proved to be a French 74-gun ship, by whom she was taken. The *Lion* carried 44 guns and had 168 men; the *Vigilant* carried 30 guns and 180 men; her captain was John Marshall. The following inscription is in Shirehampton churchyard:—

Sacred to the memory of John Shaw, haven-master at Hung-road, port of Bristol, and formerly captain of the *Lion*, privateer, of 44 guns and 168 men, which, on the night of the 6th December, 1788, engaged *L'Orient*, French man-of-war, of 74 guns and 800 men. The scene of action was the Bay of Biscay, where, after two hours close engagement, the enemy was beaten off with the loss of 237 killed and 244 wounded. The *Lion* had twenty-two wounded and nine killed. The gallant commander died December 20th, 1796, aged eighty years.

The lugger *Greyhound*, Captain Nelson, on her second cruise, 1780, took and re-took several prizes. Sailed on her third cruise the latter end of December, re-took a Liverpool privateer of 74 guns, and, in company with the *Cæsar*, took the *Amazon*, a French transport, from Rhode island for Brest, also a brigantine. She was taken by a French frigate off Belleisle, July, 1781.

The ship *Active*, Captain Hodart, 12 guns, 32 men, went a four months' cruise; returned unsuccessful, 1779. Sailed again for the westward, September, 1779.

The ship *Mars*, John Chilcot, commander, 36 guns, 22 twelve-pounders, 8 carronades, sailed on a cruise, August, 1779, and is supposed to have been cast away amongst the Western islands, as she was never afterwards heard of.

The cutter *Prince Alfred*, John Leisk, commander, 22 six-pounders and 9 carronades, sailed on a cruise, January, 1781; returned unsuccessful in June. Sailed again in July, 1781, and soon afterwards took the *Libre Navigateur*, a French ship, from France for the East Indies, also the brig *Fame*, from France for America. She was obliged to take shelter in St. Anders to save the lives of her crew, having lost mainmast and rudder. She was first called the *Princess Roberque*, of Dunkirk. Prizes to the *Lord Cardiff*—*La Divina Pastora*, *L'Angelique* (afterwards the *Squirrel*).

The *Fox*, privateer, 14 guns, 80 men, sailed on a cruise, January, 1781; returned unsuccessful, July of the same year.



Bristol Floating Harbour, showing the "Great Western" on the stocks.

The ship *Rainbow*, 10 three-pounders, 25 men, sailed on a cruise, January, 1781; returned the latter end of the month, having sprung a leak.

The *Hornet*, privateer, 24 six-pounder carronades on one deck, 10 six-pounder carronades on quarter deck; her captain, Mr. David, died April 17th, 1780; she was afterwards commanded by Captain Hinton; took a large ship laden with 370 hogsheads of tobacco and a tier of guns from Virginia; afterwards, in concert with the *Mercury* and others, took the Fort of Aumeray, and all the ships to the number of twenty. Arrived safe at Bristol, July, 1781.

15. But the ships of Bristol were not confined to privateering; towards the close of the 18th century, seventy large ships were employed in the West India trade, and Bristol became the great mart for sugar, rum and mahogany; the Guinea trade for ivory, gold dust and negroes, was flourishing; a large export trade was carried on with the American coast and Newfoundland, the return freights being tobacco, rice, tar, deerskins, timber, furs, indigo, logwood and fish. The Greenland and South Sea whale fisheries had proved uncertain, and were abandoned. For the better accommodation of the shipping, the Floating harbour and Cumberland and

Bathurst basins were constructed (see *ante* pp. 223-5). The record of the next forty years is one of a fatuous policy, which, by her supineness, reduced Bristol from her proud position of the second seaport in the kingdom, drove the trade from her by exorbitant dues, and suffered Liverpool and other ports to outbid her for the commerce of the world. At the end of the third decade of the present century ships were being built of larger size, and the extra charges for lightering from Hungrood to the city added a heavy item to the dock dues. Steam was revolutionising the coasting trade, and although scientists declared it would be an impracticable feat to cross the Atlantic in a ship propelled by steam alone, there were a few practical men in Bristol who thought otherwise. Dr. Lardner said at the meeting of the British Association in Bristol, in 1836, that it was no more practicable than a journey to the moon. As an auxiliary power it had been used successfully in the *Savannah*, an American sailing ship, which had performed the voyage from New York to Liverpool in thirty-one days; but the honour of conceiving the idea, and of building a ship whose sole motive power should be steam, and whose destination should be the other side of the Atlantic, belongs

to Bristol. A company was formed, in 1835, for this purpose; it was called The Great Western Steamship company, and, undeterred by the ominous assertions of scientific authorities, the first ocean-going steamship, the *Great Western*, was built of wood by Mr. William Patterson, of Bristol, from a design furnished by Mr. Isambard K. Brunel, for the sum of £63,000. She was launched from the Wapping dock on July 19th, 1837; was of 1,340 tons register, with engines of 440 horse-power. She sailed on April 8th, 1838, for New York, hoping to make the passage out in twenty days, and that home in thirteen days, instead of the thirty-six and twenty-four days usually occupied by sailing packets. Seven adventurous souls went in her as passengers; on her third day she passed a liner seven days out from Liverpool, and in fifteen days and ten hours she was in her berth in New York; on her return she had sixty-eight passengers and 20,000 post office letters; she did the trip in fourteen clear days (May 7th to 22nd). Instead of consuming 1,480 tons of coal, which the scientists asserted would be necessary, she actually used only 450 tons. One hundred thousand persons assembled in New York to witness her departure; it was felt that a great problem had been solved, and the Atlantic narrowed to one half in time. This ship was of insignificant size as compared with the British and American liners of the present day; she measured 212 feet in length by 35 feet 4 inches beam, and 23 feet 2 inches in depth; her engines were on the side lever principle, the cylinders 73½ inches in diameter, and 7 feet stroke; she had four distinct boilers, and cycloidal paddles; she drew 8 feet 8 inches aft, 7 feet 8 inches forward, unloaded; she was rigged with four masts, and had a very pronounced funnel; her saloon was decorated by Mr. Parris, painter of the "Panorama of London," in the Coliseum. Letters were charged one shilling each, slips and newspapers, threepence each; passengers out, thirty-five guineas; home, thirty guineas; and small parcels made up at the rate of five pounds per ton. Her passages averaged fifteen days twelve hours out, and thirteen days nine hours home.

The St. George's Steampacket company, London, anxious to anticipate the honour of being the first to open the trade, started the *Sirius*, one of their steamships, which had been employed on the line between London and Cork; she left London on March 28th, and Cork April 4th, 1838, with ninety-four passengers, and reached New York on the 21st of April, after a passage of seventeen days. The *Great Western* left Bristol on April 8th and arrived at New York on the 22nd, having completed the passage in two days and fourteen hours less than her competitor from Cork. The *Sirius* on her re-

turn was placed on a steam line to St. Petersburg. The Atlantic thus bridged by steam, and the regularity of the passages made by the *Great Western*, induced the Admiralty, in October, 1838, to advertise for tenders for the conveyance of the mails by steamships to America. The Great Western Steamship company anticipated no opposition, but a lower tender than theirs was sent in by the Cunard company, the amount being £55,000, which subsidy was afterwards increased to £81,000, per annum. A better ship never was built than the *Great Western*; in 1845 Lloyd's surveyor declared her to be as sound in material and as perfect in form as on the day she was launched. She was sold to the ship-breakers, in 1856, by her then owners, the Royal Mail Steamship company, with the *Severn*, the two fetching £11,500. The great mistake made by the Bristol company was in their attempting to open this new line with a single ship, instead of three or four, which would have ensured regularity of despatch and arrival. Rivals sprang up in London and Liverpool. Messrs. Samuel Cunard, George Burns and David Mac Iver, of Liverpool, formed the Cunard company, and Mr. Napier, of Glasgow, built for them four ships, all exactly alike; a regular service between Liverpool and New York was established, and Bristol lost her opportunity of becoming the great transatlantic steamship harbour of England. But the supremacy was not yielded without a struggle. On the 7th of December, 1839, the *President*, built by Messrs. Curling and Young, of London, was launched with great éclat; her career, at first very disappointing as to speed, was brief; on her fourth voyage, in April, 1841, she encountered very heavy weather, and ice being plentiful in the Atlantic, she foundered without leaving a sign.

16. Meanwhile the Great Western Steamship company was not idle. In July, 1839, a ship of still more colossal proportions was laid down under Captain Claxton, managing director, Mr. I. K. Brunel, consulting engineer, Mr. W. Patterson, shipbuilder, and Mr. T. R. Guppy, superintendent engineer under Brunel. This ship, named the *Great Britain*, was built of iron, with lapped joints, like a clinker-built wooden ship, which gave enormous stability and strength, was the largest that had been constructed for navigation by steam, and in many respects was an entirely new departure in shipbuilding. She had five water-tight partitions; her screw, which was of wrought iron, was of six arms, 15 feet 6 inches in diameter, 25 feet pitch, and weighed four tons; her length on the keel was 289 feet, between perpendiculars 296 feet, over all 322 feet, 51 feet beam, depth of hold 32 feet 6 inches, main load draught of water 16 feet, measurement 2,984 tons, engines 1,000 horse-power, rigged as a six-masted schooner with square yards on

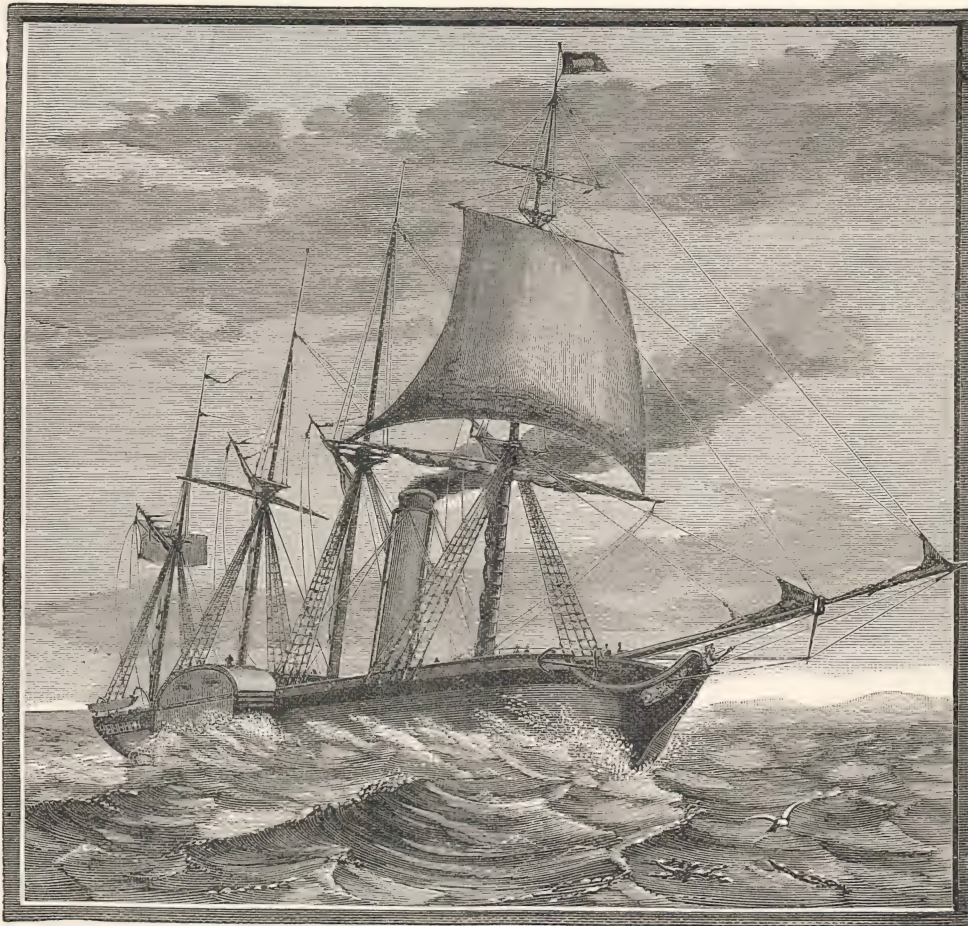
the second mast only; five of the masts were hinged for being lowered in case of need. Originally intended for a paddle ship, the then little known screw propeller was ultimately adopted for her motive power. These novelties attracted much attention in the scientific world, and called forth many predictions, which, happily, were not fulfilled. The machinery being novel, no engineers were willing to contract for its manufacture; it was therefore constructed by the company. She was launched from the Great Western dock, Bristol, in the presence

of H.R.H. Prince Albert and an immense multitude of people on the 19th July, 1843. The ship's dimensions led to an awkward predicament; it had been calculated that she would have a free passage through the locks of the Bristol dock when light, but when her machinery was put on board she could not

pass. She was therefore detained from sea some months, until the lock was widened by the temporary removal of a portion of the top of the side walls of the locks. The experimental trip was made December 12th, 1844; her speed surpassed that of the fastest paddle ships of the day, and her behaviour during severe weather on the passage to London silenced the opponents of iron ships, and led to the adoption of that material in the royal and mercantile navies. She was placed on the American station, but after a successful voyage her career was interrupted.

On September 22nd, 1846, at 9.30 p.m., ten hours after leaving Liverpool on her voyage to New York, this noble ship ran aground in Dundrum bay, Ireland, through a mistake as to the lights. She had about one hundred and ninety passengers on board, the largest number that had ever crossed in a steamer, who were all safely landed. For eleven months and four days she lay there comparatively uninjured, being floated off on August 26th, 1847. She had only six holes in her bottom, the smallest 2 feet by 1 foot, the largest 5 feet

9 inches by 1 foot 4 inches, which were stopped with great ingenuity by Mr. John Croome, of Bristol. The method used for her protection during the winter was most ingenious. Faggots of furze were sunk in the sand about 40 feet from her stern, which formed a breakwater 150 yards in length;



*The "Great Western" (the first Ocean-going Steamship built).*

these were loaded with stones, &c.; between this foundation and the ship 5,800 fascines, 11 feet long by 20 inches diameter, were piled up with their butt ends towards the sea; these were pinned down with iron piles having bent heads, which were from 6 to 9 feet long. This mass was finally weighted and bound down by a sort of cradle of green beech trees, from 45 to 52 feet in length, which were pointed and driven into the seaward foundation and brought thence at an angle of 70° to the ship's gunwale, where they were left free. Eighty of these poles were

placed at about eight yards distance from each other; they were connected with chains, and every third chain was secured either to the propeller shaft or to anchors. This elastic breakwater would often bend before the force of the waves from three to four feet, but would instantly recover itself after the blow had passed. The following summer, when it was necessary to remove the breakwater in order to float out the ship, the greatest difficulty was experienced, the foundation being as dense as concrete, and more difficult to remove than granite. For security she was, when floated, taken first to Belfast; but finding that the leakage was inconsiderable, she was, in tow of the *Birkenhead*, taken to Liverpool, which was reached safely on August 30th, 1874. Repaired and altered to a sailing ship, with auxiliary steam power, and again altered into a sailing ship only, she is still doing good service, being "ship shape and Bristol fashion."

The late Mr. Scott Russell, delivering a lecture at the Bristol Athenæum, on April 15th, 1863, said that in the building of the *Great Britain* all the good sense and practical wisdom which had caused the success of the *Great Western* seemed to have abandoned the company. What was wanted was a sister to the *Great Western*; what was built was as unlike as it was possible to conceive. While other people were copying the wisdom of the original Bristol shipowners, they themselves forgot all their wisdom and took to quite another course. Instead of building a second *Great Western*, they built a single ship of a new sort, as different from her as possible, so that they had all the disadvantages of two experimental vessels, instead of having a couple of one sort. The second mistake was one of a still more fatal kind; they determined to make their second ship a museum of inventions. The old model and proportions of the *Great Western* were utterly abandoned, so that there were no two things common between her and her companion. The *Great Britain* was to be 300 feet long, 50 feet beam, 3,443 tons, and 1,000 horse power. Next in regard to shape; that was entirely revolutionised, and turned into an imitation of Sir W. Symonds' new and empirical form of ship. She was to be made of iron, which was wise for a ship of that magnitude. In regard to her novelties there was no limit, and the whole ship and her machinery was a congregation of experiments. In the middle of her progress she was altered from a paddle-wheel to a screw-propeller ship, and that experiment was not enough, for the propeller must needs be propelled by a kind of chain gearing for communicating the power of the engine to the screw. If she had been a simple companion to the *Great Western*, and proper dock accommodation at moderate dues provided, Bristol might have retained the advantages she

had achieved; instead of that a ship was built which had to be sold as a disastrous bargain to ply in the trade of a rival port, where her ingenious engines had to be taken out, her new screw gear got rid of, and the destiny and arrangement of the vessel so changed that she became a new ship of slow speed and auxiliary power.

17. The mistaken policy of the Corporation and Dock company meanwhile was exercising a most injurious influence on the commerce of Bristol. The population was nearly at a standstill, and in all other ways the city was decaying. The Chamber of Commerce investigated the causes, and, finding a great disparity between the port charges of Bristol and those paid elsewhere, did their best to induce the Corporation and Dock company to lower the dues.

The following table, which is given from *Letters of a Burgess*, published in the *Bristol Mercury* in 1833, will be a sufficient instance of the fatuity of the company to which Bristol had handed over the control of her commerce:—

CALCULATION OF THE PORT CHARGES PAYABLE ON A CARGO  
FROM THE EAST INDIES, PAYABLE AT

ARTICLES.	LONDON.		LIVERPOOL.		BRISTOL.	
	Rate.	Amount.	Rate.	Amount.	Rate.	Amount.
	s. d.	£ s. d.	s. d.	£ s. d.	s. d.	£ s. d.
Silk, 232 bales, at @ bale. . . . .	1 4	15 10 8	8 6	99 0 6	9 1	105 16 5
Indigo, 349,750lbs., at @ 100lbs. . .	0 10	145 14 6	1 2½	211 6 0	7 0½	1245 19 7
Total paid at each port . . . . .	..	£161 5 2	..	£310 6 6	..	£1351 16 0
Proportionate taxation ..	..	£1 0 0	..	£1 18 6	..	£8 7 9½

On twenty articles given in another table, being goods in ordinary daily consumption, the proportionate taxation for port charges was

LONDON.	LIVERPOOL.	HULL.	BRISTOL.
£1 9s. 7½d.	£1 3s. 6½d.	£1 0s. 0d.	£3 3s. 5½d. <sup>1</sup>

The withdrawal, in 1846, of the *Great Western* from the port brought matters to an issue. The Chamber of Commerce estimated that the falling off in the exports from £339,728 to £150,883 was mainly due to her removal on account of exorbitant charges. An agitation which was begun in 1839, for the transfer of the privileges and power of the Dock company to the city, kept the question alive. Twelve hundred of the leading men of Bristol, in 1846, signed a memorial, which prayed that the terms of the proposed transfer should be submitted to arbitration, which was presented to the town council and also to the Docks company. The matter became one of account. The average dividend which the company had declared was £2 4s. 5d. per cent. The shareholders sought to get compensation on a scale that

<sup>1</sup> Letters of a Burgess, XXIX., 1833.

was objected to. The result was that in this year the Free Port association was formed, in which politics were ignored in favour of the public good of the city. Mr. Robert Bright was chosen president, and the agitation took a definite and powerful form. The citizens in public meetings objected to the corporation spending money on city improvements until the question was settled; the operatives and trades in public and special meetings kept the matter well before their fellow-citizens until, in 1848, an arrangement was come to between the town council and the Dock company. A bill for the transfer was introduced into the House of Commons, which provided for the redemption of the docks by the creation of a sinking fund, which gave a charge upon the rates of fourpence in the pound. The preamble of the bill stated that "if such docks should become vested in the mayor, aldermen and burgesses of Bristol, subject to proper provisions, facilities would be afforded for the improvement of the trade of the port and city of Bristol by equalising, reducing, or otherwise altering the rates now payable under recited Acts, or some of them, which rates as now levied are detrimental to trade." An influential and determined opposition arose, not against the transfer, but on the ground that the ratepayers would be taxed fourpence in the pound for the benefit of the shipowners and merchants. At a meeting of ratepayers convened by the mayor, the following resolution was carried:—

That provided a board of Dock commissioners can be formed, to be wholly chosen by the ratepayers, and a reserve fund of £50,000 previously formed be provided for accidental repairs, the proposed transfer is highly desirable, inasmuch as it will restore to Bristol the control of her own port, the alienation of which in its consequences has been most injurious to her commerce, industry and port.

The town council, by thirty-two to five, determined, however, to uphold the bill in its original form. Under the Preliminary Inquiries Act, the Admiralty sent down a commissioner to make an enquiry into the proposed scheme, which was duly held in the Guildhall. The bill passed the third reading in the House of Commons May 24th, 1845, and on 30th June the Act received the royal assent; and at the next meeting of the council the following gentlemen were elected as the Dock committee:—Messrs. R. P. King, G. Thomas, Gibbs, Visger, R. Robinson, Jarman, Vining, G. E. Sanders, J. Miles, C. J. Thomas, J. Poole, W. Naish and R. Phippen.

A congratulatory meeting of the Free Port association was held in the Guildhall, in September, 1848, at which Mr. Bright proposed that when the reduction of dues took place the city should observe a general holiday. This was carried into effect on November 15th, when one of the grandest processions which Bristol has

witnessed was formed in Old Market street; it marched in the following order to the Downs:—Trades delegates, town clerk and corporation officials, mayor, aldermen and town council (F. H. Berkeley and P. W. S. Miles, the members for the city, joined the procession at Clifton church), Merchant Venturers, corporation of the poor, Mr. Bright and members of the Free Port association, merchants, bankers, traders, Oddfellows, shipwrights, printers, sawyers, confectioners, potters, braziers, copper-smiths, brassfounders, wireworkers, boiler-makers, rope-makers, twine-spinners, coopers, wheelwrights, agricultural implement makers, glass-blowers, glass-cutters, smiths, masons, cabinet-makers, floorcloth-workers, pin-makers, gas and waterworks' men, Hibernian society, all with music, banners, specimens of trades, &c., the fire brigades and engines bringing up the rear. The processionists afterwards returned to the Council-house, most of them winding up the day at public dinners.

The success of this movement is largely due to one man who is still living, Mr. Leonard Bruton, the secretary of the Free Port association, and to its president, Mr. Robert Bright, whose portrait is preserved in the outer hall of the Society of Merchant Venturers, with the following inscription:—

Robert Bright. Presented to the Society of Merchant Venturers by the subscribers to the Bright testimonial fund, 1857, in token of his efforts for securing the freedom of the port of Bristol.

In 1865 Mr. Bruton was presented with a testimonial of 500 guineas and a piece of plate with an inscription acknowledging his services; and again, in 1880, a cheque for £1,000 was presented to him as a recognition of the great services he had rendered to the city. The result of the movement was a reduction of more than sixty per cent. in the local dues on ships coming into the port of Bristol, and of thirty per cent. on goods. During twenty years before 1848 the rise per cent. of tonnage from foreign parts was 33·37; from 1848 to 1857, the increase rose to 66·65 per cent.; and from 1858 to 1867, to 62·36 per cent. The money receipts rose 50 per cent., the ratable value from £406,206 in 1841 to £719,983 in 1871, and to £906,366 in 1881.

18. Various plans were set on foot for improving the port; some, indeed, had been suggested previously. In 1832 Mr. Milne, C.E., advocated the erection of a pier, 800 feet long, at Portishead. In 1839 Mr. I. K. Brunel pointed out several methods—first, constructing a lock of sufficient dimensions to admit large vessels into the Floating harbour, and for cutting off dangerous points in and deepening and widening the river; another, at a later date, was to construct a floating pier at Portishead and make a railway to join the Bristol and Exeter railway. In 1839 Mr. Macneil also proposed to build a pier at Portishead.

In 1852 Mr. Rendel submitted proposals for straightening the mouth of the Avon (which then ran between Dunball island and the ground now used for rifle practice); a pier, 1,500 feet long, was to be run out near the lighthouse, another at Chapel Pill, on the west side, 1,050 feet from the east pier, which was to lap over it, giving an entrance from the north-east. At the land end of these piers a dock was to be constructed within the marshes of sufficient capacity for the largest steamships then or likely to be in use; the entrance was to be by two locks, one 670 feet by 100 feet, to have a depth of 27 feet on the sill for six hours of each tide; the other lock, for small craft, was to be at the southern entrance to the dock. On the Somerset side it was proposed to purchase 50 acres of land and to reclaim 125 acres; on the Gloucestershire side, 450 acres were to be bought and 160 reclaimed. The total cost of this scheme was estimated at one and a half millions.

In 1853 Mr. John Croome proposed to convert Woodhill bay, Portishead, into an outer harbour by erecting a breakwater 1,200 feet long from the Black Nore, with a deep landing pier at Portishead 600 feet in length, to cut a channel 150 feet wide through Portishead hill, to form a tidal basin at the end of this cutting 350 feet wide and 2,600 feet long, which was to communicate with two docks of fifty acres each, having a depth of water 30 feet, by means of two locks, each 900 feet by 100 feet, the cut and tidal basin to have 20 feet at low water spring tides. He further proposed to construct four graving docks, 900 feet by 100 feet, with a reservoir 600 feet square, to be supplied by Portishead Pill, and to connect the whole with the Avon by a canal near the village of Pill, also to have a railway to Bristol.

In 1853 Mr. W. R. Neale, C.E., proposed to convert Portishead Pill into a floating dock, with an entrance harbour of 16 acres, protected by two piers, the eastern 1,300 feet, the western 1,000 feet in length, both having slips and landing places.

Mr. Thornton proposed a modification of Mr. Rendel's plan. The dock to be one half the size, Dunball island to be reclaimed, and the swash and the channel of the river to be used for making the dock; there was to be an entrance lock 800 feet by 130 feet, together with a graving dock 895 feet by 130 feet. He also, in 1858, prepared a plan for dockising the Avon by cutting an entrance through the fore shore, with piers and locks at Avonmouth, throwing a dam across the river which would give 600 acres of surface water. The plan also included a new course for the river opposite the powder magazine, with additional quayage at Bristol to the extent of 2,600 feet. In 1860 the same engineer proposed to construct a small dock, with quay, at Avonmouth, for

ocean-going steamships. Mr. May also, in 1858, suggested a landing-stage at Dunball island.

In 1859 various other reports were made on the capability of the port for improvement. Mr. Parkes was neither in favour of docks at the river's mouth nor of dockising the river. He suggested the widening and deepening the river bed, and diverting the tidal currents into the old channel between Dunball and the land. Mr. Green proposed the restoration of the channel of the river to its ancient bed by throwing out an embankment from the Somerset shore, which was also to be a pier or landing-place, to 100 yards below low-water mark, south-west of Dunball island, to which it was to join. He would also make a similar embankment on the Gloucestershire shore, leaving a seaway of from 300 to 400 feet between the extreme ends of the piers. The tidal harbour was to extend towards Pill, with an average width of 1,500 feet, and with sufficient depth of water to float any ship until she could proceed to Cumberland basin; his plan involved also the widening and deepening of the Avon.

Mr. Howard, the Docks' engineer, with a view of preventing the injury to the City docks and fixed property which he considered would inevitably arise from independent private docks made at the mouth of the river, proposed to extend the existing floating harbour down the river, making new entrances at Kingroad. His plan was to construct an outer tidal harbour on the flat foreshore at Kingroad, on the Somerset side, which was to be enclosed by two piers, and would contain sufficient depth of water at low tide for ordinary steamers to enter. In it was to be a floating landing-stage, accessible at all states of the tide; the river was to be dammed near the lighthouse. The great float was to be connected by tidal basins and locks with the outer tidal harbour. The three outer entrance locks would be respectively 100, 64 and 40 feet wide; his estimate for the whole was £800,000. The report containing these three plans was by the town council referred to Mr. (now Sir John) Hawkshaw, C.E., and Mr. Page, C.E., who were requested to report if the scheme for converting the Avon into a floating dock were practicable, and generally as to the schemes which had been proposed. After a lapse of about eight months, these gentlemen presented their reports. Mr. Hawkshaw preferred, of the schemes at the river's mouth, Mr. Rendel's plan, but thought it too large and costly; moreover he did not consider that piers outside the Avon would attract ocean-going steamers to the port; the construction of docks at the mouth of the Avon was quite practicable, but they would lead to a divided and ultimately to a competitive trade. Of the plans proposed for dockising the Avon,

he greatly preferred Mr. Howard's, but thought that he had under-estimated the cost, which he himself calculated at £1,200,000. Mr. Hawkshaw saw difficulties with regard to the anchorage at Kingroad, and could himself come to no satisfactory conclusion without a long and careful examination of the bed of the river, and the strata underlying the banks and shoals at and near to the confluence of the Severn and Avon. He could see nothing to account for the deep water at the mouth of the Avon if its tidal waters did not cause it; if they did, their abstraction might be fatal to the port of Bristol. His general impression was that the river should be widened, straightened and deepened, but he was not of opinion that even then ocean steamers of the largest class would come up to Bristol; the better plan would be to construct a steam dock at the mouth of the river, and to connect the same with Bristol by a railway laid on the margin of the Avon. He recommended that the improvement of the river be proceeded with, leaving the dock to be carried out as necessity proved requisite.

Mr. Page spoke highly of Mr. Howard's plan, but did not think that the Avon ought to be turned into a floating harbour. (1) It might interfere with the tidal action of the Avon, and it probably would have a prejudicial effect on the depth of water at the entrance to the proposed docks at its mouth. (2) The great expense of the plan, combined with the expense of diverting the sewage. (3) The interference with the trade as carried on with sailing vessels, and the necessity of towing all such ships up to Bristol. He considered it not necessary that the ships should come up to Bristol if the cargoes were brought, and would provide a pier and hydraulic apparatus adjoining Kingroad, together with a railway from thence to Bristol quays and the great trunk lines; he would also widen and deepen the river for three and a half miles from Cumberland basin, so as to allow ships drawing 22 feet to come up to Bristol at neap tides. Finally, he would, when requisite, construct a dock in the old north channel at Avonmouth, of which the pier should form one side, the said dock to be 2,100 feet by 440 feet, having an area of 25 acres, and a tidal basin 800 feet by 600 feet; the total cost he estimated at £260,000. Shortly after this report, a motion was made in the council virtually to carry out Mr. Page's plan; this was lost by thirty-two to seventeen on February 17th, 1860. In 1862, a company procured an Act for constructing a railway to Avonmouth (the Port railway and Pier company); this was opened in 1865; it terminated at a short pier that was run out into the channel between Dunball island and the main land, which pier has since then effectually silted up the

said channel. In 1864 another company was formed (the Bristol Port and Channel Dock company) for the construction of a dock at Avonmouth. In 1865 the corporation obtained an Act for deepening and improving the river and for new entrances. In April, 1867, the Bristol and Portishead railway was opened, and the docks at Portishead were begun in 1871. The corporation of Bristol possesses lands at Portishead, and, in 1872, the town council resolved by thirty-two votes to twenty-six not to contribute towards the Avonmouth dock, but by thirty-six votes to nineteen they determined to subscribe £100,000 to the completion of the dock at Portishead. In 1872-3, new entrance locks of large capacity, in a nearly straight line with the river, were opened at Cumberland basin, in accordance with the plan of Mr. Howard, the dock engineer. On February 24th, 1877, the Avonmouth dock was opened by the mayor, Mr. G. W. Edwards, who was accompanied on the *Juno* by a large number of the citizens; and on June 28th, 1879, the first craft, the *Lyn*, steamship, entered the Portishead dock.

Mr. Hawkshaw's prediction as to a divided and competitive trade being the result of docks formed at the river's mouth became true to the letter. The Great Western steamship line, which had been started, in 1871, for the resumption of passenger traffic with New York, to ensure regularity in sailing, gradually removed their ships to Avonmouth as the point of departure and arrival. Inducements were offered by the managers of each of the three companies to shipowners and captains in order to get their trade, and great dissensions arose in the city and town council. The matter was, in 1882, finally arranged satisfactorily by the mayor, Mr. J. D. Weston, who had been chosen as mediator between the three companies. On May 27th, 1879, sheds for the reception of foreign cattle were opened at Cumberland basin. On June 17th Mr. Howard, at the request of a committee of the corporation re-published his plan for dockising the Avon at an estimated cost of £790,000. In 1872 half a mile of new wharves with deep water berths were completed on the Somerset side of the Floating harbour and connected by a short line and tunnel (the Bristol Harbour railway) with the trunk lines at Temple meads. At these wharves the Bristol City steamship line to New York and the large grain-laden ships load and discharge; and in 1875, by a tunnel under Durdham down and the Clifton Extension railway, the dock at Avonmouth was connected with the Midland and Great Western railways.

The two fortified islands, the Steep and the Flat Holms, form the western boundary of the port of

Bristol, and with batteries on Brean down and at Penarth, render it safe from all assault in time of war.

19. The following is a summary of the history of the beautiful Clifton Suspension bridge, which hangs like a portcullis across the gorge of the Avon, just in advance of the entrance to the Floating harbour:—

In the year 1753 Alderman Vick left all his residuary estate, amounting to £1,000, to the Merchant Venturers' society, for the purpose of building a bridge, toll free, over the Avon from Clifton down. He estimated the cost at £10,000, and in 1830 the estate had accumulated to about £8,000. The inadequacy of the funds, the necessity of levying tolls, and the desirability of substituting iron for stone, the plans for which latter it was estimated would cost £90,000, and were, moreover, incongruous with the site, rendered an Act of Parliament necessary. A committee was formed, and plans were received from Mr. J. M. Rendel and others, but were not accepted. Mr. T. Telford, engineer of the Menai bridge, was also requested to prepare a suitable design; he produced a singularly beautiful one, of which we append an illustration, the cost of which he estimated at £52,000. An Act of Parliament was obtained in spite of opposition from the dean and chapter, who, being the owners of Rownham ferry (the title to which dates from the 12th century), claimed under Vick's will to be entitled to a sum for supposed injury to their property. (Under the Act of 1861 compensation was awarded to them.) The first Act was obtained 29th of May, 1830, and trustees were chosen. Five competitors appeared with plans of superior merit. Mr. Davies Gilbert, formerly president of the Royal society, was appointed referee, and the design of Mr. I. K. Brunel was unanimously chosen, the cost being estimated at £57,000.

In 1831 the work was commenced by Lady Elton turning the first turf on the land for the approaches on the Clifton side, which was given by the Merchant Venturers' society, and steps were taken to collect donations and subscriptions to carry on the work. The Bristol riots intervened, and stopped all progress; but, in 1833, the trustees made another attempt, which, however, proved abortive. On the passing of the Great Western railway bill, in 1835, the bridge trustees deter-

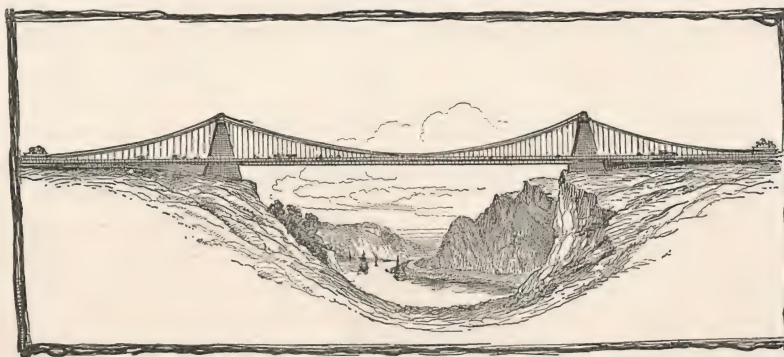
mined to begin and carry on the work to the extent warranted by the funds in hand. Mr. Miles gave the stone, plans for the pier on the Leigh woods' side were prepared, and, in 1836, an iron bar was hung across the river at a somewhat lower elevation than that of

the present bridge. Five shillings was charged for an aerial ride in the basket that traversed the ravine on this bar, which sum was subsequently reduced to 2s. 6d., then to 1s.: £125 was thus realised, but in 1853 this dangerous contrivance was removed.

On the 27th of August, 1836, the first stone of the Leigh woods' abutment was laid by the Marquis of Northampton, president of the British Association for the advancement of Science, which was then holding its sixth annual sedentary in Bristol. The whole city was *en fête* on this occasion, the river, cliffs, and hanging woods being covered by tens of thousands of people in holiday attire, who for the



W. Bridges' design for Bridge, 1793.



J. M. Rendel's design for Clifton Suspension Bridge, 1830.

most part had marched in procession through the city to this beautiful spot. The works proceeded at first satisfactorily, but, in 1837, the contractors became bankrupt, and delay occurred; other contractors were then found, and the abutment was completed in 1840. The tunnels and chambers in the rock for fastening the main chains and the approaches for the roads were then excavated, and the whole of the ironwork was contracted for. So matters progressed until 1843, when it was found that

the moneys which had been left and had accumulated, amounting to £45,000, were expended, and the works consequently were temporarily stopped.

The time allowed by the Act for the completion of the bridge expired on the 29th May, 1853, but when it was on the very verge of completion the work was again abandoned for want of funds; the portion of the chains, suspending rods and flooring which had been delivered were sold to satisfy demands, and things remained in abeyance until 1857, when a proposition was made by Lieut.-Colonel Serrell, C.E., of the United States, to finish the structure with wire after the plan of the suspension bridge over the Niagara. Happily this met with no adequate support.

In 1861 a new company, entitled The Clifton Suspension Bridge company, was formed, and a new Act was obtained, which received the royal assent on June 28th. Messrs. John Hawkshaw, F.R.S., and W. H. Barlow, F.R.S., being appointed the engineers, the piers and

land on both sides of the river were transferred to the new company for £2,000 in paid-up shares; £50 per annum was to be paid over to the Old Trust for the purpose of securing the object of Alderman Vick's bequest, viz., a bridge toll free, but meanwhile tolls were made payable on all traffic, with the usual exemption in favour of soldiers.

Sir John Henry Greville Smyth, bart., took shares to the amount of £2,500, and gave a donation of like amount, on condition that the bridge should be constructed of the width of 30 feet, instead of 24 feet, as contemplated under the Act (this was five feet narrower than Brunel's plan), and that the owner of Ashton court should

be entitled to the use of the bridge toll free for thirty years. The original chains, which had meanwhile been in use for Hungerford Suspension bridge, London, had been re-purchased, and the work was commenced under the direction of Mr. Thomas Airey, for Messrs. Cochrane and Co., the contractors, and progressed satisfactorily until December 8th, 1864, when, amidst great rejoicing, this



*T. Telford's design for Clifton Suspension Bridge, 1830.*



*Clifton Suspension Bridge as erected from I. K. Brunel's design.*

magnificent aerial structure was opened. Three processions were formed, one being military, composed principally of local volunteers, under the command of Colonel Brunker, which assembled in Queen square and marched to the bridge. The Artillery, Yeomanry (Hussars) and the Naval Reserve crossed the bridge and took up the positions assigned to them. The Rifles filed to the right and guarded that side of the new road, the Engineers guarded the left side.

The civic procession consisted of the assemblage of trades and friendly societies, headed by the mayor and civic officers, and members of the corporation of the poor, who had paraded the city to Clifton down. Upon their arrival portions of the two bodies coalesced and formed the Bridge procession in the following order:—

THE MILITIA AND VOLUNTEER OFFICERS,  
THE CONTRACTORS,  
THE SUPERINTENDENT OF WORKS AND THE BRIDGE WORKMEN,  
THE FOREIGN CONSULS,  
THE LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL,  
THE DEAN AND CANONS, WITH OTHER CLERGYMEN,  
THE LORD-LIEUTENANT OF GLOUCESTER AND OF THE CITY AND  
COUNTY OF BRISTOL AND THE LORD-LIEUTENANT OF SOMERSET,  
THE MAGISTRATES OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL,  
THE CHAIRMAN AND DIRECTORS OF THE COMPANY,  
THE OFFICERS OF THE COMPANY,  
THE MAYOR, ALDERMEN AND TOWN COUNCILLORS,  
THE SOCIETY OF MERCHANT VENTURERS,  
THE CORPORATION OF THE POOR,  
THE DELEGATES OF THE TRADE AND FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

This procession crossed from Clifton, and was welcomed by salvoes of artillery from the Somerset side; it then recrossed the river, and the Earl of Ducie, lord-lieutenant of the county of Gloucester, and the Earl of Cork and

Orrery, lord-lieutenant of the county of Somerset, on receiving an address from the chairman of the Bridge company, Mr. Mark Huish, formally declared the bridge open to the public from the following morning. In the afternoon 350 ladies and gentlemen partook of a banquet at the Victoria rooms.

The height of the bridge from high water is 245 feet, the span of the chains from saddle to saddle is 702 feet 3 inches, the span between the abutments is 627 feet, its weight is 1,500 tons, it will support a burden of 7,000 tons. There are 4,200 links, of 24 feet in length and 7 inches in width, in the chains, these sweep gracefully through two pillars, 86 feet high, on each side of the river at a height of 73 feet, they are then carried more abruptly on the land side to the surface, and are securely anchored 70 feet within the solid rock, 400 bolts,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter and 25 inches in length, fasten the links together, and the bridge is attached to the chains by rods of iron  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, which are placed 8 feet apart, and which vary in length from 3 feet to 65 feet. The handrail is of oak, and the carriage road of Baltic timber braced together, covered with a plank floor laid transversely. The abutment on the Leigh woods' side, which commences at a height of 130 feet, is carried up 110 feet to the floor of the bridge, and with the pillar cost £13,971. Due precautions were taken to allow of the expansion and contraction of the metal, and the bridge was tested under a load of 500 tons of stone, with a result that satisfactorily proved it to be the strongest suspension bridge in the world as well as the handsomest. Its total cost has been somewhat over £100,000.

*A full page view of Clifton Suspension Bridge forms the Frontispiece to this Volume.*







BRISTOL RIOTS: CHARGE OF THE DRAGOON GUARDS IN QUEEN SQUARE.



## CHAPTER XXI.

### HANOVERIAN ERA.—GEORGE IV. TO VICTORIA.

1. George IV. begins his reign. First applications for Railroads. Sanitary condition of Floating Harbour—Carey's plan. 2. The right of election to offices by the Common Council tested. 3. No Popery Meeting. The Grammar School. Survey of the Bristol Channel. Election Riots. Death of George IV. and Accession of William IV. 4. Popularity of Sir Charles Wetherell—he opposes Reform, becomes an obstructive, and loses his popularity. 5. Public feeling against the Bishops. Riots in the country. Great Reform Meeting. 6. Meeting of Sailors in Bristol. Application for Military. Arrival of Sir Charles Wetherell. Commencement of the Riot. First Attack on the Mansion-house. Escape of the Recorder. 7. The Scene on Sunday Morning. The Mansion-house cellars forced. Escape of the Mayor. Colonel Brereton sends the 14th Light Dragoons out of the city. Attack on the Bridewell. The County Prison set on fire. Attack on the Bishop's Palace. 8. Firing of the Mansion-house. The north side of Queen Square burned. 9. The Excise Office fired. Return of 14th Light Dragoons from Keynsham. Arrival of Troops from Gloucester. 10. Major Beckwith's statement. The citizens demand a police. Special Commission appointed. 11. The King's speech. Sir Charles Wetherell's defence. Trial and sentences of the Prisoners. Courts Martial on Colonel Brereton and Captain Warrington. Mr. Pinney, the mayor, tried and acquitted. 12. Anniversary of Passing the Reform Bill. Cholera in Bristol. 13. Reaction against Reform. Sir Charles Wetherell acts as Recorder. The Municipal Corporation Reform Act. 14. The Municipal Officers. Re-arrangement of Salaries. List of Mayors and Sheriffs since 1835. Clifton joined to Bristol. 15. Indebtedness and value of the City Property. 16. Meeting of the British Association. Death of William IV. Accession of Victoria. 17. Compensation to Slave Owners. Launch of "Great Britain." 18. Street Improvement Bill. 19. Death of a Director in an accident on the Great Western Railway. The Claim on the Long Ashton estates. Landing of the body of Lord Raglan. 20. Brief notices of incidents of local interest from 1854 to the present date, including Volunteer movements.



GEORGE IV. ascended the throne in his fifty-ninth year, having been eight years Prince Regent. He was proclaimed in Bristol on February 3rd, 1820.—On February 29th, the foundation stone of the Bristol Philosophical and Literary institution was laid by the mayor, William Fripp, jun., assisted by the sheriffs, James George, jun., and John Gardiner,

the Dean of Bristol, and a host of eminent men, one hundred and fifty of whom afterwards dined at the Merchant Venturers' hall.—On the 20th of August the old gaol of Newgate ceased to be used as a prison.—During this year the stained glass which fills the win-

dow over the altar in the Mayor's chapel was purchased at Sir Paul Bagot's sale by the chamberlain.—Mr. Levi Ames, the senior alderman, died, leaving £36 a year to equip the nine watchmen and the night constables of St. Mary-le-port ward in boots, hats and great coats. In the twelve city wards there were fifteen night constables and one hundred and fifteen watchmen, the wage of the former was 18s. and of the latter 10s. per week; the chief and *petit* constables numbered one hundred and seventeen.—George Hilhouse elected mayor, and Thomas Hassell and Robert Jenkins sheriffs.

In January, 1821, Mr. William Adye gave £100 to the Eye Infirmary.—On the night of the 29th a Mr. and Mrs. Norris fell into Cumberland basin and were drowned; Mr.

Norris being a Freemason, £500 was raised for their four orphan children.—On April 24th St. Mary Redcliff church was damaged during a severe thunderstorm, and several ships were stranded in the Bristol channel.—John Harwood was hanged at the new gaol for the murder of Eliza Balsham, a former sweetheart. He threw a stone at her in a quarrel, on the 26th January, at a distance of thirty yards; she lingered until February 17th in the Infirmary. He was executed on April 13th, after standing twenty-five minutes on the platform before he could summon courage to give the fatal signal by dropping his handkerchief. His skin, flayed and tanned, is in the museum of the Infirmary.—July 19th the king was crowned; there was the usual rejoicing in Bristol on the occasion.—Steampackets this summer began to ply regularly from Bristol to Ireland.—Mr. Henry Browne, banker, published a plan for cleansing the Frome; this gentleman was one of the partners in the Bullion bank.—Abraham Hilhouse elected mayor, and Nicholas Roch and Thomas Camplin sheriffs.

In March, 1822, the clock dial was placed in front of the Exchange.—May 15th an Act was passed for the employment and maintenance of the poor of the city; for altering the mode of assessing the rates; for paving, pitching and lighting the city, &c.—The Prince and Princess of Denmark and suite came to the Hotel, Clifton, on July 13th; after visiting some of the manufactories, they left for Longleat, on their way to Copenhagen.—The freedom of the city was conferred upon Sir F. Freeling, the son of a journeyman sugar baker on Redcliff hill, who from a junior position in the Bristol Post office had risen by his talents and ability to be the directing and controlling power in the General Post office, London.

“Bristol, too slowly came thy civic grace,  
As thou of Freeling art the native place,  
Since he, by deeds and worth 'tis plain,  
Can well return the honour he may gain.”

Early this year the prospectus of the Bristol Chamber of Commerce was issued, and in February, 1823, it was organised, Mr. Joseph Reynolds being first president, Mr. Thomas Stock and Mr. Joseph Cookson vice-presidents, Mr. G. Helicar secretary.—August 12th the new church and churchyard of Clifton were consecrated by the Lord Bishop of Bristol.—This year the entrance to Park street was widened and improved by public subscriptions.—The old Hotwell house, which was erected in 1696, and which abutted on the river, was taken down, in order to widen the new road to Clifton down; a new building of the Tuscan order was erected.—The site of Newgate prison was sold for £655, subject to a ground rent of 70s.—Neate, the Bristol pugilist,

was beaten by Tom Spring, having fought thirty-seven minutes with a broken arm; Mrs. Fry offered him £500 to pay forfeit and expenses if he would not fight. He declined, but promised her that he would never fight again whatever the result. The love of brutal sports still lingered; when the last bull was baited in Bristol we know not, but the bull ring was the open space in which the church of St. Jude now stands. The inhabitants of that locality bore the name of “bull paunchers,” and the euphonious appellation still adheres to one of its lanes.—James George elected mayor, and Gabriel Goldney and John Cave sheriffs.

On January 1st, 1823, the ship *Weare*, of 450 tons, bound from Bristol to Jamaica, having sailed hence on the preceding morning, was wrecked at eight o'clock in the evening on the Irish coast, between Ballycotton and Youghall. Fifteen persons (including the master, pilot, two females, one infant, and three male passengers) perished. Thirteen escaped.—In June the Bristol Dock company declared a dividend of one per cent. to the shareholders.—In April the foundation-stone of the new Council-house was laid by the mayor.—The quarter-boys that struck the hours outside Christ church were sold; they are now in the possession of Mr. Braikenridge, of Clevedon.—This month Mr. James Maze, of Bristol, was killed by a fall from one of the Pyramids in Egypt.—In July the reading-room of the Bristol Philosophical Institution was opened.—John Barrow elected mayor; John Savage and Charles Frederick Pinney, sheriffs.

In May, 1824, the building of the Arcades between Broadmead and the Barton was commenced.—The royal assent was given to a bill for lighting and watching the parish of Clifton, and in June an Act was passed “for lighting the city with oil gas.”—During this month the first exhibition of pictures in the Bristol Institution was held.—Application was made for a bill to enable the mayor, burgesses and commonalty to reduce, alter, modify, and regulate the town dues and the mayor's dues, and the charging and collecting thereof.—Wherries were established as a means of public conveyance between Prince street bridge and Cumberland basin by Mr. Davis.—Thomas Hassell elected mayor, John Gardiner and Charles Ludlow Walker sheriffs.

On January 3rd, 1825, the first railroad between Bristol and Bath was projected; Sheriff Gardiner took the chair at the “White Lion” tavern, Bristol, to receive the report of Mr. J. M. Tucker, the surveyor. The capital was to be £100,000, in 4,000 shares of £25 each. Also on February 2nd a meeting of the London and Bristol Railroad company, capital £1,500,000, in shares of £100 each, was held at the “London” tavern to receive the report of Mr. John Loudon McAdam, who

advised the construction of a turnpike road in connection with the railroad *via* Wallingford, at an estimated cost of £130,000; Richard Hart Davis, M.P., was the chairman.—The by-laws of the Corporation of the Poor, also John Evans' *Chronological outline of the History of Bristol*, and the second volume of Rev. Samuel Seyer's *Memoirs of Bristol*, were published this year.—Kingsdown was lighted with oil gas.—The condition of the water in the Floating harbour was, through the intense heat of the summer, perfectly fetid; since 1809, the city sewers, of the length of five miles and three-quarters, had daily been pouring their contents into it as into a common cess pool. Application was made to the directors of the Dock company to remedy this evil by culverts and new sewers that should convey the matter to the New Cut. On the Dock company demurring to the liability sought to be imposed upon them the commissioners of sewers moved for a rule to show cause why a mandamus should not issue against the directors of the Dock company requiring them to execute such works. After much litigation, a peremptory mandamus was issued in February, 1827. That doctors differed, and that there were two opinions on the question of the sanitary condition of the harbour, is evident from the following:—"From 1795 to 1809 the deaths from fever in Bristol were 2,175. From 1809, when the river was dockised or floated, to 1824, they were only 1,319."<sup>1</sup>—Carey's plan, published in 1825, for improving the Floating harbour, consisted of piers and a pair of gates in Canons' marsh, with three sluices on each side; three sluices from a pier on the south-west into the New Cut; Prince street bridge to be furnished with gates; a double swing bridge, working on a central pier, to replace the Drawbridge; another opposite Farr's lane to the Butts; four sluices into Cumberland basin from the Floating harbour; gates in Netham dam 30 feet broad, to be shut at high water, thus forcing the head of water down the feeder, and through the Floating harbour to the sluices in Canons' marsh, and through them into the New Cut.—Mr. John Loudon McAdam, general surveyor of the roads for the Bristol district, and inventor of the system known as "macadamising," (*i.e.*, making and mending roads by using stone broken into fragments about the size of a walnut), gave notice that he should resign his post at the expiration of the current year. The Bristol trust has the merit of being the first body in the kingdom to test his plan.—In the month of June, on the petition of Frederick Jones, of Stapleton road, Mr. Joseph Hume, in the House of Commons, stated that the petitioner had on two several occasions demanded of local bankers gold for their notes and had been refused. That of the legal obligation of country

<sup>1</sup> R. Smith.

bankers to pay in gold there could be no doubt, but the only remedy for the noteholder who had been refused seemed to be, not as was thought and intended by summary process, but by an action at law. After considerable debate, the petition was ordered to be printed.—Henry Savery was tried before the recorder for forging a note-of-hand for £500, with intent to defraud George Smith and his co-partners, trading under the firm of John Freeman and the Bristol Copper company. He persisted in pleading guilty, and was sentenced to be hanged; he was subsequently reprieved and transported for life, because it was shown that a Bristol magistrate had told him his life would be spared if he pleaded guilty.—The Mechanics' Institution was opened by Lord John Russell June 20th.—In August a strenuous attempt was made to extend the jurisdiction of the gaol delivery and Nisi Prius assizes at Bristol.

2. On November 25th rules were obtained in the King's Bench in the nature of a *quo warranto*, calling upon Mr. John Haythorne, mayor, and Messrs. Gabriel Goldney and John Savage, sheriffs, to show by what authority they held their offices. The case came on in 1826. The substantial question to be tried was whether the right of election was vested in the mayor, aldermen and common council as a select body, or whether the burgesses at large had not under the charters a voice in the election of their officers. A distinct and collateral objection was taken against the sheriffs on account of their having served the office three years previously. For the rules, custom and the old charters were pleaded, showing that Bristol was an ancient town, and not a corporation by prescription. As such the burgesses had a right, which they had constantly exercised, of choosing their mayor long antecedent to their first common council, which was established under the charter Edward III., 1373, and that the charter of Charles II. was void; consequently elections under it were not valid. Contra it was argued that the elections took place under the charter of 9 Anne, by which the power of election was confided to forty-two of the more discreet citizens and burgesses besides the mayor, to whom the power of election was given. The rules as they related to both the mayor and sheriffs were discharged. This established the validity of the elections according to the charter of 9 Anne.—Reckless speculation had caused an issue of £6,000,000 by the country banks; discounts were raised, trade was checked, a panic ensued, and, on December 20th, the Bullion bank, Messrs. Browne, Cavenagh, Browne and Bayly, Corn street, Bristol, suspended payment. (See engraving of one of their notes, *ante* p. 226.)—John Haythorne

elected mayor, and Gabriel Goldney and John Savage sheriffs.

In 1826 the foreign import trade of Bristol amounted to 84,931 tons, in 425 ships, of which number 358 were British and 67 foreign; as the exports were nearly, if not quite equal, the above figures must be doubled for the non-coasting traffic on the river. These ships were towed up and down the Avon by Pill boatmen, who were paid 3s. 9d. per man, assisted by horses on the towpath between the Broad Pill and Bristol; but this year six West Indiamen were, during the first week in November, successfully taken from Bristol over the Swash at the mouth of the river by the steamboats *Glamorgan* and *Bristol*, thus establishing the practicability of steam towage in the Avon. The names of Christopher Claxton and Mark Whitwill, sen., should be associated with this successful attempt to benefit the port and to break up an effete monopoly.—On Sunday evening, June 1st, Mr. Hunt left Ilchester to pay a visit to his friends in Bristol; he came in a coach and four from Wells, was drawn into the city by his admirers, and from one of the pillars in front of the Exchange addressed the vast multitude. It was fourteen years since his first, and eleven years, he said, since his last visit. He was making an electioneering tour of Somerset.—On July 31st Mr. Courtney made a second and most successful passage down a rope stretched from the summit of St. Vincent's rocks to the foot of Leigh woods.—Two men who refused to pay a fine for unseemly behaviour during a funeral in Redcliff church were, on August 23rd, set for three hours in the stocks on Redcliff hill. This was, we believe, the last exhibition of the kind in Bristol.—Thomas Camplin elected mayor, and Thomas Hassell and Daniel Stanton sheriffs.

In January, 1827, William Henry Hervey, fifth Earl of Bristol, created first Marquis of Bristol (John, Lord Hervey of Ickworth, had been created Earl of Bristol October 5th, 1714).—The lowest price quoted for Bohea tea in Bristol was at this time 3s. 2d. per pound, the highest being fine Hyson, 10s.—Joseph Kiddle (a man hired that day) was killed as he entered the cage of a fine young lion which was on exhibition at the "Star" inn, Bedminster.—The Branch Bank of England was opened at the upper end of Bridge street, under a new Act passed this year.—Notice was given, on the 13th October, of the intention of the corporation to open a market for live cattle in Temple Meads, and to remove the existing market in Thomas street.—A new swivel bridge (Draw-bridge) was opened August 12th, by the mayor, on his way to church; it cost £1,930, and was constructed by Messrs. Acraman; weight, 120 tons; carriage way, 18 feet; two footpaths, each 5 feet wide; opened and shut

by a winch wheel, which one man could work.—In September two men were killed by the caving in of the earth whilst constructing a tunnel for the sewer in Prince street. The shafts were afterwards filled in, and the tunnel was carried along the Quay.—Gabriel Goldney elected mayor, and Charles Payne and H. W. Newman sheriffs.

3. On January 9th, 1828, John Noble, senior alderman of Bristol, died, eighty-four years of age. He was sheriff in 1775, mayor in 1791, and alderman in 1792. Under the Grenville administration he was appointed one of the auditors of the public accounts, and resided in London, only paying an occasional visit to Bristol. He was born at Taunton in 1744.—On February 12th there was a great meeting in Queen square held by adjournment from the Guildhall, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament against any further concessions of political power to the Roman Catholics within these realms.—In May the races were held on Durdham down, in the presence of a large and fashionable assemblage.—The famous kite carriage, the invention of Messrs. Pocock and Sons, schoolmasters of this city, was exhibited at Ascot Heath races, where it was inspected by George IV. It then started from Staines in company with several coaches, all of which it distanced, and passed everything on the road. It covered the eight miles between Staines and Smallberry green in half an hour less time than the Bull and Mouth coach.—The following curious extract is from *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* of this year:

Dr. Goodenough, the master of the Grammar school, has four or five free scholars now upon the foundation. For each of these he receives £4; also 7s. 6d. quarterly for firing and keeping the school clean. His salary is £80 per annum, with £1 6s. 8d. hat money; the under-master has also £80, and 13s. 4d. hat money. The school is open to all the sons of freemen within a mile of the liberties of Bristol. The head-master only considers himself bound to teach such boys the learned languages, but for an additional sum of sixteen guineas he puts the foundation boys on a footing with his private pupils, of whom he has thirty-five boarders; he also takes a few day boarders.

Mr. Isaac James, who for thirty years had been one of the tutors of the Baptist academy, died December 8th.—John Cave elected mayor, and C. L. Walker and Thomas Hooper Riddle sheriffs.

In 1829 a camera obscura was opened in West's observatory on Clifton down.—The traffic between Bristol and Liverpool was chiefly carried on in smacks of from 80 to 120 tons burthen, which sailed once a week.—Sweeping chimneys by machinery was introduced into Bristol this year under the auspices of a society for superseding the employment of children in that dangerous occupation.—On May 21st a Bristol horticultural society was formed; the first show was held on the

23rd of June, and the second on the 4th of August, both at the Clifton hotel.—The western arch for foot passengers under the tower of St. John's church was opened in September; the eastern one had been opened some months previously.—Samuel Wesley, editor of the works of Sebastian Bach, opened the organ in St. Mary Redcliff church on September 29th; tickets, 4s., 7s. 6d. and 10s. each.—C. Pinney, in seconding the nomination of J. E. Baillie as member of Parliament, stated that five-eighths of the whole trade of Bristol depended on the West Indies. He advocated the education of the slaves, so that they might ultimately be fitted for a similar position to that of the English peasantry.—John Savage elected mayor, and H. W. Dawson and J. E. Lunell sheriffs.

In 1830 the Bristol channel was surveyed by Lieutenant Denham.—On Thursday, February 4th, the Cattle market, Temple meads, was opened.—William Cobbett delivered in July, at the Assembly rooms, Prince street, a series of lectures on "Political Economy."—In this month Mr. Baillie made his public entrance into Bristol, which was signalled by a riot. *Gentlemen* on horseback assailed with bludgeons the friends of Mr. Protheroe, the defeated candidate, and the "Rummer" tavern was attacked by the mob, who destroyed the windows, shutters, &c.; the windows of Mr. John Hare, Temple gate, were smashed in, and the whole city was in a state of tumult from the extraordinary number of intoxicated persons.—George IV. died June 26th, 1830, unlamented, and William IV. succeeded him. The coronation day, September 8th, was celebrated in Bristol with great splendour; the bells of the churches were rung, cannon fired, and the streets liberally adorned with bunting, notwithstanding a heavy fall of rain, which tended to mar the processions and the fireworks in the evening.—John Savage again elected mayor, and George Protheroe and William Claxton sheriffs.—During the month of September Mr. Charles Pinney presided at a meeting held in Bristol to congratulate the French nation on the revolution and the three days of July. This gentleman was mayor in 1831, at the time of the riots.—October 30th, the Bristol Political Union was projected by Mr. James Acland in the *Bristolian*.

4. We now enter upon one of the most important eras in the modern history of our city. In 1831 the Bristol riots occurred in connection with the agitation for reform; Sir Charles Wetherell, the attorney-general under the Duke of Wellington's administration, was a vigorous opponent of the emancipation of the Roman Catholics; on the second reading of the Relief Bill he opposed it in a trenchant, vigorous speech, notwithstanding the fact that the Government, of which he was a member, had introduced the measure. "Gre-

ville says, 'The Speaker said the only lucid interval Sir Charles had was that between his waistcoat and his breeches.' When he speaks he unbuttons his braces, and in his vehement action his breeches fall down and his waistcoat runs up, so that there is a great interregnum. He is half mad, eccentric, ingenious, with great and varied information, and a coarse, vulgar mind, delighting in ribaldry and abuse, besides being an enthusiast; he is inflexibly honest, and with all his eccentricities highly honourable."<sup>1</sup> On 22nd March, 1830, the Duke dismissed him, and Sir Charles won high renown amongst the anti-Catholic party for the



Sir Charles Wetherell. From a contemporary print.

sacrifice he had made on principle. He was at this time the Recorder of Bristol, a position equivalent or nearly so to that of judge of the King's bench, and on his entrance into Bristol in April to hold the Assize he was welcomed by an immense multitude with shouts of "No Popery! Wetherell for ever!" The mob attempted to take his horses from the carriage in order to draw him in triumph, and they spent their surplus energy in smashing the windows in the houses of the Catholics and of their chapel in Trenchard street. Sir Charles was only another instance of the instability of popular favour, for the Hosannahs of the day speedily gave place to malediction and outrage. His opposition to a reform of the Constitution was equally conscientious and even more obstinate. On July 8th, 1831, the second reading of the

<sup>1</sup> The Age we live in, 356.

Reform Bill was carried by 367 to 231, and on the 12th the House attempted to go into committee; when a few of the Tories, deserted by their leaders, were headed by the ex-attorney-general, and for eight hours the small and dwindling body, by repeated divisions, obstructed the progress of the measure, until at half-past seven in the morning, with numbers diminished to twenty-four, they relinquished the struggle, just as the Liberal whips had sent out for a fresh relay of members from those who had taken a night's rest. This extreme partisan spirit on the part of the chief criminal judge of the city greatly irritated the minds of the Bristol reformers, and when in his place in the House of Commons he spoke with contempt of a petition to the Lords which had, it was said, 20,000 Bristol signatures, and declared that there was a reaction against the bill, the indignation against him in the city was extreme. Cunning demagogues and unwise orators fostered the feeling and magnified the offence. Equally unwise antagonists of reform made defiant orations and added fuel to the angry passions of the multitude. There is no doubt but that Sir Charles was in some degree misled by the speeches and resolutions passed by those who had not sufficient perspicacity to gauge the feeling of the country, and was encouraged to fight by such meetings as the following:—On Friday, January 28th, a “loyal and constitutional meeting” in opposition to reform had been held at the “White Lion” tavern, Bristol, Mr. Alderman Daniel in the chair, when an address to his majesty and a petition to Parliament were unanimously adopted. The petition, after alluding to the disturbed state of the country where every artifice is practised to inflame the passions of the people, and to diffuse discontent and dissatisfaction by a licentious press, states that it would be a fatal error if Parliament believed that a popular clamour for revolutionary innovations under the pretext of reform expresses the sense of the nation; that the respectable portion of the people have abstained from attending meetings called in advocacy of discontent and the disturbance of the public peace; that our admirable form of government, King, Lords and Commons is, of all political systems planned by human wisdom, the most perfect and complete; that any changes necessary must be corrected with caution, new elements introduced would destroy its very form and character; that the Protestant religion must be supported; vote by ballot denounced as a degrading theory; that rank and property naturally give an influence over those to whom they give support and the means of existence; that the kindly affection subsisting between these two classes, the employer and the employed, forms the best safeguard of social order which would be destroyed by giving the ballot; that

the ballot would lead to universal suffrage, that such changes would be of fatal consequence to the state, and they pray that all attempts to introduce such measures may be met by a firm and decisive rejection.

This petition of the loyal and constitutional meeting called forth great exertions on the part of the reformers who got up counter-petitions, with 12,000 signatures, which were presented to Parliament on the same night as that of the Tories. Mr. Hunt objected to the reception of the latter, on the ground of its being a printed paper and so contrary to rule.

5. At the dissolution of Parliament in April, at an immense mass meeting held in Queen square on the 26th, it was determined to contest the election, and Edward Protheroe, jun., and James Evan Baillie were selected by the Whigs as the reform candidates. At a meeting of the Tories held at the “White Lion” tavern their old and deservedly respected member, Richard Hart Davis, had been selected to fight the battle of anti-reform, but on his canvass he found the cause hopeless, and on the 30th he wisely retired. On the 15th of September Mr. Charles Pinney was chosen mayor, and George Bengough and Joseph Lax sheriffs. On the 19th of September the bill was finally carried in the Commons by 345 votes to 239, but after a powerful debate in the House of Lords, which lasted from October 2nd to October 7th, it was thrown out by a majority of 41 upon the second reading. Only two bishops voted for the bill, whilst twenty-one, including the primate (exactly the number that would have turned the scale), voted against it. This made the prelates highly unpopular, and for a while was certainly very injurious to their order. At Radical meetings the abolition of the House of Lords was advocated, whilst those who could not agree to so extreme a measure were perfectly willing to exclude the bishops from all legislative power.

On October 12th 60,000 persons walked in procession to St. James' palace, London, to present an address to the king. These were joined by a rabble who demolished the windows of unpopular peers, and committed still grosser outrages. A similar riot broke out at Derby, where their excesses culminated in the breaking open of the Borough gaol and the release of the prisoners. In an attempt on the County gaol they were less successful; they were fired on and several of the rioters were killed and others wounded. At Nottingham a mob attacked and burnt the Castle; from thence they marched against the country seats of the anti-reform peers and gentry, several of which they sacked and pillaged. Upon that Sir Charles Wetherell, in the House of Commons, attacked Lord Althorp and Lord John Russell, and charged them with conniving at the dastardly attacks that had been made on

the anti-reformers, and with encouraging illegal combinations as a means of carrying the Reform Bill. This added greatly to his unpopularity. Such a state of excitement throughout the kingdom had never before been known. Political unions had been formed in most of the large cities; meetings of 150,000 persons had been held, clamorous for reform, and the country, when, on the 20th of October, Parliament was prorogued, was within a measurable distance of civil war.

On the rejection of the Reform Bill by the lords, sundry meetings had been called in Bristol by the party of progress, which were numerous attended; by permission of the mayor, Mr. Charles Pinney, on October 12th, one such was held in the Guildhall, from which it was adjourned to Queen square; the chair was taken by Mr. J. Addington; the chief speakers were Messrs. R. Ash, J. E. Lunel, Jos. Reynolds, J. Manchee, M.P., C. H. Fripp, Rev. Francis Edgeworth (Roman Catholic), John Hare, W. Herapath, Dr. Carpenter and Captain Hodges. The speeches were undoubtedly strong, especially those of Mr. Protheroe and Captain Hodges; so also were the resolutions, which, together with a loyal address to the king, were passed unanimously by acclamation. On the other hand, the Tories, elated by their victory in the House of Lords, were unsparing in their taunts and defiance.

6. Meanwhile the day of the crucial test drew near, and, on October 18th, a meeting was called by Captain Claxton and sundry others (chiefly captains in the West India trade) of sailors; it was held on the decks of the *Earl of Liverpool* and an adjoining ship, the *Charles*, ostensibly for the purpose of voting a loyal address to the sailor king (this was the only reason given in the requisition); the real object, however, was to get the sailors to form a body guard to protect Sir Charles Wetherell. This was frustrated by Mr. John Wesley Hall and other

reformers, upon which Captain Claxton (who was in the employ of the corporation as corn-meter) declared the meeting dissolved. It was reconstituted immediately upon the Quay; Mr. Hall was installed as chairman, and the following resolution was moved by Mr. J. G. Powell, and seconded by Mr. Webb:—

That the sailors of this port on the present occasion earnestly express their decided and loyal attachment to his majesty and his Government, but will not allow themselves to be made a cat's paw of by the corporation or their paid agents.

As the day for holding the assizes drew near, great apprehensions arose with regard to the safety of the recorder's person and the peace of the city, and the magistrates, by deputation, submitted to him the propriety of post-

poning, if possible, the gaol delivery. Sir Charles was afterwards accused of having persistently come down to exercise the functions of a judge, contrary to the remonstrances of the Government, as well as of the civic authorities—a statement which he averred to be, in every part of it, false, base and scan-



Market House and Sworn Corn Meter's Office (afterwards Goose Market).

dalous. The Government was certainly never consulted, and if they had been, the chancellor of the exchequer stated "that they knew the assizes could not have been legally held without the recorder's presence;" whilst the magistrates simply consulted with Sir Charles as to the practicability of a postponement. On finding that the gaol must be delivered, the authorities, a week before the assize time, sent a deputation to Lord Melbourne, at the Home office, and requested the aid of a body of soldiers to keep the peace during the recorder's visit. His lordship sought a conference with the members for the city; Mr. Baillie was from home, but Mr. Protheroe engaged to go down to Bristol and accompany Sir Charles in his carriage, if the military were dispensed with. "His friends," he said, "would be answerable for order, if the people were allowed only to give expression to their

strong and unalterable disapprobation of Sir Charles Wetherell's political conduct; but," he added, "he would not be answerable for the quiet of the city if the military was employed." Mr. Herapath, president of the Political Union, who had been requested to induce the union to form a guard of protection for the recorder, on learning the application that had been made, informed Mr. Alderman Daniel that he had not been aware of the intention of the city authorities to employ an armed force for the protection of a judge of the land—a course which he believed to be unprecedented in English history, and which had produced an effect upon the council of the union which the magistrates alone must be answerable for. "However," he added, "I feel confident that no member of the council will be found committing outrages on that day." Whether these words were meant as a warning or as a menace, unhappily the expectation of outrages was fearfully fulfilled. "The scum that rises uppermost when the nation boils," overpowered the men who had kindled the fire, and vain were all attempts of legal authority or of popular leaders to repress the tumult, or to confine it within moderate bounds.

On Saturday, October 29th, the civic force appointed as a guard for the recorder, marched out, about ten o'clock in the morning, by way of Bristol bridge and Temple street, as far as the city boundary at the "Blue Bowl" tavern, Totterdown, to await his coming. They mustered about 300, and included the sheriff's officers, regular constables, and special constables; the latter being augmented by men who were hired for the occasion, and some of whom were very unfit for the office. A troop of cavalry was stationed in the cattle market and another in the new gaol. The usual hour for the judge to arrive was three o'clock in the afternoon; the idea of anticipating the time and avoiding a contact with a crowd was well meant but proved a failure. The line of route to the Guildhall was thronged, and the shops were all closed. At half-past ten o'clock, Sir Charles arrived in a carriage drawn by four grey horses. About 2,000 people received him with hisses, yells and groans. Entering the sheriff's carriage, which was preceded by the municipal officers with favours in their hats, and by the trumpeters, with two gentlemen on horseback riding by each door of the carriage, he moved on towards the city, but so dense was the crowd that the procession could not be properly marshalled. At Hillsbridge (Bath bridge) several stones were hurled at the carriage; Temple street, was one dense mass of people, and the female *habitués* of its alleys added shrill execrations to the din. At Bristol bridge the *cortège* could scarcely force a passage, and

most unequivocal were the tokens of feeling there manifested; and as it left the Bridge the carriage was again pelted with stones. By the time the recorder reached the Guildhall it was noon, and some minutes elapsed ere he ventured to alight; however, he reached the bench in safety, and the doors of the hall being opened, the room was instantly filled. The usual form of opening the commission by reading the charter was followed amidst great interruption, and the town clerk, Mr. Serjeant Ludlow, hoping to allay the excitement, made a few remarks, in which, alluding to reform, he was met with an astounding uproar of mingled cheers, hisses and groans. The recorder threatened to commit any one detected in thus disturbing the court, and specials were sent into the crowd to discover the offenders. The preliminaries being finished, the court was adjourned to eight o'clock Monday morning. The recorder withdrew from the bench amidst hisses, after which the audience dispersed, having given three cheers for the king. The streets were more densely thronged than before, and bodies of men were watching the back door of the Guildhall in Small street, as well as the mayor's state carriage in Quay street, in which Sir Charles was to be conveyed to the Mansion-house, Queen square. After the lapse of half-an-hour, the recorder made his appearance amidst a tumultuous expression of displeasure from those assembled. The line of route to Queen square was filled with a dense mass of people, and a file-firing of groans and hisses accompanied the carriage as it rolled along, varied only in one instance, this being the front of the Commercial-rooms, which was thronged by a number of the friends of Sir Charles, who greeted him with rounds of cheers. On his arrival at the Mansion-house the carriage was again pelted with stones, one of which broke the glass of the lamp; the recorder, however, escaped untouched.

The mayor had given instructions to the special constables to exercise the utmost forbearance, but there were excitable, unruly spirits amongst them, besides the roughs who had been hired as substitutes. Some of these, angered by and probably suffering from the missiles, rushed into the crowd and arrested a spectator who was innocent of offence. Elated by their success, they repeated their sallies, capturing six others, and using their staves to clear the way. Beyond peeping at the tumult from behind the curtains of the Mansion-house, the magistrates appear to have taken no steps to abate it; the specials were without organisation or a responsible acting head; whilst the populace, to the number of 1,500 or 2,000 persons, surged like a tempestuous sea about the square. Suddenly there was a cry, "To the Back!" and a rush was made to the faggot

piles for sticks. The parties who thus armed themselves were about 600 in number, for the most part mere lads, who at the first collision with the constables threw down their sticks and fled. This was at half-past twelve on the Saturday, at which time had an active popular man appeared on the scene and assumed command, the probability is that no further violence would have ensued. Occasionally a pane of glass was smashed by stones, or a stick was hurled at the special constables by some hobbledehoy from behind that portion of the crowd which was massed in front of the Mansion-house. The attempt to capture such offenders led to sundry collisions, in which the force was generally worsted, whilst the mob was angered by the occasional seizure of innocent but unwise lookers-on. One of the constables was chased into the Floating harbour, whence he was rescued by a boatman, and one man had his skull fractured and was taken to the Infirmary. At half-past two the constables retired within the Mansion-house, whence they sent to the Bridewell a batch of prisoners whom they had taken during the morning. The mob, learning this, followed, and in Nelson street overtook and rescued them. About four o'clock a number of the constables were ordered to withdraw to their homes for refreshment, with orders to be at the Guildhall at six o'clock in the evening, ready for service if required. Their departure gave an opportunity to the riff-raff, which was speedily seized. Certainly not more than a dozen windows had up to this time been broken, but now sticks and stones were freely hurled, and much destruction of glass ensued. The mayor, Mr. Charles Pinney, supported by some of the aldermen, then came to the front of the Mansion-house and endeavoured to address the assemblage, threatening to read the Riot Act and to call out the military. The answer was a volley of missiles, one of which—a top rail torn up in the square—nearly struck his worship on the head. The Riot Act was then read, in reply to which the mob rushed upon the weakened force of specials, disarmed them, and compelled some of them to join in demolishing the windows of the Mansion-house. The sashes and window shutters were smashed, the doors forced, the feast provided for the dignitaries was exposed to view, and most of the furniture upon the ground floor was demolished. The iron railings in front of the Mansion-house were pulled down and the bars converted into weapons, and walls were overturned for materials to hurl at the upper windows. At this critical juncture Sir Charles Wetherell effected his escape, but not, as he himself stated in the House of Commons, until the bed of the chief magistrate had been taken to barricade one of the windows.

[Vol. III.]

The threats of vengeance on the recorder were at this time fearful, and an attempt was made to burn the Mansion-house with its occupants, which was frustrated by the arrival of two magistrates with some of the 3rd Dragoon Guards and a troop of the 14th Light Dragoons. The whole available military force numbered ninety-three men, being one troop of the 3rd Dragoon Guards, and two troops of the 14th Light Dragoons. These were quartered at Leigh's Horse bazaar and at Fisher's Horse repository, which were contiguous to each other in College street. The Recruiting office was at the north corner of College green, close to the Bishop's palace; Colonel Brereton's quarters were at No. 2 Unity street, about 100 yards distant. Finding his life imperilled, the recorder got out of a window on to the flat roof of the dining-room. A female in the next house lowered a short ladder, by which he and some friends reached the roof, from which, at great peril, they dropped to that of the stables and hid in the hayloft. Exchanging his dress for that of a postillion, and arranging for a style of address to be used suitable to his apparent condition, Sir Charles ventured into the street, and by the above artifice passed safely through the mob in King street and was conducted to a house on Kingsdown. Anxious about the mayor's safety, he subsequently returned to the city in disguise, where he passed nearly two hours on the Quay and in the neighbourhood of the square, when, finding that the riot was increasing, he returned to his place of refuge, and shortly after left in a post-chaise for Newport, which he reached between two and three o'clock in the morning.

On the arrival of the soldiers the mob retired from the door of the Mansion-house, cheering the troops lustily; mischief, but not plunder, was evidently up to this period all that they contemplated. Col. Brereton, who was in command, was informed by one of the magistrates that the Riot Act had been read three times, and that he must use whatever force was necessary to disperse the mob, clear the streets, and restore peace to the city. This order was confirmed by the mayor, who, however, would not give the order to fire upon the people, neither would Colonel Brereton accept the responsibility of so doing. The troops then endeavoured to "ride through" and "walk away" the rioters, whereupon they became turbulent, and assailed the soldiers with brickbats, stones, and other missiles. Two of the 14th Light Dragoons were severely wounded, and one of the officers was hurt by the falling of his horse; still Colonel Brereton thought they were "a good-humoured mob," and expressed his conviction of being able to "walk them away." He would, he said, be answerable for the peace of the city, and would patrol

it during the night. He continually rode amongst the mob, shook hands with hundreds, led off cheers for the king, and if good temper, firmness and presence of mind could have effected a restoration of peace, he would doubtless have accomplished it. But the time for the kid glove had passed, and suavity had to be supplemented by harsher measures, to which he was averse; disorder grew more rampant, and about nine o'clock Captain Musgrave's troop of the 14th Light Dragoons, who were returning from feeding and refreshment, were ordered to draw swords, which indication of a resort to force was unheeded by the mob. About eleven o'clock the magistrates sent two or three constables before the troops with lights, but an officer of the 14th Light Dragoons complained that his soldiers would be needlessly sacrificed, being under orders only to use the flat of their swords, whilst the mob retreated to the barges and ships, where his men could not follow them.

Captain Morley, of the trow *Weekly Packet*, of Stroud, had during the day shipped some carboys of vitriol, which were demanded of him by a number of Irishmen for the avowed purpose of throwing over the horses of the 14th Light Dragoons. Just then they heard the soldiers trotting down the Welsh back, returning to re-light the gas in Queen square, which had been extinguished by the mob. The men left the trow and ran under the Market-house, where they pelted the soldiers; meanwhile Captain Morley drew his trow away into the middle of the Floating harbour, and so frustrated the diabolical design.

At this time Captain Shute, of the Bedminster troop of North Somerset Yeomanry Cavalry, was requested to muster his troop in readiness for the next day. At a quarter to twelve a large portion of the mob moved off to the Council-house, where they smashed the windows and endeavoured to force the doors. Orders were then given to Captain Gage's troop of the 14th Light Dragoons to protect the Council-house. Captain Gage being left to his own discretion, charged through High street, Broad street and Wine street, driving the rioters into the alleys, whence they attacked the soldiers with stones. At the top of the Pithay, a soldier being struck, turned and shot his assailant, Stephen Bush, dead upon the spot. Many were wounded by sabre cuts, one of whom, Daniel James, who was cut down at the corner of High street, died in the Infirmary. By half-past twelve o'clock not a rioter was to be seen in the centre of the city; and about two o'clock on the morning of Sunday, the mob having left Queen square, the troops retired to their quarters, leaving a picquet of the 3rd Dragoon Guards at the Mansion-house, and one of the 14th Light Dragoons at the Council-house. These were

most unwisely removed by Colonel Brereton before eight o'clock in the morning, and by his desire the troops were concentrated at Leigh's Bazaar stables.

7. So ended the first day's proceedings. With the dawn of Sunday, the 30th, the crowd began again to gather in Queen square, composed for the most part of many who on a day of cessation from toil were led thither by mere curiosity, but many of whom speedily became participants in the atrocious proceedings that ensued. When the news spread that the picquet was removed the roughs came down in a body, tore down the barricades, which had been put up during the night, from the front of the Mansion-house, swarmed through the lower rooms, forced the wine cellars in which were four hundred dozen of choice wines, threw out into the square the furniture, china, glass, &c., distributed the liquor with an unsparing hand, and soon the whole area became a scene of drunken revelry, wherein intoxicants led men hitherto respectable to join the criminal and abandoned classes in arson and robbery. It was at this period that the mayor and one of the sheriffs with difficulty escaped over the roofs of nine houses to the Custom-house, from whence they hurried to the Guildhall. Major Mackworth, who had been with his worship during the night, and who endeavoured during the temporary absence of the under-sheriff to organise the special constables, testified that the mayor remained at his post as long as it was tenable. The mayor and some of the magistrates hastened to find Col. Brereton, and ordered him to get out the troops; and whilst the soldiers were saddling they knocked at the doors of the inhabitants of College green and St. Augustine's back, calling on the inmates in the king's name to come to the aid of the magistrates. Colonel Brereton was at this time desired by one of the aldermen to order the soldiers to fire, but he would not give the order, stating that the mob would be infuriated, and might overcome the troops, when the whole city would be given up to slaughter. He said it would be better to keep the mob in temper until the arrival of the reinforcements which had been sent for, but which could not be expected until the next morning. Notices were posted, which stated that the Riot Act had been read three times; also that Sir Charles Wetherell had left the city at twelve o'clock the previous night. This notice, which had inadvertently been dated 1830, was looked upon as an attempt to deceive, and helped still more to anger the people. Another notice convened a meeting of the citizens at the Guildhall, to assist in restoring peace to the city. At half-past ten o'clock, just as the bells rang out for church, the 14th Light Dragoons retired to their quarters, whither they were followed by crowds of

people, who were embittered against them because of their charging the mob on the previous night; and in College green, being pelted with stones, they turned at bay, and several shots were fired at their assailants, nevertheless they were followed with invectives and insult to their stables.

At eleven o'clock the special constables who had been on duty, many of them from eight o'clock on Saturday morning, retired to their homes, and only a few citizens (about 150) had responded to the request of the magistrates by coming to the Guildhall. Soon after noon news was brought that the mob was on its way to the Bridewell, determined to liberate the prisoners who had been committed thereto on Saturday. At this juncture Colonel Brereton applied to the magistrates for their authority to send the two troops of the 14th Light Dragoons out of the city, stating that the people were so exasperated with them in consequence of their having fired that their lives would be sacrificed if they remained, moreover they and the 3rd Dragoon Guards were, he said, so fatigued, both men and horses, that they could not take any duty for some time. Vain were all the remonstrances of the magistrates, who pointed out that he would leave the city defenceless. The colonel insisted upon the necessity of the measure, and upon his own responsibility ordered most of the 3rd Dragoon Guards to quarters, and proceeding to Fisher's stable yard, College street, ordered Captain Gage to leave the city with the men of the 14th Light Dragoons immediately; some of the horses being at the Bazaar stables a difficulty arose in their joining the troop, and several shots were fired by them in Limekiln lane. They left the city "at a trot," by the colonel's orders, and he returned to Queen square and sought to pacify the drunken, maddened mob, by telling them that he had sent the 14th Light Dragoons out of the city to Keynsham. The Bridewell was on the right hand side of the street, the keeper's house on the left; between these ran the roadway (Bridewell lane) from Nelson street to St. James' Barton, over Monken bridge (see Vol. I., p. 64), which was closed by gates at either end. About half-past one the mob reached the bridge gates which Mr. Evans, the keeper of the Bridewell, had closed; the rioters had broken open a smith's shop in Nelson street, whence they brought hammers, crowbars, &c., and they soon forced the gate facing Nelson street, whereupon Mr. Evans and the turnkeys retreated into the house side of the prison. The mob then lifted off the large gates of the bridge and threw them over into the Frome and began to force an entrance into the prison itself. Evans kept them at bay for a while with a blunderbuss until learning that the troops had left the city he threw them down the key of the

prison, and whilst they were liberating the prisoners he with his wife and children escaped over the roof of the house, and in a few minutes the building was on fire, and the firemen were repulsed on attempting to approach to extinguish it. Another party had meanwhile proceeded to the gaol upon the New cut; on their way they forced open the workshop of Messrs. Acraman, where a respectably dressed man coolly gave orders for them to select two dozen sledge hammers, as many crowbars and a lot of wedges, "and," said he, "I shall want some spanners to take off the nuts, get three pair, but mind I shall expect all these things to be returned." Notice had been given to the governor of the gaol of their intention; he had gone for assistance to the Guildhall, and Aldermen Hilhouse and Savage, with about sixty citizens and constables, were returning with them when they were confronted by the mob and forced to retire before the volley of missiles, many thousands of persons, respectably attired, looking quietly on. After about three-quarters of an hour's arduous labour by the mob a hole was made in one of the outer gates of the gaol, a man crept in, drew the bolts, and instantly the crowd rushed in, filling the yard and the governor's house which they stripped, throwing most of the furniture (the prison van and the governor's books) into the New cut. As they were releasing the prisoners about twenty of the 3rd Dragoon Guards, under Cornet Kelson, arrived at a foot's pace; they rode up to the large gates, one of them looked in, the mob had given way outside, and some 200 villains were literally entrapped within the walls, for the turnkey, with assistance, had closed the gates; at this critical moment the soldiers wheeled, took off their hats in response to the cheering of those who still lingered about, and returned to their quarters, the officer stating that he had orders only to go to the gaol and return, but to use no violence; the mob then released 170 prisoners, and in a few minutes the gaol was in flames. The treadmill, which had been filled with straw from the wards, was first set on fire, and in an hour the governor's house and the chapel were consumed; the mob had rubbed some liquid which they brought in tins over the benches of the chapel, these they set upon end and the fire soon caught the roof. The wings of the gaol, being of stone, could not be burnt, but every pane of glass within the building was smashed.

Mr. Herapath, the leading spirit of the Political Union, with some members of the council of that body and its secretary, endeavoured in vain by persuasion to stay the proceedings of the rioters; he then went to the Council-house where he met Aldermen Savage, George, and G. Hilhouse, whom he informed of the avowed intention of the mob to destroy the Dock gates and to

pillage the banks, and he advised that the swing-bridges at Cumberland and Bathurst basins, and at the end of Prince street, should be opened, and the rioters be thus confined within the peninsula formed by the New cut and the Floating harbour. The scheme was plausible, but within that area were some of the principal shipbuilder's yards and considerable property in shipping which would doubtless have been fired by the mob by way of retaliation. Mr. Herapath was asked if he would, with the members of the union, assist in quelling the riot, he thought that as the members disapproved of the calling in of the military they would not serve under the magistrates, but he could engage that many of them would serve under himself. This was demurred to. From the gaol the mob divided into several parties, one of which burned the toll-house on the New cut, another destroyed that on Prince's street bridge, the keepers having due notice given to remove their effects. As the shades of evening fell, other bodies of the ruffians marched upon and destroyed the other portion of the Bridewell, and about half-past six o'clock they appeared in force before the Gloucestershire County Prison at Lawford's gate; here the same tactics were followed, entrance was forced by crowbar and sledge hammers, the prisoners were set at liberty, and the building, being fired, soon became a mass of ruins. At half-past eight o'clock the lurid glare reflected in the heavens from the fires at the three prisons and the toll-houses was awful to behold. Another party visited the lock-up for debtors in Tailor's court, Broad street, but on the sheriff's officer promptly liberating his prisoners they departed without further outrage. Terror now seized on most of the prominent officials of the Corporation, and men were busily employed in removing names, door plates, &c., in order to avoid identification. The bishops, by their adverse vote on the Reform Bill, had made their body unpopular; advantage was taken of this feeling, and the cry was raised at Lawford's gate "to the Palace," which the rioters reached by several different routes. The entrance gates, which had been closed, were forced, and to shouts of the "the king! no bishops!" the mob rushed in, demolished the furniture which they piled upon and under the tables and set the heap on fire; in the kitchen they took the coals from the grate, spread them on the dresser, and heaped broken sticks thereon; upstairs they cut open the feather beds, and thrust into them live coals, whilst the light-fingered gentry carried off all the valuables that were portable. About half-past seven o'clock news had been brought to the mayor and the magistrates, on their return from Colonel Brereton's office, that the Mansion-house was threatened with fire as well as the Palace. After con-

sideration it was determined to save, if possible, the Palace, on account of its proximity to the Cathedral, and two-thirds of the gentlemen who had gathered at the Council-house left in two divisions, each headed by three magistrates; they sent a messenger to the stables with an order for the 3rd Dragoon Guards to meet them in College green. This was done, sixteen soldiers, with Colonel Brereton, formed in two lines before the door of the Palace whilst the civilians entered and put out the fires. The mob scattered in every direction, some ran into the garden, others into the cloisters, where they were followed by the specials and roughly used, upon which the colonel said "if the striking was repeated he would ride the constables down." Amongst those taken in the house was a young fellow named Warry, he and two other prisoners for security were tied to large casks in the cellar. The specials then charged the mob who fled before them, but one gentleman who advanced too far was stabbed in the back, and only saved his life by discharging his pistol at his assailants. Meanwhile that portion of the 3rd Dragoon Guards on duty at the Mansion-house had been sent for to the Palace, but before they reached it the glare of light over Queen square plainly showed that the Mansion-house had fallen a prey to the flames. Colonel Brereton, instead of assisting the resolute party at the Palace, now, without notice, withdrew his men. The rioters, reinforced by a large party which had completed the work of destruction at Lawford's gate, and who, by a toss up, "heads for the alderman" in Berkeley square, "tails for the bishop," "Bishop wins! hurrah for the Palace!" speedily filled College green and re-entered the Palace. The defenders were driven helter-skelter out by the back, in a few minutes the building was in flames, and the heat was so intense that the lead melted on the roof of the adjoining cathedral; the villains next kindled a fire in the grand old Norman chapter-house, with many of the valuable records and books stored therein, and attempted to break through the cloister door into the cathedral, but being met with expostulations were prevailed upon to desist. The chapter-house, being built of stone with a stone floor, their mad attempts to fire it failed, but they left behind them cakes of combustible matter which proved that some amongst them had made arson a study, and that these fires were the outcome of previous consideration and plans. The bishop's wine was sold publicly at one penny per bottle, and the bulk of the rioters were drunk. His lordship had preached at the cathedral in the morning, but with his family had left for Almondsbury in the afternoon.

8. The above fires, terrific as they seemed, were but incidental preludes to the great conflagration which had

now commenced in Queen square. About seven o'clock in the evening, when the soldiers had been withdrawn for the protection of the Palace, the mob burst once more into the devoted Mansion-house; the wine cellars were re-ransacked; a fire was speedily kindled in the kitchen under the banqueting-room, also in several of the upstairs apartments, and in a few minutes the whole building was enveloped in flames. Fortunately, after the destruction of property on the ground-floor on Saturday night and Sunday morning, the authorities had taken the precaution to remove many of the valuables, including most of the city plate, and the pictures, which were cut out of the frames, rolled up and carried away.

At this juncture, about ten o'clock in the evening, the Dodington troop of Yeomanry, under the command of Captain Codrington, arrived in the city. On their way up Castle street they passed about 200 people who were breaking into the "George and Dragon" tavern. The chief constable of the ward entreated the captain to send a detachment of men to his assistance; ignorant of the fact that the Riot Act had been read, he replied "he could do nothing until that had been done, and he was on his way to the Council-house to receive orders." On his arrival there he could find no magistrate, and he was directed to proceed to the commanding officer's station, the Recruiting office, College green, to report himself. Then a messenger was sent thence to the Council-house by Colonel Brereton for a magistrate. An answer was despatched within five minutes, but the colonel had left and could not be found. Affairs were in a hopeless muddle. The mayor, separated from his force of special constables whilst on his way to the Palace, had retired, worn out, to Alderman Fripp's, 30 Berkeley square, leaving word where he was to be found. However, within half-an-hour billets were made out for the Yeomanry, and a letter was sent to the colonel, requesting him to execute the orders previously given—

"to consider himself fully authorised to take whatever steps and give whatever orders he, as commander of the troops in the city, may think fit, to restore and preserve, as far as possible, the public peace; not only to apply to the troops under his command, but to any which may subsequently arrive." The letter was dated "Berkeley square, Sunday night, twelve o'clock." The colonel had gone out ere these letters arrived. Captain Codrington, however, found him, and they went with the troop to Fisher's stables, where, after a short conference together, the captain wheeled his forty men, marched them past the Palace, Exchange and Council-house,

and left the city. In justice to the mayor it should be said that he was far from being a robust man, that he had been greatly harassed since the Saturday morning, that he had been in office little more than a month, and that he only arrived in England from the West Indies a few weeks before he was elected to the mayoralty.

The following letter was that night sent by Captain Codrington to the home secretary:—

My Lord,—I have the honour to represent to your lordship that in consequence of a requisition from the mayor of Bristol, between two and three o'clock yesterday, I collected my troop of Yeomanry with as little loss of time as was practicable.

When your lordship considers that I had to send some miles in different directions, you will, I think, admit the alacrity of my men when I state that we were enabled to march from hence (Dodington), with scarce a man missing, by seven o'clock. Having, however, fifteen miles to go, and the night being very dark, we could not reach Bristol till after nine, when, I lament to say, we found the city on fire in many places, the gaols emptied, and the town in the greatest confusion. Having paraded through the principal parts of the city for more than two hours without being able to find a magistrate—hearing that they had, in fact, left the town, after withdrawing both his majesty's troops and the police—finding ourselves thus unsupported, and without a hope of being in any way serviceable—the city being actually in the uncontrolled power of the populace, I had no alternative but that of withdrawing also my men, and we returned home about five o'clock this morning.

Feeling it my duty to make this statement to your lordship, I should ill perform it towards the brave men I am proud to have the honour of commanding, if I did not further state that no men could



Colonel Brereton. From a contemporary print.

have come forward with more alacrity; and, although they might not have acted with the discipline of his majesty's regular troops, they would not have been exceeded by them in zeal, loyalty, or a determination to have done their duty; and had they had an opportunity of acting, they would have shown themselves not undeserving of his majesty's approbation.

I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's obedient servant,

C. W. CODDRINGTON,  
Captain of the Dodington and Marshfield  
Yeomanry Cavalry.

Dodington, October 31st.

At ten o'clock at night Colonel Brereton visited the square with a detachment of the 3rd Dragoon Guards whilst the fire at the Mansion-house was raging; they walked their horses for a quarter of an hour quietly round Queen square, themselves protected from the drizzling rain by their long cloaks, and then retired to their quarters. Incredible as it appears, it is a fact that from that time until the following morning not a soldier was ordered to the square, nor was the slightest attempt made by his majesty's troops to check the destruction of public or private property, but whilst the second city in the kingdom was threatened with total destruction the chief municipal officer and the officer in command of the king's troops were both in bed.

No distinction was now made between public and private property. Notice was given by the mob to the inhabitants to clear out, and before twelve o'clock the houses on the north side of Queen square, between the Mansion-house (Charlotte street) and the Custom-house, had been gutted and were in flames. (See engraving of Queen square, *ante* p. 183.) Some fifty officers had been busy all night at the Custom-house removing the books, papers and valuable property, when the summons came to them at a quarter to eleven o'clock; they replied, "This is the king's house, our good king whom you have been cheering." "D—n the king—go it," was the answer; desks were broken open, linen smeared with combustible paste was nailed to the wainscot, window frames and doors, and in five minutes the place was in a blaze. The upper rooms were full of plunderers, many, it being the end house of the row, were on the roof, whence they had crawled from the other burning buildings, and it was supposed that not less than fifty of the rioters perished in the flames at this spot. A large party, who were supping in the housekeeper's room, were all burnt to death; three dropped from the roof, one of whom fell into the molten lead on the portico, where he writhed in torture till life was extinct; another, bruised to death by the fall, exclaimed, "Oh that I had taken my wife's advice and never come to Bristol, but I was persuaded and sent for." Undeterred by these horrible scenes, the incendiaries, many of whom

were mere boys, now carried on the destructive work on the section of the north side of Queen square, running west from the middle avenue. The houses behind these in King street were chiefly of wood and plaster, and the wind being from the south they speedily caught fire; the bonded cellars were used for storing wines and spirits, one of these had a large stock of brandy, another was full of rum; the casks burst with the intense heat, the burning spirit flowed into and burst up the sewers in King street (opposite the City library), the street was full of casks of wines and spirits which had been rolled out from the cellars, the gates of King street hall were closed and guarded by cannon, the yard being full of goods brought thither for protection; one of the warehouses in Prince street was full of cocoa belonging to Messrs. Fry, and this burnt with a fearful stench which lasted for weeks; at one time it was feared that all the houses in King street would have been burned.

9. At two o'clock in the morning of Monday the work of destruction was commenced on the west side of Queen square, beginning at the Excise office, and house after house was fired. There seems to be abundant proof that the greater part of the devastation of this night was caused out of a pure love of mischief by an insignificant number of wretches, mostly boys of from ten to twelve years of age. Some such were seen, when their retreat from the upper story of a burning house was cut off by the fire, to coolly clamber along a coping of a few inches in width to the adjoining house, which they entered by the window, and immediately set fire to the bedsteads and furniture. During the night bands of young men paraded the town, and entering the public-houses, &c., demanded "drink or blood;" also in Wine street, &c., they assailed the houses, requiring money to be given them under threats of murder. At three o'clock in the morning the mayor (still at Mr. Fripp's) despatched the following letter:—

Bristol, 3 a.m. Monday morning.

Sir,—I direct you, as commanding officer, to take the most vigorous, effective, and decisive measures in your power to quell the existing riot, and prevent further destruction of property.

I am, &c.,

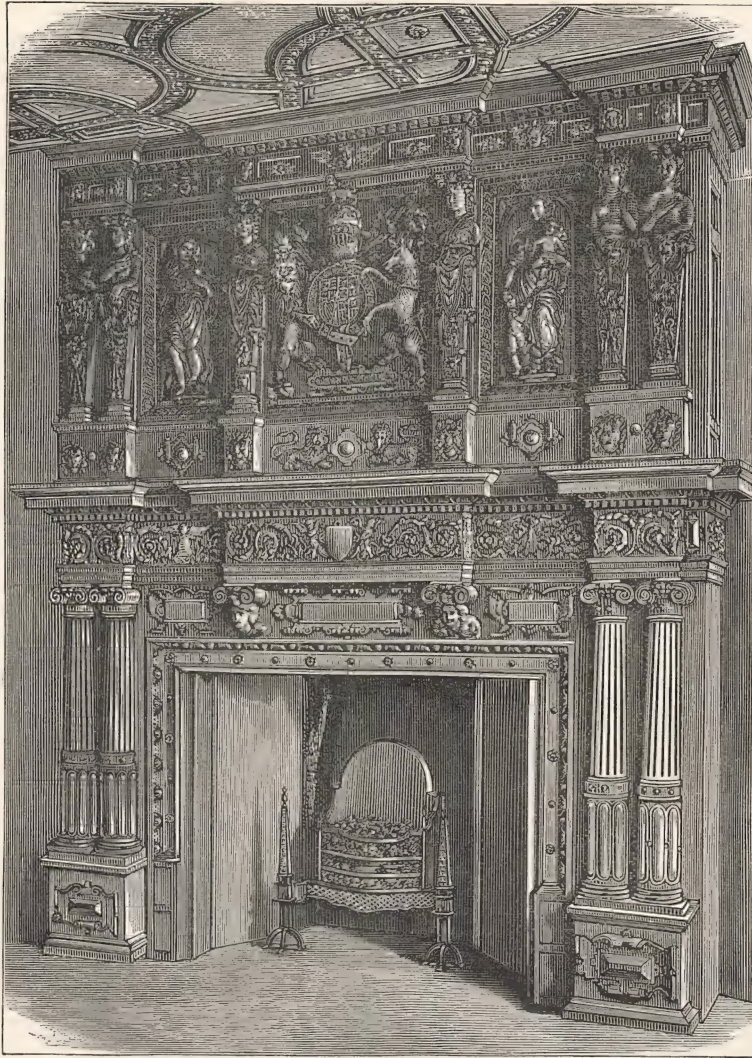
CHARLES PINNEY.

This letter was addressed to "Colonel Brereton, or the officer commanding his majesty's troops." It was delivered to Captain Warrington, at Leigh's bazaar. He opened and read it, remarking that "he could do nothing without a magistrate, and that he should require one to go every inch of the road at his side," adding, "there is a great screw loose somewhere." He remained inactive until four o'clock in the morning, when Alderman Camplin, as a magistrate, saw him at his quarters, and demanding help went with him in search of the colonel,

whom they found in his bed in Unity street. Upon being roused he objected to take out "the jaded troops, for," said he, "what can they do against such a mob." Strongly urged, he at length consented, the clocks struck five as they entered Prince street, where in front of a warehouse in flames they found about 600 people, these they charged through and entered the square by Farr's lane avenue. The troops formed two deep in front of Captain Claxton's house, No. 42; about a dozen gentlemen rushed into the house and beat out the plunderers, one-third of whom were boys and women; they found the house on fire on every floor, but were able to extinguish the flames. Two houses adjoining the middle avenue escaped the fire on this side of the square, all the others between the Excise office and Captain Claxton's were burnt to the ground. At seven o'clock in the morning Major Mackworth rode to Keynsham and fetched back the squadron of the 14th Light Dragoons; on the road they were joined by the Bedminster yeomanry, under Captain Shute. A messenger sent for troops had reached Gloucester about two o'clock in the morning; Major Beckwith put them in motion and himself preceded them, arriving in Bristol about seven o'clock. When his men arrived from Gloucester and Keynsham about ten o'clock, Major Beckwith, who was in command under Colonel Brereton, cleared the Palace of the ruffians who were plundering the wine cellars, left a guard there, thence proceeded to Queen square by the Excise avenue, and forthwith charged the mob, cutting down a number

of them who crowded about the statue in the centre, they then charged down the Welsh back, along the Grove and through Prince street, then up Clare, Corn, and Wine streets, through Peter street and Castle street. Early in the morning the *posse comitatus* had been called out; about 5,000 men obeyed the call, they were furnished with a short staff and wore as a badge a strip of white

linen around the arm; the naval and military pensioners were called out, and Captain Cook, of the North Gloucestershire militia, was placed in command of them. The city was crowded with people, dense crowds had been pouring into it from the surrounding country during the early hours of the morning; as the soldiers charged and cleared the streets the specials closed up and guarded the avenues, so that gradually the city became tranquil, the shops and warehouses were all shut, and business was entirely suspended. About three o'clock in the afternoon it was reported that the rabble, driven out of the city, were robbing and plundering on the Bath road, a troop of Dragoons



Mantelpiece in John Langton's House, Welsh Back. Temp. 1614.

was despatched which overtook them, capturing some and dispersing the rest. During the day the following placards were posted throughout the city:—

Council-house, Bristol,

31st October, 1831.

The *posse comitatus* of this city and county having been called out to act in conjunction with the military to endeavour to restore the peace of the city, and as the most severe measures must be adopted to accomplish that object, the magistrates earnestly caution all persons not engaged in official duties as constables, to

keep within their respective dwellings, as they will otherwise be exposed to the most imminent peril.

C. PINNEY, Mayor.

Bristol, October 31st, 1831.

It will be of the utmost importance that the inhabitants should place lights in the windows of their respective houses as soon as it becomes dusk; and the magistrates again earnestly entreat that all persons will strictly confine themselves within their respective dwellings.

C. PINNEY, Mayor.

At night the churches and houses generally were lighted up, it being feared that the rioters might again assemble, and by cutting the gas pipes leave the city in darkness. While the soldiers, &c., were guarding the streets, signal guns and bells from the ships in harbour intimated their readiness to meet any attack. All shops had been closed during the day, but no further disturbance took place. Tuesday, November 1st, was occupied in apprehending the rioters and endeavouring to recover some of the stolen property. A general search took place throughout the city, and with much effect, as before night immense quantities of goods were recovered and lodged in the Exchange and the parish churches. A great many of the leaders were also recognised and taken into custody; and about forty of the prisoners who were liberated were either captured or surrendered themselves. Many rioters must have lost their lives, for on clearing away some of the space adjoining the Custom-house, three bodies were found, and for many subsequent days bodies continued to be dug out. The following is the number of killed and wounded, as per return from the public hospitals:—

Infirmary—Shots, 2; burnt, 1; sword-cut, 1; drink, 1 ...	5
St. Peter's hospital—Burnt, 5; sword-cut, 1; drink, 1 ...	7
Total ...	12

Wounded and injured:—

Infirmary—Shots, 8; sword-cuts and contusions, 31 ...	39
“ Other causes, 22; drink, 2 ...	24
St. Peter's hospital—Sword-cuts, 2; other causes, 2 ...	4
Dispensaries, &c.—Shots, 2; cuts, 16; other causes, 11 ...	29
Total ...	96

Such of the wounded persons as could be recognised as incendiaries were carefully guarded in the wards, and some of them, when recovered, were committed to take their trial.

10. Major Beckwith, in his evidence, stated that the mayor and magistrates seemed stupefied with terror, and that he asked for one of them to accompany his troops on horseback; all but Alderman Camplin said they could not ride, and he said he had not been on horseback for eighteen years. The major then demanded and received a written authority from them to act. The following is a list of the leading members of the corporation:—

Charles Pinney, mayor	John Barrow, alderman
Sir Charles Wetherell, alderman	Thomas Camplin “
Thomas Daniel “	Gabriel Goldney “
John Haythorne “	John Savage “
James Fowler “	George Bengough, sheriff
William Fripp “	Joseph Lax “
George Hilhouse “	W. O. Hare, under-sheriff
Abraham Hilhouse “	E. Ludlow, town-clerk
James George “	

Recriminations naturally enough followed. On the 3rd November a public meeting of the citizens took place at the Commercial-rooms, when the following address to the home secretary was agreed upon:—

To the Right Honourable Lord Melbourne, Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c.

We, the undersigned, merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants of the city of Bristol, deeply lamenting the riotous and disgraceful proceedings that have recently occurred in this city, and the sad destruction of property resulting therefrom, that the lives and fortunes of the citizens were for a considerable period entirely at the mercy of a desperate mob, and firmly convinced that all this might have been prevented if proper precautions had been adopted, do earnestly request your lordship will be pleased to cause an investigation to be instituted, as the only course that will pacify the minds of the public and restore confidence in future.

The mayor also issued a statement concerning the riots, in which he charged Colonel Brereton with not acting according to orders given. Major Mackworth, who led the troops to the charge on Monday morning, laid the blame chiefly upon the citizens, whom he charged with lukewarmness and party spirit. The following are the answers of Messrs. Baillie and Protheroe, members for Bristol, sent to the chairman of the committee, in acknowledgment of the memorial praying for investigation into the conduct of the magistracy:—

London, November 7th.

My dear Sir,—I have had the honour of receiving your letter of the 5th inst., addressed to Mr. Protheroe and myself jointly; and by the mail-coach of this morning I also received the memorial voted at the public meeting of the 3rd instant, at the Commercial-rooms, at which you presided. I wrote immediately to Mr. Protheroe, at his town residence, requesting him to make an appointment that we might proceed together to the Home office, to deliver the memorial to Lord Melbourne, but I found he was unfortunately out of town. Presuming it to be the desire of the meeting that no time should be lost in laying the wishes of the memorialists before the Government, I went this evening and delivered the memorial to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, assuring his lordship that the document was most respectfully signed by all classes of my constituents, without distinction.

I likewise stated to his lordship that the letter of the chairman of the meeting, which accompanied the memorial, urged most strongly that the investigation prayed for may be conducted by persons totally unconnected with the city, that no possible suspicion may be entertained of bias or partiality.

Lord Melbourne, in reply, asked me to state that he would

submit the memorial to his colleagues in office, and that it should receive their immediate and serious attention.

I have the honour to be, my dear sir,

Your faithful and most obedient servant,

JAS. E. BAILLIE.

James Cunningham, Esq.

2 Charles street, St. James's square,  
November 8th.

Dear Sir,—Immediately upon the receipt of your letter this morning, at Gaddesden, I came to London, and, waiting first upon my colleague, I found, very much to my satisfaction, that he had not stood upon any ceremonious scruples of delicacy, which would have been misplaced in so urgent an affair, and had presented the memorial to Lord Melbourne. Conceiving it, however, to be my duty, in compliance with your request, to urge also upon his lordship myself the necessity of an immediate inquiry, I went instantly to the Home office. I found Mr. G. Lamb alone there, Lord Melbourne being unwell. With Mr. Lamb I had some conversation, which gave me no reason to hope that any inquiry could soon be instituted into the conduct of the magistrates, and that the various depositions must be previously received. But of course it was not in Mr. Lamb's power to speak as freely in a matter of such intense delicacy as one of his majesty's ministers, and I therefore waited on Lord Grey, but finding him from home I saw Lord Althorp, and I am happy to inform you that the subject will receive this evening the consideration of a Cabinet Council, the result of which I shall be able to make known to you by to-morrow's post.

It may be on my part trespassing too much on your attention if I avail myself of this opportunity of apprising you how anxious I have been to be at Bristol, but I cannot allow myself to incur the possible charge of indifference; and I beg to say that although family indisposition and business might have been a sufficient reason for my remaining where I am, yet I could not have resisted the strong desire I have all along entertained *since* the disaster, of going to Bristol, had I not been distinctly assured that I was of more use in remaining in or near London, as an organ of communication with ministers.

It would be presumptuous in me to suppose that I could form an opinion upon the cause of events in Bristol, but I must confess that my mind can with difficulty, if ever, be brought to believe that the male population of Bristol, if they had been called out as a restraining force, would have been insufficient in repelling the attacks of these bands of rioters. But it is easy to find faults, and perhaps retrospect is of little value, unless we are ready now to provide for ourselves a protection against the recurrence of these evils by removing their causes.

But I am sensible if I proceed further that I shall be trespassing beyond those limits which I ought to respect in this communication. I will only, with every sentiment of respectful deference, but yet earnestly, press upon your attention the desirableness, in my opinion, of our city exerting itself strenuously in its own behalf, as the best guarantee of receiving from ministers or Parliament the attention demanded in the memorial, or required by our circumstances.

I have the honour to remain, dear sir,

Your obedient and faithful servant,

James Cunningham, Esq.

EDWARD PROTHEROE, JUN.

I have underlined *since* the disaster, for previous to that period I offered Lord Melbourne to go down if wanted by anyone.

On November 5th the markets were ordered to be closed at six o'clock. During the week all the city churches were lighted, and watch and ward kept through

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every parish. A military inquiry into the conduct of Colonel Brereton, the commanding officer of the district, was instituted, and was held at the Merchant Venturers' hall; it terminated in his being placed under arrest previous to trial by court-martial.

The presidents of the great charitable societies, the Dolphin, the Anchor, and the Grateful, determined not to hold their usual annual festivals this year.

Parochial meetings were held, and a public notice was given of an intention to apply to Parliament for leave to bring in a bill or bills for the following purposes:—

1st. To establish and maintain an effective police, with stipendiary magistrate, within the city and county of Bristol, and in the several parishes of Clifton, St. James, St. Paul, St. Philip and Jacob, Westbury-upon-Trim, and Bedminster. 2nd. To supersede the present custom of watching. 3rd. To make provision to regulate the holding of assize by the judges of the circuit within the said city and county of Bristol. 4th. To provide for the maintenance of such police and magistracy. 5th. To provide for the loss sustained by the late fires and riots within the said city and county of Bristol, either out of property now held for the benefit of the city or otherwise, as the case might be.

ESTLIN AND BALL, Solicitors.

It having been rumoured, apparently on good authority, that Sir Charles Wetherell would return to Bristol to try the rioters, action was taken with a view to induce him to abandon such a design, and on November 8th a declaration, strongly worded, was drawn up, which was signed by many persons who were liable to serve as jurors, in which they declared their opinion to be that a calm and impartial administration of the laws was the first duty of a judge, and the sure means of upholding the dignity of the office, and of securing to him personally the respect and admiration of all good citizens; that it is a great detriment and misfortune to a community when judicial functions and political partisanship are found united in one person; that whilst the undersigned desired to bear testimony to the uprightness shown by Sir Charles as recorder of the city, his presence would prove such a fruitful source of animosity and discontent that they pray him either to surrender the judicial office or to withdraw himself from the contested field of politics, otherwise they plead the interests of justice in Bristol will be compromised and party spirit be rendered more violent and bitter. On December 3rd a special commission was issued, of which the lord chancellor was the head, the object of which was to inquire into the origin of the riot and the causes of the subsequent outrages.

11. On December 6th, the king, in his speech at the opening of Parliament, made the following allusion to the late riots in this city:—

The scenes of violence and outrage which have occurred in

Bristol have caused me the deepest affliction. The authority of the law must be vindicated by the punishment of offences which have produced so extensive a destruction of property and so melancholy a loss of life. I think it right to direct your attention to the best means of improving the municipal police of the kingdom, and the more effectual protection of the public peace against the recurrence of similar commotions.

During the debate upon the address, Sir Charles Wetherell entered into a very long defence of himself from the imputations and charges brought against him by the public press, and also complained that himself and the mayor and aldermen of Bristol had not been included in the special commission issued for trying the rioters. Ministers stated that Sir Charles having claimed the insertion of the recorder, the mayor, and aldermen's names in the commission as a matter of right, that mere claim of right had made it impossible that their names should be included, for it was not possible for Government to make concessions to any judges who claimed to act as such in what was their own cause, the tumults having been directed against the recorder and the mayor and aldermen themselves.

A special commission for the trial of the rioters was opened at the Guildhall on January 2nd, 1832, before the Lord Chief Justice Tyndal and Mr. Justices Taunton and Bosanquet. One hundred and fourteen were indicted, and their trial resulted as follows:—

## DEATH.

Christopher Davis, William Clarke, Thomas Gregory, Richard Vines and Joseph Kayes ... .. 5

## DEATH RECORDED.

Patrick Kearney, †Matthew Warry, †John Towell, Henry Crinks, Joseph Thomas, David James, †James Courtney, John M'Kay, †Daniel Higgs, †Thomas Evans Bendall, †James Sims, †Cornelius Hickey, †James Snook, †William Reynolds, †George Andrews, Patrick Barnett, Benjamin Broad, †Stephen Gaisford, †Michael Sullivan, Timothy Collins, Henry Green, Charles Williams, †James Coleman, James Price, James Dyer and James Walker ... .. 26

## FOURTEEN YEARS' TRANSPORTATION.

†James Ives ... .. 1

## SEVEN YEARS' TRANSPORTATION.

†William Christopher, †Aaron Martin, †James Street, †Charles Huish, †Richard Neville and †Joseph Keates ... .. 6

## TWO YEARS' IMPRISONMENT.

Samuel Browning, Felix Wyman, John Harper, John Jellemy, Charles Coates, John Rees, James Phillips, Edward Macdonald, William Bennett, Daniel Sullivan and William Champ ... .. 11

## TWELVE MONTHS' IMPRISONMENT.

Catherine Hogan, Thomas Gallick, William Punch, Benjamin Donne, William Drew, Daniel M'Carthy, John Jones, William Nason, Charles Nott, William Bearde, William Jenkins, George Styling, William Morgan, Peter Brown, John Jacobs, William Hedges and Joseph Hedges ... .. 17

† Sent to New South Wales.

## SIX MONTHS' IMPRISONMENT.

Hannah Rees, William Burgess, James Cole, Edward Dady, Thomas Brimmell, Daniel Doyle (and to be privately whipped) and James Bentley ... .. 7

## FOUR MONTHS' IMPRISONMENT.

Thomas Hussey, William Jarvis and Stephen Culley ... 3

## THREE MONTHS' IMPRISONMENT.

John Tarrant Buffin, John Simmons and William Lee ... 3

## ONE MONTH'S IMPRISONMENT.

Thomas Lane and Mary Parker ... .. 2

## NO BILLS FOUND.

John Brittan, Richard Phipps, Thomas Fitzgerald, William Beer, Sarah Anderson, Samuel Harding, James Donovan, John Dally, James Bayley, Charles Turtle and James Elliott 11

## ACQUITTED.

James Williams, William Osgood, Edward Arbourn, Samuel Levers, John Peach, Thomas Martin, Samuel Newton, Mary Charles, Margaret Gwyer, James Hasty, John Cox, Sarah Cox, Eleanor Doyle, Samuel Smith, John Bond, James Dyer, Robert Ponchard, Anthony Harvey, Jonas Osborne, John Howell, William Reeves and William Dogherty ... .. 22

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The execution of the five unfortunate men who were sentenced to suffer the extreme penalty of the law was, immediately upon their condemnation, which was one of the most awful scenes ever witnessed, ordered to take place on Friday, the 27th of January, 1832.

A petition to the king for mercy received nearly 11,000 signatures; in it the petitioners note "the entire absence of any testimony showing a guilty premeditation; that the excesses of the mob arose from the impulse of the moment, and that, amid the excitement and the devastation of property, they restrained themselves from outrages affecting personal safety; that the guilty conduct of those capitally convicted began at a late period of the riots through the unrestricted access to intoxicating liquors; that the impunity that attended the first outrages involved them in a depth of crime which would have been prevented had the proper measures been taken to check their mad and criminal career, and to restore the peace of the city," &c. The prisoner Vines was respited, it being proved that he was little better than an imbecile.

Of the four who suffered the dread penalty, Christopher Davis was the only man moving in a respectable sphere of life. He was, or had been, a wharfinger, and possessed property to the amount of about £300 per annum. He was a man of strong political feelings, easily excited by drink, and when in that condition, used most violent language; he was found guilty of destroying the New Gaol. Clarke was a sawyer, subject, since an accident to his head, to fits of derangement when under the influence of liquor. Kayes was a groom, who only went, after ten o'clock on the Sunday

night, to see the fires; he declared his innocence to the last. Gregory was a labourer. They were hanged at the New Gaol, on the New cut. Seven hundred special constables kept the front of the gaol clear; the 14th Light Dragoons were at Fisher's stables; the 3rd Dragoon Guards at the Cattle-market; the Fusiliers at the Exchange. There was a double guard of the 75th within the walls of the gaol, and the Artillery had planted their field-pieces in its vicinity, whilst the whole constabulary force was held in readiness. It was a palpable case of locking the stable door after the steed was stolen.

Seven of the Bristol rioters died of cholera, in 1832, on board the convict ship before it sailed for New South Wales. Matthew Warry, who was little more than a lad, a journeyman baker, whose sentence of death had been commuted to transportation, jumped overboard, intending to swim to the shore, but was shot dead by the sentinel.

At the Gloucester assize, Joseph Mills, William Spokes and Henry Hurd had sentence of death recorded against them for having, with others, broken into the house of John Mack and destroyed property to the value of £100, after the destruction of Lawford's gate prison. John Wakefield, a poor stupid-looking boy, pleaded guilty to breaking Lawford's gate prison. Oatridge, the keeper of Lawford's gate prison, was allowed £230 damages, and Mack £146, by the Barton Regis Hundred.

A court-martial was held on Colonel Brereton; it began on January 9th, 1832. On the night of Thursday, the 14th, finding that the evidence was strongly against him, he shot himself through the heart. The proceedings therefore were immediately stopped.—On Tuesday, January 4th, Captain Warrington was also brought before a court-martial; his trial lasted until February 3rd, when he was sentenced to be cashiered. He was, however, allowed to sell his commission.—*Ex-officio* informations were also filed against several of the magistrates for neglect of duty, and against the mayor, Mr. Pinney, whose trial took place before the court of King's Bench. His defence was that the citizens refused to confide in or assist the magistrates, and that consequently, deserted as they were by their fellow citizens, they could not have acted more efficiently. Upon these grounds a verdict of acquittal was given, and the other informations were withdrawn.

On January 7th, 1832, Mr. J. C. Lewis, a retired captain in the army, was indicted for the manslaughter of a boy named James Morris, whom he shot at the corner of the Grove avenue on the morning of Monday, October 31st, at about eight o'clock, when the captain, being one of the specials, was endeavouring to

prevent the mob from re-entering Queen square. The captain declared that he had no intention of shooting the boy, that he was, whilst holding the pistol, struck violently on the arm which caused the pistol to explode. The verdict was not guilty.

All the plate at the Mansion-house was saved, with the exception of a large silver salver, devoted to the presentation of the grace-cup. An old woman, confined in the New Gaol on a charge of receiving part of the plunder, hanged herself in the prison.

The testimony of independent witnesses on the trial of Mr. Pinney, the mayor, was to the effect that at the first the number of persons who were engaged in breaking open and firing the houses was under twenty, and that at the last they did not exceed one hundred and fifty, and that the others were merely lookers-on. That the magistrates and Mr. Serjeant Ludlow told the owners "to use their own discretion" in the defence of their houses. That at the meeting held in the Guildhall, at half-past three on Sunday evening, the mayor, when asked what plan he had to propose to the meeting, said he had none, and the town clerk said "every man must exercise his own discretion and at his own responsibility." The whole affair appears to have been one unhappy muddle from the beginning to the end. The members of the Political Union raised a storm of indignation against the recorder, which was speedily allowed to get beyond their control, and which eventuated in the abominable excesses that have been narrated. The mayor and magistrates had no plan or effective organisation for suppressing outrage, and from conscientious or prudent motives declined to take the responsibility of ordering the soldiers to fire on the mob; the town clerk advised the calling out of the *posse comitatus*, but at the same time he informed the mayor and magistrates that it was not their duty, but that of the sheriff to do it. There is no evidence that the sheriff was asked peremptorily to take the step, but there is evidence to show that the citizens protested "that they would not be led out to be murdered unless they were supported by the military." Colonel Brereton, when pressed to act, and told that the soldiers had been sent down expressly to protect the city, declared "he was ready to risk his own life, if it could do any good, but he would not unnecessarily risk the lives of those under his command;" and when urged on the Saturday evening to take stronger measures he asked the mayor, "Am I to fire, sir?" receiving for answer, "You must fire if the mob cannot otherwise be put down." Major Mackworth begged that he would not do so, as many innocent spectators would suffer. He also testified as to the personal courage of the mayor, who was "unsupported by any

adequate civil or military force, and, moreover, was at a most critical period deserted by those from whom he might reasonably have expected assistance."

December 13th, 1831, Mr. Protheroe gave notice in the House of Commons that he would move for leave to bring in a bill to alter and amend the Charter of the city of Bristol.

On February 7th, 1832, Mr. Baillie brought up the report of the Bristol police committee, and obtained leave to bring in a bill to establish an effective police in the city, also he brought up the report of the Bristol compensation committee, and obtained leave to bring in a bill for providing compensation for damages sustained during the late riots. February 13th, the town clerk stated that the county rate for the above purpose would be one of ten shillings in the pound.

The following is the amount of claims stated on Monday, April 30th:—

1 for	£25,000	29 from	£500 to	£1,000
1 "	20,000	9 "	400 "	500
2 between	7,000 and	12 "	300 "	400
2 "	4,000 "	9 "	200 "	300
6 "	3,000 "	6 "	100 "	200
3 "	2,000 "	6 under	100 and	above 30
6 "	1,500 "	28 "	30	
8 from	1,000 to	1,500		

Total amount, £122,777 11s.

12. The commissioners under the Bristol Damages Compensation Act concluded their labours and published their report, which was drawn up January 10th, 1835. The number of actions was 121; damages by verdict £6000, by compromise £49,823 13s. 1d., were recovered; the costs averaged £53 5s. 10d. for each action.—April 7th, 1832, there was a great fire at Mr. Hare's floor-cloth manufactory.—June 19th, the members of the Political Union celebrated the passing of the Reform Bill by walking in procession with banners, music, &c., and on August 14th a public dinner was provided on Brandon hill for 5,500 persons; there assembled about 30,000 people, the tables were stormed, and the affair resulted in a scene of riotous disorder. The fireworks prepared for the evening were also marred by the conduct of the rabble.—On July 1st, whilst removing an old tenement upon the north cloister of the Cathedral, one of the buttresses fell and demolished the room in which Mary Robinson, the poetess, was born.—On the 30th a public meeting was held at the Guildhall, for the purpose of forming a railroad to London; estimated cost, £2,808,330. The bill was read a second time in the House of Commons on March 6th, 1834, but was rejected by the Lords on July 25th.—This year the cholera visited Bristol; the first case occurred on July 11th, in Harford's court, near the Stone bridge; the

ravages of the disease were most deadly; up to the 9th of August, seventy-three deaths had occurred in the city; on that date a piece of ground adjoining the New Cattle market was set apart as a place for the burial of cholera victims. On the 11th the plague was virulent in St. Peter's hospital, where six hundred paupers were crowded, fifty-eight girls sleeping in ten beds, and seventy boys in eighteen beds. On the 12th of August the curate of Temple parish interred thirty-one persons, victims in that locality. A cholera hospital was erected on the New cut, strenuous efforts were made to prevent the spread of the contagion, good food was liberally supplied to the poor, and by the beginning of October the blue, or Indian form of the disease, had disappeared. This visitation cost the city in direct expenses £2,738 14s. 10d.

13. On September 15th, 1832, Daniel Stanton was elected mayor, and J. N. Franklyn and M. H. Castle sheriffs.—On December 12th and 13th the reaction against Reformers had set in strongly in Bristol, and Sir R. Vyvyan and Mr. James Evan Baillie were returned as members of Parliament at a sharply contested election; a petition was lodged, but it was decided on May 2nd, 1833, that they were duly elected. The West India merchants coalesced with Vyvyan. They had been cool, if not hostile, in their support of reform; their desertion quickened the feeling against slavery, and hastened its doom.

On September 14th, 1833, Charles Ludlow Walker was elected mayor, and James Lean and Peter Maze sheriffs.—On the 27th the Indian reformer, Rajah Ram-mohun Roy, died at Stapleton grove; his remains were afterwards removed to Arno's Vale cemetery, where a handsome monument was erected to his memory.

On April 2nd, 1834, an Egyptian mummy was opened at the Bristol Philosophical Institution.—The Steep Holms was this month sold to Mr. C. K. K. Tynte by the corporation.—Land for the erection of a dwelling-house, shops, and chapel for an Asylum for the Blind was bought in Tyndall's park; it measured 1a. 2r. 13p., and cost the committee £1,850.—The mudscraper, an invention of Brunel, was first used in May, with good results; it is still used in Bathurst basin.—September 15th, Charles Payne was elected mayor, and J. N. Franklyn and W. K. Wait sheriffs.—It was petitioned to remove the haymarket out of Broadmead, it having become a great thoroughfare and a place of trade.—On October 8th, at a meeting held in the hall of the Merchant Venturers' society, it was determined to apply afresh for an Act to complete the whole line of the Great Western railway, and in November the corporation of Bristol and the Merchant Venturers' society

agreed to take each of them one hundred shares. The allotment of shares in Bristol was well taken up.—On November 22nd the foundation-stone of the new Custom-house was laid on the site of the former building.—December 30th, the coroner's jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against Mrs. Burdock, for poisoning Clara Ann Smith.

On January 9th, 1835, Sir R. Vyvyan and Mr. P. J. Miles were returned as members of Parliament for Bristol.—On March 19th it was proposed to form the Bristol Tea company, for trading direct to China; capital, £500,000, in shares of £100.—It was proposed to establish a new market in West street, and a court of inquiry was held under a writ of *ad quod damnum*. The jury found that it would damage the existing markets in Bristol.—On April 9th Sir Charles Wetherell, the recorder, came to Bristol for the first time since the memorable riots in 1831, to deliver the gaol. The learned gentleman was met at Totterdown by the sheriffs and their officers, but not the slightest manifestation of party feeling was shown. He had to try Mrs. Burdock, the Court of King's Bench having decided against the removal of the trial from the jurisdiction of the city and county of Bristol. Mrs. Burdock was tried on Monday, the 13th of April, and hanged on Wednesday, the 15th, in the presence of 50,000 persons. She was the last who suffered under the jurisdiction conferred on the city by the old charters. She made a confession on the Tuesday of her guilt, in which she implicated her dead paramour, Wade.—The Act for the Bristol and Gloucestershire railway was obtained in 1828; it was begun between Bristol and Coalpit Heath in 1829. Originally intended to be a single line, it was converted ultimately into a double one, and was opened on August 6th, 1835.—The Bill for the Great Western railway received the royal assent on the 31st of the same month; the opposition during two sessions of Parliament cost the promoters £88,710. The applications for the 5,000 reserved shares on September 17th were 14,308, and shares went up to £8 premium.—The Municipal Reform Act was opposed in the Lords by the corporation. Sir Charles Wetherell called as witnesses Mr. Alderman Fripp, ex-mayor, and Mr. Burges, solicitor to the corporation. The Act, however, passed on September 9th.—On October 28th the ward divisions under the Municipal Reform Act were settled by the barristers as follow:—

	Councillors.	Voters.		Councillors.	Voters.
Bedminster	... 3	... 177	St. Augustine's	6	... 335
Bristol	... 9	... 870	St. James'	... 3	... 413
Clifton	... 9	... 494	St. Michael's	... 3	... 305
District	... 3	... 314	St. Paul's	... 3	... 336
Redcliff	... 6	... 517	St. Philip & Jacob	3	... 432

On November 10th Lord John Russell was entertained at the Gloucester hotel, Hotwells, and presented with a piece of plate for his exertions on behalf of reform.—On December 28th the following gentlemen were declared by the mayor, Charles Payne, to have been elected for the several wards, viz.:—

BEDMINSTER.—R. Phippen, J. Drake, S. Brown.

BRISTOL.—J. Wood, W. E. Acraman, T. Stock, F. Ricketts, P. Maze, C. B. Fripp, H. Bush, †J. Lean, †J. Savage.

CLIFTON.—†Charles Payne, †G. Goldney, †J. N. Franklyn, J. Cookson, †A. Hilhouse, W. S. Jacques, R. E. Case, J. Ford, †M. H. Castle.

DISTRICT.—†J. E. Lunell, T. R. Sanders, R. Ash.

REDCLIFF.—†C. George, H. Ricketts, R. S. King, G. Thomas, W. O. Gwyer, G. E. Sanders.

ST. AUGUSTINE'S.—†T. Daniel, C. Hare, Richard Smith, J. E. Nash, †P. Maze, jun., T. Powell.

ST. JAMES'.—J. Cunningham, S. S. Wayte, J. W. Hall.

ST. MICHAEL'S.—J. Howell, †J. George, †C. L. Walker.

ST. PAUL'S.—N. Moore, R. T. Guppy, W. Harewood.

ST. PHILIP AND JACOB.—T. Harris, W. Herapath, E. B. Fripp.

† Denotes members of the old corporation.

The highest number polled was for J. Wood, in the Bristol ward, 388.

On the 30th the above gentlemen met and subscribed the declarations prescribed by the Act.—On the 31st, Mr. Thos. Daniel in the chair, they elected, after considerable discussion, the following sixteen gentlemen to be aldermen:—William Fripp, Charles Pinney, T. H. Riddle, R. Ricketts, William Bushell, William Watson, J. K. Haberfield, J. Maningford, James Gibbs, Nicholas Roach, Edward Harley, George Franklyn, John Winwood, Thomas Stock, W. K. Wait and John Vining.

Five of the above gentlemen had been defeated in ward contests. The first division, taken on the question that Mr. William Fripp be elected an alderman, resulted in a tie, the numbers being twenty-four for and twenty-four against. The Whigs disagreeing amongst themselves, thirteen gentlemen were elected out of the list of names put forward by the Tories, Mr. C. Pinney, the ex-mayor, being one of them. He was nominally a Whig, but was nominated by both parties, the other three being Messrs. T. Stock, R. Ricketts and J. Maningford. This election secured that preponderance of the Tories in the council which they have ever since retained.

14. Mr. C. Payne held the mayoralty under the old Act until December, 1835, when Mr. T. Daniel was elected as mayor by thirty-eight votes to twenty-two; he declined to serve, and on January 11th, 1836, Mr. William Fripp, alderman, was chosen under the old corporation. The mayor's salary, with emoluments and fees, had averaged about £2,500. It was now determined to give up the Mansion-house, and to fix the salary at £700 per annum, with £100 for a carriage.—

The recorder had received £105, with a hogshead of port or sherry; now the salary was fixed at £400, with an allowance of £100 for travelling expenses if he resided at a greater distance than seven miles from Bristol; his duties were increased, and he had to preside at quarter sessions.—The sword-bearer, who was also inspector of weights and measures, had received £190; the fees of the latter office brought him also £140 per annum. The salary was now fixed at £300, to be paid out of the borough fund.—The collector of the town dues had received ten per cent. on moneys collected, together with an allowance of £150 for a clerk and office. His commission was reduced to seven and a-half per cent., with no claim for compensation when the dues should be abolished.—The salary of the chamberlain, who had to receive and to pay all moneys for the corporation and the charities, and to keep the books, was £700. He was allowed a commission on country rents, which amounted to £299 13s., as treasurer of the charitable estates he had £300, making a total of £1,299 13s., out of which he paid his deputy £100. The deputy-chamberlain, in addition to the above £100, received a salary of £250 from the corporation, and fees and commission, £148 3s.; total, £498 3s. The clerk received £130 a year. There was also an apprentice, whose salary was £20. The chamberlain's title was now merged in that of the treasurer, the salaries to be:—Treasurer, £700; deputy, to be called first clerk, £250; second clerk, £120; apprentice, £20.

Up to this date there were two sheriffs for Bristol, but now she lost one, and, under the new Act, Mr. Daniel Cave was elected sole sheriff; under the same Act the mayor was elected on November 9th in each year. We give a list of mayors and sheriffs from 1836 to the present date:—

MAYORS.	SHERIFFS.
1836 11th January, Wm. Fripp	Daniel Cave
1836 9th November, Jas. George	Thomas Kington
1837 John Kerle Haberfield	Thomas Kington Bayly
1838 John Kerle Haberfield	Francis Savage
1839 James Norrway Franklyn	Richard Vaughan
1840 Robert Phippen	Hugh Vaughan
1841 George Woodroffe Franklyn	Thomas Jones
1842 James Gibbs	Jeremiah Hill
1843 William Lewton Clarke	Thomas Wadham
1844 Richard Poole King	John Harding
1845 John Kerle Haberfield	Thomas Hill
1846 William Goldney	Abrm. Gray Harford Battersby
1847 John Decimus Pountney	Edward Sampson, Junr.
1848 John Kerle Haberfield	Peter Maze, Junr.
1849 John Kerle Haberfield	John Jasper Leigh Bailly
1850 John Kerle Haberfield <sup>1</sup>	Joseph Walters Daubeney

<sup>1</sup> The honour of knighthood was conferred on the mayor by the Queen at St. James' palace, March 26th, 1851. He was accompanied on the occasion by Earl Fitzhardinge, lord-lieutenant of the county.

## MAYORS.

1851 Wm. Henry Gore-Langton  
 1852 Robert Gay Barrow  
 1853 John George Shaw  
 1854 John George Shaw  
 1855 John Vining  
 1856 John Vining  
 1857 Isaac Allan Cooke  
 1858 James Poole  
 1859 John Bates  
 1860 Odiarne Coates Lane  
 1861 John Hare  
 1862 Sholto Vere Hare  
 1863 Thomas Porter Jose  
 1864 William Naish  
 1865 Joseph Abraham  
 1866 Elisha Smith Robinson  
 1867 Francis Adams  
 1868 Francis Adams  
 1869 William Killigrew Wait  
 1870 Thomas Canning  
 1871 William Proctor Baker  
 1872 William Hathway  
 1873 Thomas Barnes  
 1874 Christopher James Thomas  
 1875 John Averay Jones  
 1876 George William Edwards  
 1877 George William Edwards  
 1878 George William Edwards  
 1879 Henry Taylor  
 1880 Joseph Dodge Weston  
 1881 Joseph Dodge Weston

## SHERIFFS.

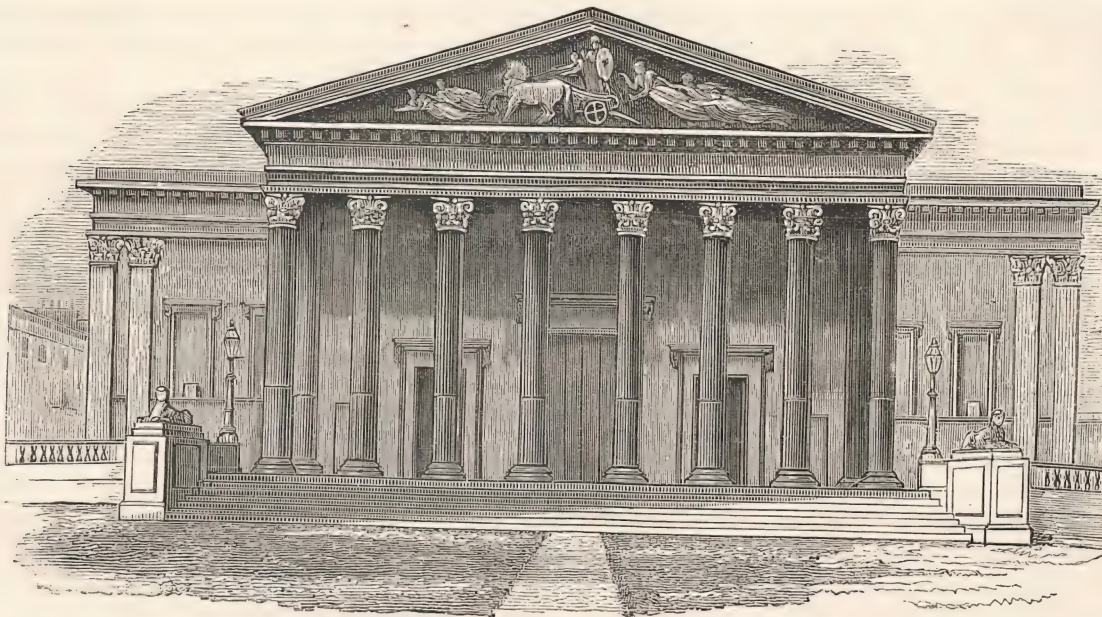
John Battersby Harford  
 Robert Bright  
 Philip John William Miles  
 Robert Phippen  
 Albany Bouchier Savile  
 George Oldham Edwards  
 John Henry Greville Smyth<sup>1</sup>  
 William Henry Harford  
 William Montague Baillie  
 Joshua Saunders  
 George Locke Woodward  
 Charles Daniel Cave  
 William Wright  
 Henry Cruger William Miles  
 Joseph Cooke Hurle  
 William Henry Miles  
 William Gale Coles  
 Robert Phippen<sup>2</sup>  
 Thomas Proctor  
 John Fisher  
 William Thomas Poole King  
 Thomas Todd Walton  
 Thomas Todd Walton  
 Charles Hill  
 George Bright  
 William Smith  
 William Henry Wills  
 Charles Bowles Hare  
 Robert Low Grant Vassall  
 Francis Frederick Fox  
 William Edwards George

In the debate on the report of committee, February 4th, 1835, it was stated that, in 1825, the corporation was so greatly in debt that their bankers refused to advance more money without the deposit of the title deeds of the corporation as security, and that Mrs. Harford, the mother of the deputy-chamberlain, then lent them the moneys requisite, on bond at five per cent., there being not a shilling in the treasury chest.

On January 30th, 1836, a *mandamus* had been applied for in the court of King's Bench to test the question whether the new Municipal Corporation Act, which made the village of Clifton a part of the borough of Bristol, had taken away the jurisdiction of the county of Gloucester magistrates, or whether their authority was only taken away in such matters as strictly related to the purposes of that Act. On February 1st it was decided "that the transfer of the jurisdiction in Clifton from the county of Gloucester to the city of Bristol was as complete as words could make it, and that the township of Clifton was now a part of Bristol."—The same day, in the court of Common Pleas, in a special case before

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Smyth refused to serve; law proceedings were taken against him, but his year of office expiring before the cause came on for trial the proceedings were withdrawn. Mr. Edwards, the sheriff of 1856, did the duties.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Robert Phippen died during his year of office, July 5th, 1869.



The Victoria Rooms, Clifton.

that court, it was decided "that Ireland was a place beyond the seas," and therefore liable under the Dock Act to pay a higher duty on goods than those brought to Bristol "coastwise."

15. On February 5th, at an adjourned meeting of the council, a Watch committee was appointed, which produced a scheme for an efficient police force, the estimated cost being about £9,000 per annum. Mr. Bishop was appointed police superintendent at £350 per annum.—Mr. Serjeant Ludlow, under protest, acted as town clerk. He contended that the most important duties had been detached from the office and inferior ones substituted, which he thought a barrister ought not to be called upon to fulfil, especially at a reduced remuneration; he would neither accept the new appointment nor give up his claim to compensation for loss of office. He afterwards, by letter, showed that his average income had been from salary and fees £913 5s. 10d. per annum; he was allowed as compensation, £533 6s. 8d. The learned gentleman, taking offence at some strictures by Mr. C. H. Payne, town councillor and ex-mayor, sent his friend, Captain Cooke, with a demand for an explanation and authority to act as circumstances might require. Mr. Payne, in reply, claimed his right to criticise, as one having a decided interest in the city's funds, but disclaimed any idea of imputing intentional misstatement, or anything inconsistent with the character of a gentleman to the learned serjeant.

The Duke of Beaufort was appointed lord high steward of Bristol; he had a majority of sixteen over

Lord Seagrave, the lord-lieutenant, who was also nominated.—On February 8th, the *Fury*, a small tug boat, which had been bought for towing ships on the Avon, was boarded by about thirty Pill boatmen, who carried her off and tried to scuttle her. She was picked up the next day drifting off Beachley; warrants were issued against eighteen of the rioters, and rewards offered for their apprehension.

In a debate in the Council chamber, on February 9th, it was shown that the annual imposts in the city amounted to £12,400; that deducting town dues, interest on debt, cost of new gaol, &c., there remained to meet this an income of about £13,000. That the amount of the poor, paving; harbour and compensation rates levied on Bristol in 1833 was £65,029, assessed upon 10,114 properties; that only £54,146 could be collected from 6,670 properties, whilst 3,444 other properties contributed nothing; that 2,488 persons were summoned for the rates, and that 1,400 of these were excused by the magistrates.

The report on the corporation property, presented this month by Mr. Sturge, was as follows:—

Estate and timber in the country	£144,400
Lands in vicinity of Bristol let at rack-rents	14,000
Fee farm and chief rents	39,060
Premises in Bristol at rack rents, subject to repairs	57,940
Exchange and St. James' markets, subject to repairs	38,772
Town and mayor's dues	31,640
Reversion of houses in Bristol held by lease under corporation	65,200
Mansion-house	4,760

£395,772

There were besides, the public buildings, Council-house, Guildhall, Gaol, Bridewell, Mayor's chapel, Guard-house and City Library; the total indebtedness was £111,542 15s. 10d. It was then moved to petition Parliament for leave to appropriate the sum of £35,000 in redeeming the rates levied under the Damages Compensation Act, and this was carried by thirty-two to twenty-three.

On Monday, February 15th, it was decided that the treasurer should have charge of the city plate, the mayor to have the use of it when he desired.—Twenty-four gentlemen were nominated as magistrates after great discussion, twelve from each party, the names being sent up to the Government. Twelve Whigs and six Tories were appointed. Objections to certain gentlemen nominated on the Conservative side of the House having been sent up, gave rise to a heated debate in Parliament, in which Sir R. Vyvyan charged Lord John Russell with being influenced by corrupt motives. The Speaker had to call on the noble lord and the hon. baronet to give their assurance that they would not carry the matter further. Of the gentlemen chosen, Messrs. T. Kington (Con.) and R. Bright (Whig) declined to serve.

On February 23rd it was shown that the cost of the law business of the town council, including town clerk, city solicitors and their various clerks, had averaged £3,350 per annum. Mr. Daniel Burges (father of the present town clerk) was appointed town clerk, and Messrs. Brice and Burges city solicitors, the salary, to cover all law business, payment of clerks, &c., exclusive of Parliamentary charges, to be £3,000. Mr. Brice had been a faithful servant of the city for twenty-nine, and Mr. Burges for seventeen years.

The Cholera ground and Scavengers' yard, Temple meads, were included in the twenty acres belonging to the corporation which was required by the Great Western Railway company. The council demurred to the railway taking the whole of the land. In answer it was said that the engineer, Mr. Brunel, said it would all be required. Moreover, as there were 8,000 shares, of the value of £200,000, held by inhabitants of Bristol, it was desirable to give every facility to the Great Western Railway company for their terminal arrangements being thoroughly complete in Temple meads. The company ultimately decided that the Cholera ground and Scavengers' yard, together with a portion of land near the Cattle market, specified by the council, should not be claimed by them; moreover, they were willing to insert a clause in the deed of conveyance that, at the end of ten years, they would give up any of the land not required by them on the same terms as those on which they purchased. The price asked for the ground (18a.

3r. 15p.) was £12,000; the company offered £11,300. In September, on arbitration, the sum asked, £12,000, was awarded.

In February, several acres of ground on the Bath road were purchased, with a view to form a Zoological Society's garden. It was afterwards decided to form one nearer to Clifton, and on May 12th the society reported that they had bought the ground (now occupied by them) of Mr. Francis Adams for £3,456 10s., and had expended £8,800 upon it. The plot measured about twelve acres. The gardens were opened July 11th of the same year.

On March 10th the stock of wines belonging to the corporation, 520 dozen, was sold by auction for £1,507, realising a profit of £500. On the 15th, the furniture of the Mansion-house fetched £725 4s. 2d.

On May 4th Mr. Grindon was unanimously appointed coroner.—The common council, by forty-two to four, decided to petition for the removal of the civic disabilities of the Jews.—It was ordered that henceforth the names of the members voting be entered in a division book.—Mr. W. O. Hare was appointed clerk of the peace.—On Saturday, the 14th, a peal of bells was presented by Mr. John Bangley to the church of St. Matthew, Kingsdown.—On the 24th the prospectus of the Bristol Cotton Twist and Power Loom company (capital £200,000, in 4,000 shares of £20 each) was issued.

On June 4th steam communication by the steamship *Star* was opened with Ilfracombe and South Wales.—On the 5th two Persian princes, on the 23rd the Prince of Orange with his two sons and *suite*, and on July 21st the Prince of Oldenburg, nephew of the Czar of Russia, visited the city; they and their *suites* were entertained by the mayor.—On June 26th the new police commenced duty. The head-quarters was at the Guard-house, Wine street (see Vol. I., p. 303); the force numbered 227 men.—Prospectus of the Bristol and Bitton Cotton Twist company issued; capital, £300,000; shares, £100.

On July 2nd a grand horticultural *fête* was held at Mr. Miller's, Durdham down.—On the 14th a great dinner was given to Mr. Thomas Daniel, late senior alderman, to whom an address, signed by 7,000 of his fellow-citizens, was presented; five other gentlemen who had been in conjunction with Mr. Daniel, Messrs. C. L. Walker, J. George, N. Roch, A. Hilhouse and J. N. Franklyn, were also included in the entertainment.—On the 28th the sternpost of the *Great Western* steamship was raised from the keel amidst great rejoicing.

The first mention of the Teetotal Temperance society in Bristol with which we have met is a challenge of William Bulphin, a chimney-sweep of Steep street, in

*Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*, August 27th, 1836, to discuss the subject; he proposed to support the moderate system.

16. The first meeting in Bristol of the British Association was held in August. The local subscription amounted to £1,700. The general committee met in the Chapter-house of the Cathedral. Amongst those present whose names have become historical were Professors Babbage, Buckland, Henslow, Forbes, Wilson, Faraday, Sedgwick, Rigaud, Peacock, Christie and Lloyd; Drs. Roget, Ritchie, Wheatstone, McCullagh, Phillips, Lardner, Prichard, Hare (Philadelphia), Dalton, Symonds, Thomson, Daubeny and Carpenter; Lords King and Northampton; Sirs David Brewster, John Rennie and William R. Hamilton; Rev. A. Crosse; Messrs. R. J. Murchison, De La Beche, MacAdam, H. Hallam, Davies Gilbert, G. Cubit, George Rennie, W. D. Coneybeare, W. Herapath, J. W. Lubbock, J. J. Russell, H. Fox Talbot, W. Snow Harris, I. K. Brunel, Colonel Sykes, Tom Moore and W. Lisle Bowles. The Marquis of Lansdowne being unable to be present on account of the illness of his eldest son, the Marquis of Northampton took the president's chair. The Great Western railway, with its tunnels and cuttings, was an object of great attraction to the geological, botanical and mechanical sections, whilst in the latter Dr. Lardner was so unwise as to prove to his own satisfaction the impossibility of a steamboat ever crossing the Atlantic. Mr. Crosse's discoveries and his growth of crystals in quartz excited much attention.

September 3rd, the following by-laws were enacted: Any person refusing to serve the office of mayor to be fined £100, that of alderman £50, auditor £50, assessor £50, councillor £50.—On the 6th, eighteen gentlemen were nominated by the town council to serve as charity trustees.—On the 10th, C. S. Bartlett, a low comedian playing at St. James' fair, shot his mother-in-law in Lippett's lane, Stapleton; he was hanged at Gloucester, April 15th, 1837.

On October 10th, during a hurricane, 60 feet of the parapet of Redcliff church was blown down, great damage was done in the city, and the tide was the highest known for upwards of twenty years.—On the 17th the sees of Gloucester and Bristol were united. The bishop visited Bristol on the 19th.

On February 3rd, 1837, two prisoners in a damp cell in the Bridewell were suffocated through the incautious use of a pan of coals.—The influenza was deadly in Bristol this month, one undertaker within five days burying eighty-five persons who had died from its effects.—Four lives were lost at a fire at "William IV." tavern, Temple street, on the night of March 15th.—

[VOL. III.]

The foundation-stone of the new cotton manufactory, Barton hill, was laid on April 18th.—On the 24th, Mr. John Wesley Hall laid for the foundation of a new Wesleyan chapel at Baptist Mills the identical stone that John Wesley stood on when he preached in that locality.

On June 20th, at Windsor castle, in his seventy-first year, died the sailor king, William IV., and his niece, Alexandrina Victoria, our present most gracious Queen, succeeded. The following was the order of procession for proclaiming her most gracious majesty Queen Victoria in the borough of Bristol on Saturday, June 24th, 1837:

BODY OF POLICE CONSTABLES.

THE HIGH CONSTABLE.

EXCHANGE KEEPER, WITH STAFF OF OFFICE.

BAND OF MUSIC.

CORPORATE OFFICERS.

PROTHONOTARY OF TOLZEY COURT. REGISTRAR OF COURT OF CONSCIENCE.

OFFICERS OF BRISTOL STAFF.

HERALD.

A CAR.

CITY SOLICITOR. TOWN CLERK. TREASURER.

SWORD BEARER.

THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR.

THE HIGH SHERIFF.

UNDER SHERIFF.

THE MAGISTRATES.

THE TOWN COUNCILLORS.

CONSULS OF FOREIGN STATES.

THE CLERGY.

THE DISSENTING MINISTERS.

THE CHARITY TRUSTEES.

MASTER, WARDEN AND SOCIETY OF MERCHANT VENTURERS.

GOVERNOR, DEPUTY GOVERNOR AND CORPORATION OF THE POOR.

BAND OF MUSIC.

CHURCHWARDENS AND INHABITANTS OF THE DIFFERENT PARISHES.

POLICE CONSTABLES.

SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE.

#### ROUTE :

Proclamation will be made at the top of High street, and be repeated at each place where the procession halts.

The procession will proceed along Wine street to Peter's pump; from thence down Bridge street, over the bridge to Temple cross; thence through Temple street and Portwall lane to Thomas street, where the cross formerly stood; thence over the bridge, along the Back, through the Mansion-house avenue into Queen square; thence, after encompassing the statue of King William to the corner of the Square to Prince street, returning along the Quay to the Quay pipe; and from thence through Stephen street and Corn street to the Council house.

On July 19th the launch of the *Great Western* steamship took place.—On the 24th, Mr. P. W. S. Miles and the Hon. F. H. F. Berkeley were elected to represent Bristol in Parliament.—The first marriage in a Dissenting chapel in Bristol was celebrated on the 31st, at Brunswick Congregational chapel.—On September 29th extra pilotage on foreign ships was abolished by the

town council.—In December the dean and chapter purchased the ruins of the Bishop's palace, College green, and the grounds belonging thereto, for £1,450.

17. In 1838, under a new survey of the city, the ratable value of the nineteen parishes was assessed at £213,417.—On January 19th the steamboat *Killarney*, on her passage to Bristol from Cork, was wrecked on the Rennies rocks; twenty-five persons perished, the others, after spending three days and two nights upon the rock, were saved by means of a basket swung on a rope from the opposite cliffs of the bay, and thence swept over the rock.

In February the cross rows of lime trees in King square were cut down and the iron railing put up.—In the same month the following sums were paid as compensation to owners of slaves in the West Indies, who resided in Bristol or its neighbourhood, out of the sum of £20,000,000 voted by Parliament. The list does not include any sum under £3,000 :—

	£	s.	d.
Richard Bright... ..	8,092	7	5
Robert Bright ... ..	3,820	9	4
Jas. E. Baillie ... ..	12,967	12	3
H. D. J. E. Baillie and G. H. Ames ...	23,024	6	5
Jas. Cunningham ... ..	3,798	2	3
Jas. Cunningham ... ..	8,559	0	6
Sir B. Codrington, bart. ... ..	29,866	17	1
Thomas and John Daniel ... ..	55,177	13	3
Philip John Miles ... ..	9,076	1	4
Charles Pinney and E. Case ... ..	3,572	10	11
Total ... ..	£157,955	0	9

On February 16th the Hon. F. H. F. Berkeley, whose return had been petitioned against, was declared duly elected.—June 4th, the Great Western railway was opened from London to Maidenhead.—On the 28th the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Victoria was celebrated with great rejoicing; the funds were raised by public subscription, and not as of old, furnished by the corporation.—In April, the *Great Western* steamship was on view in Bristol, having returned from London, where she had been exhibited. She made several highly successful voyages to and from New York during the year, averaging thirteen days on her homeward passages.—On July 2nd Mr. Courtney made another successful flight down a rope from St. Vincent's rocks to Leigh woods.—On the 16th the fairs held in St. James and Temple parishes were abolished.—On December 26th, Fergus O'Connor held a Chartist meeting on Brandon hill, which proved a failure.

In January, 1839, calico was for the first time manufactured in Bristol.—On February 9th, William Davis murdered John Butt in Cold Harbour lane; he was hanged at Gloucester, April 6th.—On April 18th, the

"Great Western" hotel, Hotwell road, was opened.—September 6th, a shock of an earthquake was felt in Bristol.

On February 10th, 1840, there were great rejoicings on account of the Queen's marriage.—On August 6th Sir Robert and Lady Peel visited Bristol; they stayed at the "White Lion" tavern, Broad street.—On September 10th the lords of the Admiralty arrived in the steamship *Firebrand*.

On June 28th, 1841, Mr. P. W. S. Miles and the Hon. F. H. F. Berkeley were returned as members of Parliament for the city.—On July 22nd the new building at the top of Park street, intended for the Red Maids' school, was sold to the Charity trustees for £9,250. By consent of the Lord Chancellor, it was afterwards sold to trustees on behalf of the Bishop's (intended) college for £9,750.—On August 17th the report of the Bristol General Cemetery company was issued; it gave the total cost of land, roads and building as £13,340.—On September 27th the mayor and officials began to beat the bounds of the city.—The new bridge from Bath street to St. Philip's opened; it was built by a company and cost £11,000, but with the approaches nearly £20,000.

On May 24th, 1842, the Victoria rooms, the foundation stone of which was laid by Mr. J. K. Haberfield in 1838, erected at a cost of £20,000, and occupying the finest site in Clifton, were opened. The noble portico is supported by massive Corinthian columns, which bear a rich entablature and pediment, with classic carvings in high relief representing the "Advent of Morning."—On July 12th, the Royal Agricultural society visited Bristol; the exhibition was held at the back of the Victoria rooms, the ploughing, &c., in a field at Sneyd park.

On July 7th, 1843, Highbury Congregational church was opened, with accommodation for 700 people; the Rev. David Thomas became its first pastor in 1844, and continued to occupy the pulpit till his death, November 7th, 1875.—On the 14th the Roman Catholics bought, for £5,000, the Irvingites' chapel, near the Stone bridge, which had cost £13,000. Bishop Baines, who preached the opening sermon, died in his bed at Bath during the following night.—On July 19th H.R.H. Prince Albert visited Bristol to be present at the launch of the *Great Britain* steamship. He received addresses from the mayor and corporation, from the Society of Merchant Venturers, who gave him the freedom of their society in a gold box, and from the clergy; a procession was then formed through the city to Clifton, and thence by the valley road to the company's yard entrance in Cumberland road. After partaking of a banquet with

the *élite* of the neighbourhood, under the presidency of Mr. T. Kingston, the prince named the ship in the usual manner, by dashing a bottle of wine on her bows. He left immediately for London, having expressed himself highly delighted with all he had seen. There were 30,000 people on Brandon hill to view the launch.—On October 30th the foundation-stone of the new Guildhall was laid by the mayor, Mr. James Gibbs, with great Masonic ceremony.—Several foreign princes visited Bristol during the year in order to inspect the *Great Britain*.

In 1844 the fronts of the picturesque old houses in Broad street, between the Council-house and the Guildhall, were taken down to widen the roadway.—In May the Bristol and Exeter railway line was completed and opened.—On July 6th the King of Saxony visited Bristol by rail from Bath to attend divine service at the Roman Catholic church on St. Augustine's back; he returned to Bath that night, but came back on Monday morning to inspect the *Great Britain* steamship.—On August 31st the Prince of Prussia, being a guest of the Duke of Beaufort, came with his grace from Badminton to see the huge ship.

On January 16th, 1845, Miss Ann Dimsdale bequeathed about £26,000 to ten various charities in Bristol.—In June, the foundation-stone of Horfield barracks was laid with Masonic rites.—On August 20th and 21st the Queen Dowager, with *suite*, visited Clifton, Kingsweston and Blaize castle.—William Knibb, the eminent Baptist missionary, died November 15th, 1845; he was, in 1816, an apprentice to Mr. Fuller, printer, Bristol.

In January, 1846, the statue of Chatterton was removed, by order of the vicar of Redcliff, from consecrated ground.—The work of restoring St. Mary Redcliff church was begun April 21st, by the mayor at the head of an imposing Masonic procession.—On June 18th the foundation-stone of St. Simon's was laid by the mayor.—Thomas Clarkson, the negro's friend, who was well known for his anti-slavery efforts in Bristol, died September 26th.—On October 28th, R. B. Crowther, Q.C., took his seat as recorder, in the room of Sir Charles Wetherell, deceased August 17th.

18. In 1847 the town clerk stated before the Government surveyors sent to examine into the merits of the "Street Improvement Bill" that the population was 140,158; the number of streets, 2,250; the lanes, 50; alleys, 10; courts, 380; houses, 20,000. The squares: Queen square, 6a. 3r. and some poles; College green, 4a. 0r. 2p.; Brunswick square, 1a. 0r. 36p.; Brandon hill, 19a. 2r.; Portland square, 2a. 1r.; King square, 1a. 0r. 22p. That £800 had been laid out in forming

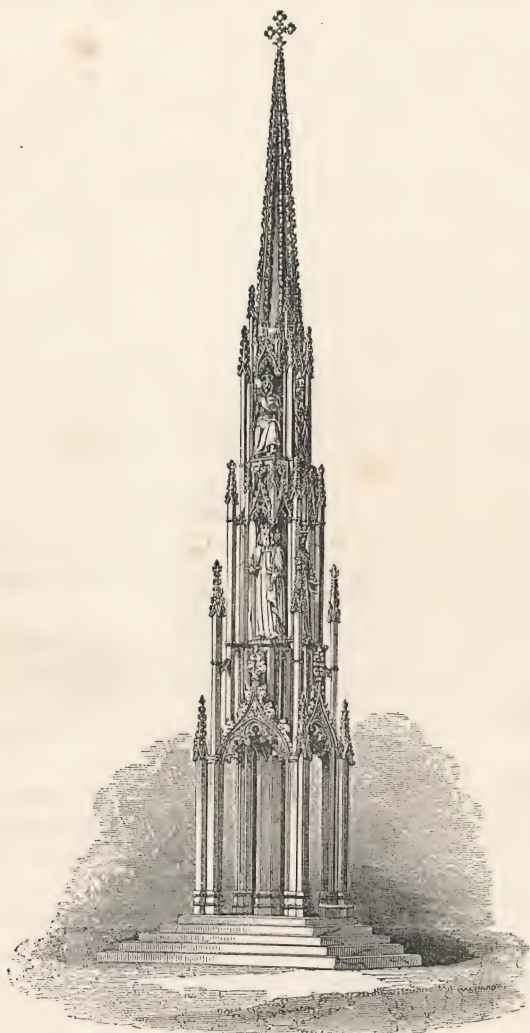
public walks on Brandon hill; thirty new streets had been laid out within ten years; that the estimated cost of the improvements was £76,060; that the capital required, £40,000, was proposed to be raised by a borough rate of twopence in the pound, and the whole to be completed in seven years. The projected improvements were to be as under:—

To widen Bristol bridge ... ..	£2,500
To make Victoria street ... ..	24,000
To make a new street from Broad street to the Bridewell	39,000
Alterations in the Hotwell road ... ..	3,500
Alterations in Berkeley place, Redcliff hill, York place, Silver street ... ..	7,060
	<hr/> £76,060

In February the directors of the Bristol and South Wales Junction railway purchased the Old Passage ferry, with 80 acres of land, and all the appliances of the ferry, for £20,000.—March 15th, the new County court was opened at the Guildhall by Mr. Arthur Palmer, jun., the judge.—March 27th, the first annual meeting of the Bristol Waterworks company was held at the "White Lion" tavern. The report stated that the company had paid to the Merchant Venturers' society for machinery, pipes, &c., £18,000; to Mr. Coates for Zion spring, £13,500; to Mr. W. Hamley for Buckingham spring, £2,014 10s.; to Mr. John Coombe for Richmond spring, £4,950, the two latter by arbitration; total, £38,464 10s. Bristol was at this time the most unhealthy large town in the kingdom, two only excepted.—On June 2nd, Buckingham Baptist chapel, Clifton, was opened by the Rev. J. H. Hinton.—On June 18th, the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia visited the city and neighbourhood.—On July 30th, the Hon. F. H. F. Berkeley and Mr. P. W. S. Miles were returned as members of Parliament for Bristol.—In August, Miss Ann Williams bequeathed to twelve of the Bristol charities the sum of £6,500; also Mr. Robert Supple bequeathed £8,800 to twelve charitable and religious institutions.—September 27th, Mr. Macready realised £1,500 profit by a visit of Jenny Lind to his theatre in King street.—On October 1st, the water from Barrow was conveyed over Bedminster bridge.—On October 5th Miss Walsh, whilst botanizing, fell over St. Vincent's rocks.—November 15th, the Branch Bank of England removed from Bridge street to their new premises in Broad street.

In 1848, the Bristol Free Grammar school, after being practically in abeyance twenty-five years, was re-opened under Dr. Evans; two hundred boys, sons of citizens, were admitted on January 24th.—An appeal from a decision of the Master of the Rolls, in the matter of Colston's school, was decided by the Lord

Chancellor in favour of the Merchant Venturers' society.—May 23rd, the Bill for the transfer of the Docks passed the House of Commons; it received the royal assent July 30th.—On June 5th the corpses of the wife and two children of T. W. Hill, a builder on Kingsdown, who had died in the previous autumn, were exhumed from their grave, in St. Paul's churchyard, Portland square, by order of the coroner; they were found to



*The High Cross, College Green.*

have been poisoned with arsenic; the wife's life was insured for £3,000; whilst the inquest was being held, the husband poisoned himself with prussic acid.—On August 16th the foundation-stone of St. Jude's church was laid by the Venerable Archdeacon Thorp.—On the 26th the city seal was affixed to the Docks Transfer deed.

On February 13th, 1849, an order was issued by Dean Lamb that the priests' service at the Cathedral should be read, not sung or intoned. On the 27th an

investigation was held by the lord bishop, at the request of a large body of those who usually worshipped in the edifice. His lordship, on March 1st, pronounced the order of the dean to be null and void, on the ground of its having been issued without the concurrence of the chapter, or of himself as visitor.—On March 7th Mrs. Jefferies was murdered by her servant-girl, Sarah H. Thomas, who was hanged at the new gaol, April 20th.—On April 14th the new Exchange Market-house was opened.—On June 10th the cholera broke out in Red-cross street; there were twenty-two deaths in three days in the courts adjoining.—September 25th was kept as a fast on account of the cholera visitation, and November 15th was a day of thanksgiving because of its cessation.

In 1850 Miss Craven fell from the Lion's head, St. Vincent's rocks.—On July 15th there was a dreadful thunderstorm.—On the 22nd the boiler of a small passenger steamer, the *Red Rover*, which plied on the Floating harbour, burst; six persons were killed, and two died on their way to the Infirmary; thirteen others were injured, several of whom died of their wounds.—On August 8th the foundation-stone of the civic High Cross in College green was laid, with full Masonic rites, by the mayor, Mr. J. K. Haberfield; the architect was Mr. Norton; the ground was given by the dean and chapter.—On the 12th the Baths and Wash-houses on the Ropewalk were opened.—In December, Arno's Vale court was bought by the Roman Catholics for a conventual establishment for poor girls.

On June 20th, 1851, fifty colliers were buried alive in a coal-pit at Bedminster; after being in the pit forty hours they were all, by great exertions, brought alive to the surface.—On July 29th the Archæological Institute, under the presidency of Lord Talbot de Malahide, held its annual session in Bristol.

In March, 1852, Bristol was connected by telegraph with London and many other large towns.—In May, Sir Stratford Canning chose for his title as a peer that of Stratford de Redcliffe, he being descended from a branch of the Bristol Canynges.—In June, the Lord Chancellor decided against the claim of the Charity trustees to nominate and choose persons to fill vacancies in their body; his lordship appointed nine gentlemen.—On July 9th the Hon. F. H. F. Berkley and Mr. W. H. Gore-Langton were returned to represent Bristol in Parliament.—On August 5th the Princess Oldenburg of Russia and *suite*, and on the 25th the ex-Queen of France, consort of Louis Philippe, visited the city.—On September 14th Greenwich time was adopted for Bristol.—On October 14th and 15th the city bounds were perambulated.—On the 19th a man named Spear killed his wife in Castle street; he was transported for

life on April 6th.—On November 9th a whirlwind did great damage in the city.—On December 9th a company was incorporated under the title of "The Kingroad Harbour, Docks and Railway, Port of Bristol."

19. On February 24th, 1853, Mr. James Gibbs, one of the directors of the Great Western railway, was killed at Ealing, the express train in which he was travelling having run off the line.—On the 26th a stone was placed over the grave of Chatterton's father in Redcliff churchyard.—In March the Sailors' Home, Queen square, was opened.—On the 9th the Horfield estate was transferred to trustees for the benefit of poor clergy of the diocese.—On the 17th, James Tucker, a shoemaker, killed his two children at Clifton, and then cut his own throat.—On April 2nd *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* was amalgamated with the *Bristol Times*.—In May the old "Bush" hotel was sold to the West of England and South Wales Banking company for £10,000.—On August 8th the case of Tom Provis, who claimed the

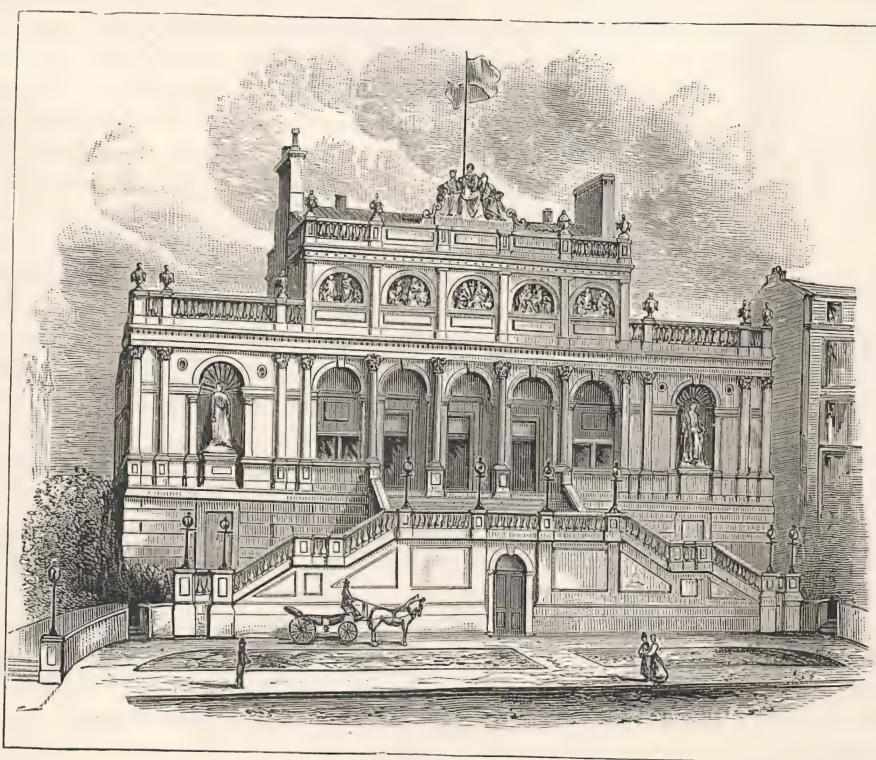
Smyth estates at Long Ashton and the baronetcy, commenced; the plaintiff was committed to Gloucester gaol on a charge of forgery; he was convicted, and died in Dartmoor prison on May 20th, 1855.—On November 16th the Duke and Duchess of Brabant, cousins of the Queen, visited Clifton.

In January, 1854, the burial grounds in the city were ordered to be closed wholly or in part.—February 25th, Cornelius Murphy was killed in Prince street by a Spanish sailor, who, on April 5th, was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment.—On March 16th, the Duke of Beaufort was inaugurated as the lord high steward.—On April 7th Sir A. Cockburn was appointed recorder.—On May 11th the sugar refinery of Messrs.

Hier and Stock, in Old Market street, was burned; the estimated loss was £20,000.—On May 22nd the foundation-stone of Arley Congregational church was laid by Mr. R. Ash.—On June 5th Stuckey's new bank, Corn street, was opened.—On October 25th the Bristol Athenæum was inaugurated by Lord John Russell (this institution was begun, in 1844, at the Assembly rooms, Prince street). On the 27th a grand civic banquet was given to Lord John Russell at the Merchants Venturers' hall.

On February 7th, 1855, the election of a Roman Catholic bishop of Clifton took place.—On March 20th

Hillsbridge, on the New Cut, was knocked down by the *John*, a screw barge of 180 tons and six horse-power; two lives were lost. April 5th, Bath bridge, a new structure of wrought iron, was ordered to replace the above, at a cost of £5,700.—On July 24th the body of Lord Raglan was landed from the *Caradoc*, and forwarded in solemn procession on its way to Bad-



*Fine Arts Academy, Clifton.*

minton by the civic and military authorities as far as Fishponds.—On August 19th a child was mysteriously murdered near Cook's Folly; the murderer was never discovered.—In November the steps of Queen street (Christmas steps) were widened at the top.

20. On March 28th, 1856, the Bristol Diocesan Trade and Mining schools were opened by Earl Granville.—On May 18th the first anniversary of the Presbyterian church was held in Broadmead rooms.—On October 12th H.R.H. the Prince of Wales visited Bristol *incognito*, on his tour through the West of England.—On December 11th the Bristol Incorporation of the Poor held its last meeting as a sole and independent corporation.

On July 31st, 1857, Chatterton's monument was re-erected on unconsecrated ground, opposite the Pile street school.—On August 19th two captured Russian guns (36-pounders) were mounted on Brandon hill.—On September 11th Charlotte Pugsley was murdered in Leigh woods by a fellow-servant, John Beale, who was hanged at Taunton on January 12th, 1858.—On October 31st, the Bristol General hospital was opened.

In 1858 the magnificent building known as the Fine Arts Academy, Whiteladies' road, was completed. It was founded, in 1844, by the munificence of Mrs. Sharples, a widow lady residing at the Hotwells. Hearing that efforts were being made to establish an exhibition of pictures, she generously came forward with a donation of £2,000, and, assisted by some of the most eminent of the citizens, established the society; at her death, in 1849, she bequeathed to the society about £3,000. The building contains a collection of pictures by Mr., Mrs. and Miss Sharples, amongst which are portraits of General Washington and many eminent Americans, and several pictures of particular interest to Bristol, notably the trial of Colonel Brereton, the races on Durdham down, the ball-room at Clifton, three large Scriptural pictures by William Hogarth, from St. Mary Redcliff church, and the Nineveh marbles. In the same building is the Government School of Science and Art.

In 1859, when the memorable boasts of the "French colonels" elicited an unexpectedly practical response in the establishment of the volunteer movement, Bristol was behind none of the large cities in patriotic spirit, for it was the first to offer the services of a rifle *battalion*. The Government did not at once accept this offer, being disinclined to sanction the establishment of larger bodies than *companies* of volunteers. The leaders of the movement in Bristol remaining firm, the offer was eventually accepted. In the meantime the services of several companies in different parts of the county had been offered and accepted. So impressed, however, had the lord-lieutenant (the Right Honourable the Earl of Ducie) been by the spirit shown in Bristol, that he accorded to the Bristol battalion the honour of ranking as the first in the county. By general consent, the First Gloucestershire (City of Bristol) Rifle Volunteers inherited the traditions of the old Bristol volunteers, and most valued among these the well-known motto, "In Danger Ready!" From the formation it has been their especial privilege to have as their honorary colonel the mayor of Bristol for the time being. On May 18th, 1859, the first meeting of those interested in the movement was held in the Guildhall, under the presidency of the mayor (Mr. James Poole), when it was resolved that

the services of the Bristol Rifle corps (which it was then decided to form) should be offered to the Government through the lord-lieutenant. On the 26th of May a list was opened for the enrolment of honorary members, and a committee was formed, under the presidency of the high sheriff, for raising funds for the maintenance of the corps. It was not, however, until the 14th of September that the formation of the regiment, consisting then of eight companies, was notified in the *London Gazette*, when the following appointments were made:—Major Robert Bush, late of the 96th Regiment, appointed lieutenant-colonel, and Captain H. B. O. Savile, late of the Royal Artillery, appointed major. On the 19th September, Captain A. M. Jones, late of the 27th Regiment and 4th West York Militia, was gazetted adjutant, and Mr. D. Burges, town clerk, was gazetted quartermaster. The following gentlemen were appointed captains of companies:—J. Bates, William Wright, Colston Lucas, Andrew Leighton, C. Ringer, J. C. Pattenson, R.N., H. Goodeve, S. E. Taylor, and (on the formation, early in 1860, of two additional companies) James Ford and Boddam Castle. Drilling, however, had commenced at an early date in almost every available space, more especially on the Observatory hill, in Queen square and the Exchange, in which building the corps were allowed to occupy rooms for their orderly-room, &c. In all these arrangements the regiment was much indebted to the late Mr. D. Burges, then town clerk; but to the care, energy and soldierly spirit of Lieut.-col. Bush, the success of the regiment in its earlier stages is mainly to be attributed. From the commencement of the corps the practice of rifle shooting received great attention, and it is believed that in 1860 a greater number went through the annual course of musketry instruction than in any other volunteer corps. The character for good shooting which the regiment early acquired, it has ever since maintained. At the meeting of the National Rifle association at Wimbledon, in 1867, Sergeant H. Lane won the Queen's prize of £250, together with the gold medal and badge; and, in 1868, Drum-major Hutchinson, in the first stage of the Queen's prize, won £60 and the silver medal and badge. The battalion has invariably been successful in its contests with other battalions, the most notable of which were its victory over the Birmingham battalion in 1863, and the double victory over the 2nd Staffordshire battalion, long known as the best shooting battalion of its district. It is worthy of being recorded that in the return match with this battalion the Bristol riflemen made the highest score ever made by an equal number of men (thirty a side). In 1866 Lieut.-colonel Bush was succeeded in the command by Colonel P.

Wright Taylor, late commandant of the Royal Canadian Rifles, who held the command till his death, in April, 1881. Major S. E. Taylor, senior major of the regiment, then succeeded to the command, retiring at the end of the year, and was succeeded by Colonel A. M. Jones on his retirement from the adjutancy at the close of 1881. The want of a permanent headquarters had, from an early date, been very generally felt, and many efforts had been made to obtain suitable quarters. It was not, however, till 1862 that a practical shape was given to the scheme by the spirited purchase of the valuable property formerly well known as the "Bishop's college," near Park street, by two officers of the regiment, Captains W. Wright and James Ford. The re-purchase of this property being offered to the regiment, it was finally arranged to raise the necessary funds from the members and supporters of the regiment through the machinery of a limited liability company, which was registered on the 26th of March, 1862, the first object of which was defined as "The establishment and maintenance in the city of Bristol or the neighbourhood of drill-grounds, armoury, store-room, &c., for the use of the Bristol Rifle corps." It may be interesting to note that the regiment is within one or two of its full established strength of 1,000; the total number who have been enrolled to the present date is 5,324.

A further advance in the volunteer movement was made in November, 1859, when, on the 12th of that month, a meeting was held, under the presidency of the mayor (Mr. J. Bates), having for its object the formation of an Artillery Volunteer corps. This was effected, and, on 21st December, Captain H. B. O. Savile, then major of the newly-formed rifle volunteer corps, was gazetted major-commandant. Four batteries were raised, and, in January, 1860, Messrs. J. B. Harford, W. M. Baillie, H. Grant and Captain Egerton, R.N., were gazetted captains; in August of the same year another battery was formed, the captain being Captain W. H. Barlow, retired R.E.; a sixth battery was formed in 1872, the captain being Mr. W. M. Webb. In 1869 Major Savile retired, and was appointed hon. colonel, an appointment which he now holds, and Captain Cave succeeded him as major-commandant. In 1871 Major Cave resigned, and Mr. F. Bacon, R.M.A., succeeded him. Major Bacon was succeeded, in 1873, by Colonel A. Blunt, R.A., as lieutenant-colonel. In 1879 Lieutenant-colonel Blunt retired, and was succeeded by Major A. H. Versturme, the present lieutenant-colonel of the corps. The number upon the roll at present is 439, and 2,323 have been enrolled from the commencement to the present date. In connection with the Artil-

lery corps there was, in 1880, a cadet corps formed, consisting of boys attending the Bristol Grammar school.

The Bristol Engineer Volunteer corps was formed in April, 1861, at the Locomotive works of the Bristol and Exeter railway, Temple meads. Two companies were first formed under the command of Captain J. B. Harwood, the secretary of the line, and Captain J. Pearson, the locomotive superintendent. In the following year Captain Harwood resigned, and was succeeded in the command by Captain J. Pearson, Mr. W. P. King, one of the directors of the line, taking the vacant captaincy. In 1864 two additional companies were formed; Captain Pearson was promoted to be major, and Messrs. W. P. Wall, B. Cooper and W. Patterson were appointed captains. In 1866 Major Pearson resigned the command to Captain R. W. Pigeon, who had been appointed to a company on the retirement of Captain W. P. Wall. The head-quarters were removed from the Bristol and Exeter yard to the Corn Exchange, and recruits were now admitted who were not *employés* of the Bristol and Exeter railway; it thus became a city instead of a railway corps. In 1867 the corps was formed, with the Gloucester corps, into an administrative battalion, Major Pigeon being promoted to be lieutenant-colonel, and Captain W. P. King to be major. The Bristol corps was increased to six companies in 1867, Lieutenants A. G. Gandee and J. Belcher being appointed captains; and in 1868 a seventh company was added, and the present commanding officer, Lieutenant-colonel E. C. Plant, who had joined the corps in 1864 and passed through all the different grades of non-commissioned officer and lieutenant, was appointed to command it. Lieutenant-colonel Pigeon retired in 1870, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-colonel J. H. Dowling, of Gloucester, under whose command it was reduced to five companies. In 1874 the command was handed over to Lieutenant-colonel (then Major) E. C. Plant, under whom it was again raised to six companies in 1876, and to its original strength of seven companies in 1877. In June, 1880, it was separated from the Gloucestershire Administrative battalion, and formed into a separate corps under its present colonel. Major H. Wiltshire and Captain and Adjutant E. C. Hart, R.E., are at the present time the other field officers. In 1876 the Clifton College Cadet corps was formed and attached to this corps, the sixth company of which is formed of those cadets who are old enough to be enrolled. This was the first Engineer Cadet corps formed in the kingdom. In addition to engineering the regiment stands high in shooting. At the Wimbledon meeting of the National Rifle association in 1878, Corporal F. Larway won the Prince of Wales' prize, value £100; in 1879 Captain

E. Lang won the Canadian Trophy and Grand Aggregate prize; and in 1880 Sapper Robert Percival and Bugler H. Veale won the Cadet Corps Trophy. The present strength of the corps is 700 enrolled members and 80 cadets, 3,120 enrolled members and 380 cadets having passed through the ranks.

Another advance in the volunteer movement was made in 1873, when, without any public meeting or assistance from the general public, the Bristol contingent of the Royal Naval Artillery volunteers enrolled themselves on the 14th March. Giving their services to the Government, the men do not receive any allowance in the shape of a capitation grant, and have therefore to find their own uniforms and bear other expenses which, in volunteer corps generally, are paid by money received from Government. In December, 1874, Captain M. B. Dunn, R.N., was appointed commanding officer; this position he held till 1877, when, on his appointment as rear-admiral, he resigned, and Captain Parsons, R.N., succeeded him. Captain Parsons resigning in 1879, Captain T. S. Gooch, R.N., assumed the command, which he still holds. To Sub-Lieutenant Milton Lewis must be assigned the credit of being the originator of the movement in Bristol. Drill takes place on H.M.S. *Dædalus*; and the Admiralty, desiring to popularise the movement, yearly place a gunboat at the disposal of the commanding officer for cruising. The present number of enrolled members is 194, and 455 have passed through the ranks since the formation of the corps.

Taking the totals of the four volunteer corps given above, we find that the following number of citizens have, during the last twenty-three years, passed through the ranks, so that Bristol has at least done her share towards forming an army of defence:—

Rifle Volunteers	...	...	...	...	...	5,324
Artillery Volunteers	...	...	...	...	...	2,323
Engineer Volunteers	...	...	...	...	...	3,120
Naval Artillery Volunteers	...	...	...	...	...	455
Total						11,222

On January 15th, 1859, the *Porto Novo*, an African trading ship, was destroyed by fire whilst unloading at Redcliff wharf.—On February 24th Colston's school was removed from St. Augustine's to Stapleton.—In March fifty-six Italians, who had been sent into exile by the King of Naples, arrived in Bristol, and were most heartily welcomed by the mayor, Mr. John Hare, and the citizens of Bristol. A subscription was set on foot, which was responded to in all parts of the kingdom, £10,760 being raised for their relief.—On April 12th Mr. William Miles was created a baronet.—On the 30th the sugar refinery of Messrs. Fuidge, Fripp and Co., at

the Stone bridge, was burned; 600 tons of sugar and 1,000 tons of charcoal were destroyed, representing a total loss of £80,000.—On June 13th, during a marine excursion to Watchet by the *Neath Abbey*, six persons from Bristol were drowned whilst returning to the steamer, through overcrowding the small boat in which they had embarked.—On September 7th the Presbyterian church on St. James' parade was opened.—On the 20th the *Monkey* steam tug was sunk during a collision in the river off Sandbed point, and the next day the boiler of the *Fury* steam tug exploded in Hungroad, killing two men.—On December 17th the *Sea Belle*, of New York, caught fire in the Floating harbour; she was ultimately scuttled, after burning twelve hours.

On January 6th, 1860, the workshop at Messrs. Perry's coach factory was burnt.—On February 13th H.R.H. the Prince of Orange visited Bristol and Clifton.—On the 27th Mr. James Palmer died, leaving £20,000 to ten of the charitable institutions of Bristol.—During the month of April the arching over of the river Frome from Merchant street to Union street was completed.—On June 11th the foundation-stone of Redland park Congregational church was laid by Mr. R. Ash; it was opened September 4th, 1861.—On June 19th the chimney at Counterslip sugar refinery, 201 feet in height, was finished.

On April 10th, 1861, Philip street Baptist chapel was opened.—On May 3rd, at a dreadful fire in Castle green, at Messrs. Hurndall, Hellier and Wills' colour works, a workman was burned to death.—On May 17th the Clifton and Durdham downs' Act, by which Clifton down, containing 230 acres, and Durdham down, containing 212 acres, were secured to the citizens as places of recreation for ever, received the royal assent.—On June 16th the boiler of the river steamer *Alarm* burst near Messrs. King's wharf, killing one man and injuring others.—On August 5th Blondin performed on the high rope at the Zoological gardens.—On the 28th the Great house (Colston's hall) was sold for £3,000.—On September 11th the City road Baptist chapel was opened; the Rev. N. Haycroft preached in the morning, and the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon in the afternoon. A tea-meeting was held in the Circus, in which Mr. Spurgeon preached in the evening to an immense congregation. The unruly mob outside, angered at not being able to obtain admission, the doors being closed by the police, flung brick-bats and stones at the building, greatly to the alarm of the reverend gentleman.—On the morning of Sunday, December 15th, great consternation was caused in the city by the announcement that H.R.H. the Prince Consort had died during the previous night at Windsor castle; every family mourned for him as for a friend.

In 1862 the *Mars* steampacket, trading between Bristol and Waterford, struck on the Crow rock, and sunk in deep water twenty miles from land; the captain, twenty-nine passengers and twenty of the crew were drowned, six persons only being saved.—On June 17th a review of the volunteers was held on Durdham down; there were 6,746 under arms, and it was estimated that nearly a million of spectators were present.—On July 31st the first annual assembly in Bristol of the United Methodist Free Church was held in Milk street chapel, when the Rev. William Reid, of London, was elected president.—This year Clifton college, Emmanuel church in the Dings, and the Hensman memorial church, Victoria square, Clifton, were erected.

On January 29th, 1863, the following resolution was carried in the town council by thirty-three votes to twenty-six:—

That it is essential for the preservation and increase of the trade of the port that the river Avon be deepened, widened and straightened from Rownham ferry to and including the Horseshoe point, and also that land be purchased within the Floating harbour for the purpose of improvements, and for making new wharves. That this council, having considered the report printed by order of the Docks committee, and the several alternative schemes therein contained, and bearing in mind the objections urged against any increase of the existing dues on goods and ships, is of opinion that the abovenamed works and purchase of land may be accomplished by borrowing a sum not exceeding £400,000, the interest upon which can be provided from the following sources and without any risk of taxation to the ratepayers, viz.:—Dock surplus, £9,700; dues on corn and provisions, £2,700; rents on ships in Floating harbour, £1,000; rents from surplus land, £1,000; increase of trade, £2,000; total, £16,400. And the law officers be and are hereby directed to proceed with the bills now deposited, modifying the same in accordance with this resolution.

On February 13th Dean Elliott and the chapter, in pursuance of the *congé d'élire*, elected Dr. Ellicott to the bishopric of the united sees of Gloucester and Bristol.

“Between the Bristol magnates  
What difference may there be?  
Why Elliott has the deanery  
And Ellicott has the see.”

On March 10th the marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales was celebrated with great rejoicing. The mayoress, Mrs. Sholto V. Hare, planted an oak tree on Brandon hill. The volunteers mustered in Queen square, and marched thence to Durdham down, where they were reviewed. The Oddfellows met in full regalia at the Cattle market, and the Foresters gathered in Meadow street, St. Paul's, and marched in procession through the gaily decorated streets to the Downs. The fire-brigades paraded the city with their engines. The Sunday school children gathered in Queen square, and to each one was given a cake, oranges, and a new

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threepenny-piece; four thousand of their number then visited the Zoological gardens. The poor of the various parishes were feasted, the electric light and the lime light were both exhibited at night, there was a grand display of fireworks, and the illuminations were excellent and general, the whole city being resplendent with its gala devices. On May 18th an oak casket, containing a necklace of sapphires and diamonds, the gift of the ladies of Bristol, together with an address, was presented to her royal highness by the mayoress, Mrs. Sholto V. Hare.—It was given in evidence this year, before a committee of the House of Commons, that the sugar imported into Bristol was of the value of £720,000 per annum; that one tobacco broker alone paid duty on that article amounting to £400,000; that the African imports averaged £250,000; and that the timber trade produced £7,000 per annum of revenue to the port.—On June 29th Victoria Wesleyan chapel was opened by the Rev. C. Prest, president of the Wesleyan conference.—On the 30th the Totterdown and Underfall toll-gates were ordered by the town council to be abolished.—On August 10th and 11th the bounds of the city were perambulated; and on the 20th the water boundary of the city, for jurisdiction, was sailed over to the Flat Holms. The water boundaries for pilotage and for port charges differ from the above.—On September 8th the river boundaries were perambulated as far as Hanham mills.—On October 6th the tender for building Colston hall was accepted at £17,000.—On the 7th the shock of an earthquake was felt in Bristol and throughout the West of England.

In April, 1864, a fine old mulberry tree that grew on the site of the present Post-office was cut down to make way for that building; this was the last of the ancient trees that grew within the city.—On the 25th Garibaldi passed through the city on his way to Cornwall. He was received with the greatest enthusiasm; the mayor and mayoress presented him with an address, but the crush was too great for speech-making.—From June 13th to the 17th the Bath and West of England Agricultural society held their show on Durdham Down, opposite the reservoir of the Waterworks company; 33,800 persons paid for entrance £3,050.—On November 10th Oakfield road Unitarian church was opened for public worship.—On December 9th the Suspension bridge was opened for traffic.—The drought this year lasted five months; the deficiency in the rainfall was 2,044 inches, the actual fall being only 1.121 for the twelve months.

On May 13th, 1865, Mr. W. D. Wills, of this city, died in St. Bartholomew's hospital, London. Mr. Wills was slightly deaf, and whilst crossing Snow hill he was

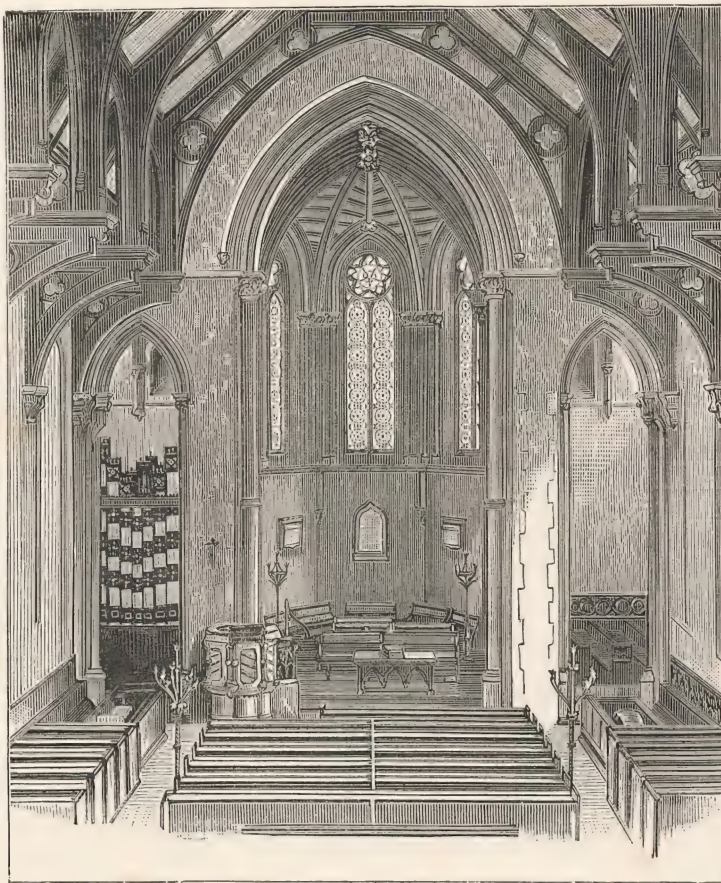
knocked down by an omnibus, sustaining fearful injuries, which resulted fatally.—On June 9th there was a great fire at the oil and colour works of Messrs. John Hare and Co., Temple meads.—On July 12th the Hon. F. H. F. Berkeley and Sir S. M. Peto, bart., were returned as members of Parliament for the city.—September 19th, a working men's industrial exhibition was opened at the Drill hall; there were 783 exhibitors, £3,253 14s. 11d. was taken, and 116,926 persons passed through the turnstiles.—The autumnal meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales was held in Bristol during the third week in October. The Rev. David Thomas was the chairman of the union this year, and as such he officiated; the business meetings were held in Brunswick chapel.—On November 18th the mayor of Bristol, being of the Hebrew persuasion, worshipped at the Synagogue.

On the 14th of May, 1866, the Rev. Robert Vaughan, D.D., was presented by Mr. Morley, chairman of a most remarkable meeting of prominent Nonconformists, with a cheque for £3,000 for his services to Nonconformity. Dr. Vaughan was a Bristol boy, who began life as a carpenter; he preached his first sermon for the Bristol Itinerant society in one of our country villages; became the founder of the *British Quarterly Review*; was for six years a pastor at Worcester, for sixteen at Kensington, filled the Theological chair at the Lancashire college, and afterwards was pastor at Uxbridge. He was the author of *John de Wycliffe, Life and Opinions of John Wycliffe, Revolutions in English History*, and other works. He was one of the finest platform orators in the kingdom, and he did more than any one man to place Christianity on Congregational principles before the educated

classes of his age. His maxim was, "Never merge the Englishman in the Dissenter, or the Christian in the Nonconformist."

On March 23rd, 1867, there was a terrific fire at the Bathurst Flour mills, adjoining the Bristol General hospital, which caused great alarm to the inmates of that edifice.—September 20th, the Colston hall, erected at a cost of £45,000, and on October 14th, the New Theatre, in Park row, were opened.—Turnpikes were abolished this year throughout the Bristol district.

In 1868 the new Post office in Small street was opened.—On the resignation of Sir S. M. Peto, bart., there was a contest between Mr. J. W. Miles and Mr. S. Morley. Mr. Miles was elected, but on June 25th he was unseated on petition; at the general election on November 17th, the Hon. F. H. F. Berkeley and Mr. S. Morley were returned; Mr. Miles was defeated.—Perry road was opened on August 20th.—St. Paul's church, Clifton, was consecrated on September 29th.—Tyndale Baptist chapel, Whiteladies' road, was opened on September 30th.—During this year Portishead pier was opened, and the



Interior of Clifton Down Congregational Church.

Steamship company commenced running a daily service of packets throughout the summer to Lynmouth and Ilfracombe.—On November 11th Clifton Down Congregational church was opened by the Rev. Samuel Martin, of Westminster. This beautiful structure, which still lacks its tower, manse and schoolrooms, was the work of Mr. Hansom, the architect of Clifton college. The original church is one of the oldest in the city; it sprang out of the Commonwealth, and still possesses the license to preach which was granted its then pastor, the Rev. John Weeks. In its inception it

was English Presbyterian, and its old place of meeting, which consisted of two rooms upstairs on slightly different levels, reached through a house and then by a long passage, has not long been destroyed; within living memory it had a quaint old gallery at the west end, and a step down in the centre showed the spot where the two rooms had been thrown into one. In 1686 the church moved to the Old theatre, in Tucker street, which had been purchased, and there for a while the afterwards greatly celebrated Dr. Edmund Calamy laboured. About 1775, Tucker street being demolished, the chapel was sold, and a new one was built in Bridge street, which had its chief entrance on a higher level in the churchyard of St. Mary-le-port; the lower part, facing Bridge street, was leased to a wine merchant, which elicited the following smart stanza:—

“ There’s a spirit above and a spirit below,  
A spirit of weal and a spirit of woe;  
The spirit above is the Spirit Divine,  
The spirit below is the Spirit of Wine.”

In this church, amongst other celebrated men, Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Liefchild laboured, and in 1835 Henry Isaac Roper became its pastor; finding, after some thirty years’ ministry, that the bulk of his congregation had migrated to Clifton, he, with the consent of the trustees and the aid of generous friends, built the present beautiful structure; and two years later he fulfilled a long-expressed intention, and retired from the ministry with the love and affection of men of every grade and party in the city. He died April 6th, 1874.

During the month of September, 1869, the *Formidable*, man-of-war, arrived in Kingroad, near which she is still stationed as a training ship for boys.—On September 30th the Social Science congress held a very successful meeting in Bristol.—On the 26th of December, being Boxing-night, nineteen persons were crushed to death at the entrance of the New theatre, Park row.

In 1870 a test ballot was held in Bristol by the Liberals to decide on the choice of a successor to the Hon. F. H. F. Berkeley, deceased; Mr. Kirkman Hodgson was chosen, and was subsequently elected.—The grand organ at Colston hall was erected this year.

On January 27th, 1871, the first Bristol School board was elected; Mr. Lewis Fry was chosen its chairman.—On April 14th Greenbank cemetery was consecrated and opened.—On the 20th one of the gates which was being built in the new junction lock at Cumberland basin fell, killing four men and injuring four others.—Steamship traffic for goods and passengers between Bristol and America was this year resumed; the *Arragon*, the first steamship, arrived in Bristol on June 23rd; she is still on the line doing excellent work.

On February 2nd, 1872, the new Masonic hall, in Park street, was opened.—On May 1st the Baths and Washhouses on the New Cut, the property of the city, were opened.—On the 9th the mayor, Mr. Proctor Baker, assisted by the mayoress, laid the cap-stone of the spire of St. Mary Redcliff church; this was done in a heavy shower of rain, at a height of 280 feet from the ground, and 170 feet from the top of the tower.

In March, 1873, the new racecourse at Knowle was opened; H. R. H. the Prince of Wales was present on Wednesday, the 19th.—On July 19th the new locks at Cumberland basin were opened.—The tramway from the Drawbridge to Redland was begun this year by the corporation.

On January 29th, 1874, the triennial election of the Bristol School board took place.—On February 2nd Messrs. Hodgson and Morley were elected members of Parliament for the city.—On May 13th, at a public meeting in Colston hall, Mr. J. D. Weston in the chair, the Free Library Act was adopted for Bristol. The St. Philip’s branch was opened to the public July 8th, 1876; the Central library, October 9th, 1876; a branch at King square, March 24th, 1877; and that at Bedminster, September 29th, 1877.—On April 1st the *Kron Prinz*, a steamer of 1,076 tons burden, was stranded at the Horseshoe point in the river Avon.—On June 8th the Bath and West of England Agricultural society held their show on Durdham down; the money taken at the gates was £8,313, being nearly £1,800 more than had been taken at any previous exhibition.—On July 18th five young people, *employés* of Messrs. E. S. and A. Robinson, whilst on their summer outing, lost their lives by the swamping of a boat at Teignmouth.—On August 4th and subsequent days the British Archaeological Association held a most successful meeting in Bristol.—The Mansion-house, Clifton, was presented to the city by Alderman Proctor; the city boundaries were beaten; Bedminster school board was elected; an agricultural labourers’ demonstration was held on Brandon hill; the Clifton Extension railway from the Clifton Down station to Temple meads was opened, and the first cabman’s rest was erected during this year.

On April 26th, 1875, William Hole was hanged for the murder of his wife.—On July 14th and 15th there were great floods in Baptist Mills and the neighbourhood.—On August 25th and following days the British Association held their 45th annual meeting in Bristol.—The tunnel under Clifton down to Avonmouth was completed.—St. Philip’s bridge was freed from toll.

On April 24th, 1876, a man named Deacon was hanged for murdering his wife.—On May 24th there was a very large fire in Christmas street, the damage

being estimated at £50,000.—On June 3rd the tramway to Stapleton road was opened.—On July 27th the driver and fireman of the "Flying Dutchman" express train were killed, and many persons injured, by the engine running off the rails at Bourton.—On August 16th there was a disastrous fire in Castle street, wherein Mr. T. Skinner lost his life in trying to save two of his children, who perished with him in the flames.—On October 6th a stack of staves fell at St. Paul's cooperage, killing three men and injuring some twenty others.

On January 22nd, 1877, the triennial election of the Bristol School board took place.—On February 24th Avonmouth dock was opened by the mayor, Mr. G. W. Edwards.—On May 1st Messrs. Miles and Co.'s bank and the Old Bank coalesced.—On August 22nd the demolition of St. Werburgh's church, Corn street, was commenced.—On October 23rd the new nave of the Cathedral was opened.

In January, 1878, Brunswick schools were opened.—On February 12th to 15th the Trades' conference was held.—On March 18th, during the construction of the dock at Portishead, a large portion of the wall gave way, causing a long delay and a large expenditure of money.—On March 30th, in consequence of an infraction of the law, the lord bishop of the diocese withdrew his license from St. Raphael's church, New Cut.—On May 12th the steamship *Gipsy*, whilst coming up the Avon, went aground; the traffic of the river was stopped for some time, and ultimately she was taken to pieces by the Docks committee.—On June 8th the Bristol rifle volunteers encamped on Durdham down, where they remained for a week.—On July 9th the Royal Agricultural society opened their exhibition (which was honoured by the presence of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales) on Durdham down; the total attendance was 123,051.—On August 18th the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological society held their meeting in Bristol.—On October 23rd Dr. Percival, under whose management Clifton college had attained so much success, was elected president of Queen's college, Oxford. Upon Dr. Percival's resignation of the head mastership of Clifton college, the Rev. J. M. Wilson, M.A., was, on December 16th, elected to succeed him.—On November 28th the nave of the Cathedral was illuminated with the electric light.—On December 9th a panic was caused throughout the West of England and South Wales by the stoppage of the West of England and South Wales District bank, with liabilities amounting to upwards of £3,000,000. The directors were placed upon their trial for mismanagement on the 27th April, 1880; the trial resulted in a verdict of not guilty.—On December 22nd St. George's church, Kingswood, was burnt down.

On February 1st, 1879, the Bristol and West of England bank Limited commenced in the building in Corn street formerly occupied by the bank which failed in the previous year.—On June 17th Mr. Howard, C.E., engineer to the corporation, presented his plan for dockising the river Avon at a cost of £790,000.

In January, 1880, the triennial election of the Bristol School board took place.—On February 2nd the London and South Western banking company opened their new offices built upon the site of St. Werburgh's church, Corn street.—On March 22nd a new petty sessional court was opened in Bridewell street; this obviated the necessity of parading and marching the prisoners who had to be examined before the magistrates at the Council-house through the streets during the busiest part of the day. Extra accommodation for the magistrates, as well as the prisoners, had become a necessity.—On May 24th the Wilts and Dorset banking company opened their new premises in Corn street.—On June 24th the Tramway company opened their line to the Hotwells.—On July 8th, on the occasion of the Sunday school centenary, there assembled at the Zoological gardens 16,000 children, 2,000 teachers, and 10,000 general public.—On August 21st the Salvation army held their first service in Bristol.—On November 16th the *Ailsa* steamship, trading between Bristol, Belfast and Glasgow, was wrecked on St. Govan's head, near Milford Haven; twenty-seven lives were lost. On the 17th of the same month the Bedminster tramway was opened, and on the 18th the Horfield tramway was opened.—On December 20th there was a good exhibition of works of art by the Bristol and West of England Photographic society.

On January 15th, 1881, at the instance of the corporation, the electric light was tested in the centre of the city.—On the 18th the heaviest snow fell which had been known for many years.—During this month the *Bristol City* steamship, trading between Bristol and New York, was lost with all hands.—On March 1st, New Baldwin street was opened by the mayor, Mr. J. D. Weston.—On the 30th the David Thomas memorial church at Bishopston was opened; the mayor presided at the luncheon.—On April 20th a beautiful little pleasure-ground adjoining Lovers' walk was opened as a place of recreation for the public.—On May 25th there was a conference of masters of industrial schools from all parts of the kingdom held in Bristol.—On July 26th an industrial exhibition for Clifton was opened at the Hotwells by the mayor.—On September 26th the headings of the tunnel under the Severn met, giving a passage under the river from shore to shore.—On October 9th the large stationery, printing office and book stores of Messrs. C. T. Jefferies and Sons were

consumed by fire.—On the 30th the religious census of Bristol was taken by the proprietors of the *Western Daily Press*.—On November 9th H.R.H the Duke of Edinburgh visited Bristol to inspect the naval reserve; he made a detour, in order to examine the Sailors' institute and church in Prince street.—On the same day Mr. J. D. Weston was chosen mayor for the second time.—The 16th will be remembered by many on account of a terrible fire which occurred through the bursting of a barrel of petroleum on board the *Solway* steamship when off the Skerries; thirteen persons were burned to death, and six others left the ship in a boat and were never heard of.—On the 30th there was a great fire of petroleum at a store on Temple back, which burned for many days.—The *Bath City*, a sister ship to the *Bristol City*, trading also to New York, was lost after a long and sturdy battle with the elements in the Atlantic; nine lives were lost either by drowning or from exposure.—On the 20th a chimney-stack fell in St. Philip's, killing two persons and injuring fourteen others.

On July 1st, 1882, the old churchyard of St. James' was opened by the mayor as a place of rest and recreation chiefly for the inhabitants of that locality. The whole of the ground had been relaid, and was tastefully laid out with rockeries, flower-beds, asphalted walks, garden seats, &c.; in September a stone cross, having the figures of St. James and St. Paul in niches—the gift of a lady—to which was added a fountain, was set up in the eastern portion of the ground.—On July 13th Sir Greville Smyth, bart., of Ashton court, presented to the city twenty-two acres of land on the Ashton side of Clift house, and between it and the Clifton Bridge railway station, as a recreation and pleasure ground for the citizens. Sir Greville expressed a wish that a portion of it should be allotted for the use of the Bedminster Cricket club, in the same manner as that portion of Durdham down on which the Clifton club plays is reserved.—On July 25th a new police station was opened at Bedminster by Mr. E. S. Robinson, who officiated in the absence of the mayor, and presented a double-faced illuminated clock to be placed in the turret.—The new church of St. Peter, Clifton wood, was consecrated by the bishop of the diocese, who preached the opening sermon on the 26th September.—On the 27th an exhibition of gas appliances, under the auspices of the Bristol Gas Light company, for lighting, warming and cooking, was opened at the Rifle Drill hall.—On Sunday morning, October 8th, a very destructive fire broke out in the large flour mills of Messrs. Baker and Sons, on Redcliff back; the fire consumed the buildings known as the Old mill and the Corporation mill, but the larger structure, which is comparatively new and is nine stories

in height, was happily saved from ignition. Only the breadth of the Back separates these mills from the premises of Messrs. C. T. Jefferies and Sons, which by a singular coincidence had been burned on the corresponding Sunday in October, 1881.

The closing week of October, 1873, witnessed the inauguration of the first Musical Festival in Bristol; the oratorio appropriately chosen for its commencement, on Tuesday, the 21st, was Haydn's *Creation*. Mendelssohn's *Elijah*; Macfarren's *St. John the Baptist* (the first time of its performance); Mendelssohn's *Hymn of Praise*; Rossini's *Stabat Mater* and Handel's *Messiah* were the works rendered: there was a miscellaneous concert each evening. The principal artistes were Mesdames Lemmens Sherrington, Otto Alvsleben, Patey, Miss Enriquez and Miss Julia Wigan; Messrs. Sims Reeves, Edward Lloyd, Vernon Rigby, Santley and Lewis Thomas. The receipts amounted to £5,842, and 11,548 persons paid for admission. The balance, being made up to £200, was equally divided between the Bristol Royal infirmary and the Bristol General hospital. Bristol, already well known to the musical world for its Madrigal and Orpheus Glee societies (which are second to none in the kingdom), at once took foremost rank for the purity of tone, correctness of time, light and shade, and tasteful rendering of the choruses, which made the Festival a success. The result was the formation, in January, 1874, of the Bristol Musical Festival society, which consisted of 300 members, each of whom became a guarantor to the amount of £25 to cover any deficiency that might arise in working up and holding every third year a festival, each guarantor being entitled to a free ticket to most of the intermediate concerts which are held between the festivals. The object was to establish triennial musical festivals, and to train a voluntary choir for the efficient performance of music of the highest class. Training classes were formed, a nominal fee of threepence per lesson was charged, and the result was highly encouraging. During the winters of 1880–1–2 these classes included 794 pupils, of whom 260 passed a successful examination and obtained certificates for efficiency in singing at sight, in time and tune. The choir speedily numbered 270 picked voices, and this number has now been increased to 385.

The second Festival was held in October, 1876. The works given on that occasion were *Elijah*; Verdi's *Requiem Mass*; Handel's *Israel in Egypt*; Spohr's *Fall of Babylon*; Beethoven's *Engedi*; Mendelssohn's *Hymn of Praise* and the *Messiah*. The principal vocalists were Mdle. Titiens, Madame Edith Wynne, Mdle. Albani, Mesdames Patey and Trebelli-Bettini, Messrs. Edward

Lloyd, Harper Kearton, W. H. Cummings, Maybrick, H. Pope and Herr Behrens. The receipts amounted to £6,687; and 12,978 persons paid for admission. The expenses (which covered fittings, &c., for future festivals) left a balance on the wrong side, necessitating a call on the guarantors of one guinea each. The collections taken after the morning performances amounted to £210, and were divided between the Bristol Royal infirmary and the Bristol General hospital.

The third Festival was held October 14th to 17th, 1879. The works rendered were Handel's *Samson*; Mendelssohn's *The First Walpurgis Night*, *Elijah* and *Hear my Prayer*; Brahms' *Rinaldo*; Mozart's *Requiem*; Beethoven's *Choral Symphony*, and the *Messiah*. The principal vocalists were Mesdames Albani, Patey and Trebelli, Miss Emma Thursby, Messrs. E. Lloyd, Barton McGuckin, R. Hilton and Santley. The receipts were £6,158 17s. 4d., and 11,963 persons paid for admission. The collections taken after the morning performances amounted to £207 19s. 6d.; £250 each were given to the Bristol Royal infirmary and the Bristol General hospital, and £110 6s. 8d. was reserved for contingencies. The liability of the guarantors was now reduced to £10, with a recommendation that their number should be increased from 300 to 500.

The fourth Festival was held October 17th to 20th, 1882, under the presidency of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, K.G., and was honoured by the presence of their royal highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh, who were met at the railway station by the mayor and corporation, by whom an address was presented. The streets were gaily decorated, and the guard of honour consisted of the city volunteers. The programme contained the *Elijah*; Beethoven's *Mass in D*; Gounod's new oratorio, *Redemption*; Haydn's *Spring*; Rossini's *Moses in Egypt*; Mackenzie's *Jason* (written expressly for this Festival); and the *Messiah*. The principal vocalists were Mesdames Albani, Patey and Trebelli, and Miss Anna Williams; Messrs. E. Lloyd, Joseph Maas, Harper Kearton, Robert Hilton, Montague Worlock and Santley. The receipts amounted to £6,263 2s., and 11,209 persons paid for admission. The collections taken after the morning performances, amounting to £214 15s. 2d., were divided between the Bristol Royal infirmary and Bristol General hospital. Mr. Charles Hallé conducted and furnished the band for each of the festivals, and Mr. George Riseley presided at the organ.

Bristol having, during the past ten years, advanced

with rapid strides in the knowledge and love of music, it was determined that strong efforts should be made to found in perpetuity a Bristol scholarship at the proposed Royal College of Music, of which H.R.H. the Prince of Wales will be president. The committee of the Bristol Musical Festival, recognising the importance of the movement, lent its aid, and it was determined that any profit derived from the triennial Festival of 1882 should be handed to the local committee for the purpose of assisting the fund being raised for the scholarship.

From the 10th to the 13th of October, 1882, the Congregational Union of England and Wales held, for the third time, its autumnal sederunt in Bristol. There were present about 1,100 ministers and delegates. The business meetings, under the chairmanship of J. A. Macfadyen, D.D., were held, by the kind permission of the Baptists, in Broadmead chapel, it being the largest Dissenting place of worship in the city, as well as the most central. The historic associations that cluster around Broadmead from the days of Widow Kelly, down through a long line of sufferers for conscience' sake, and of eminent Christian teachers, such as Dr. Ryland, Robert Hall, John Foster, &c., received a remarkable addition on the 12th. It is now the place wherein what may be termed a new departure of the Church of England occurred. A number of the most eminent clergymen of the Established Church, headed by Dean Elliott and Canon Girdlestone, waited upon the Union with an address of welcome couched in the most fraternal Christian language, and signed by fifty-eight clergymen resident in Bristol. Different sections of the Establishment were grouped together upon the platform, and the dean, Canon Girdlestone, the Revs. E. A. Fuller, M.A., C. J. Atherton, M.A., and J. M. Wilson, M.A., the head-master of Clifton college, expressed their sincere desire to cordially co-operate with the Congregational body in the work of advancing the Kingdom of Christ. During the reception of the deputation and the reading of the address by the dean, the audience remained standing, and evinced their gratification by repeated rounds of cheering. A more perfect contrast with the scenes of unchristian violence perpetrated on this very spot between 1662 and 1682, and which are narrated in these pages, it is difficult to imagine, and the beautiful incident itself forms a fitting sequel with which to close this history, seeing that it is an augury of a brighter future, being an advanced step in that religious culture and brotherly kindness which form the real foundation of all true prosperity.

